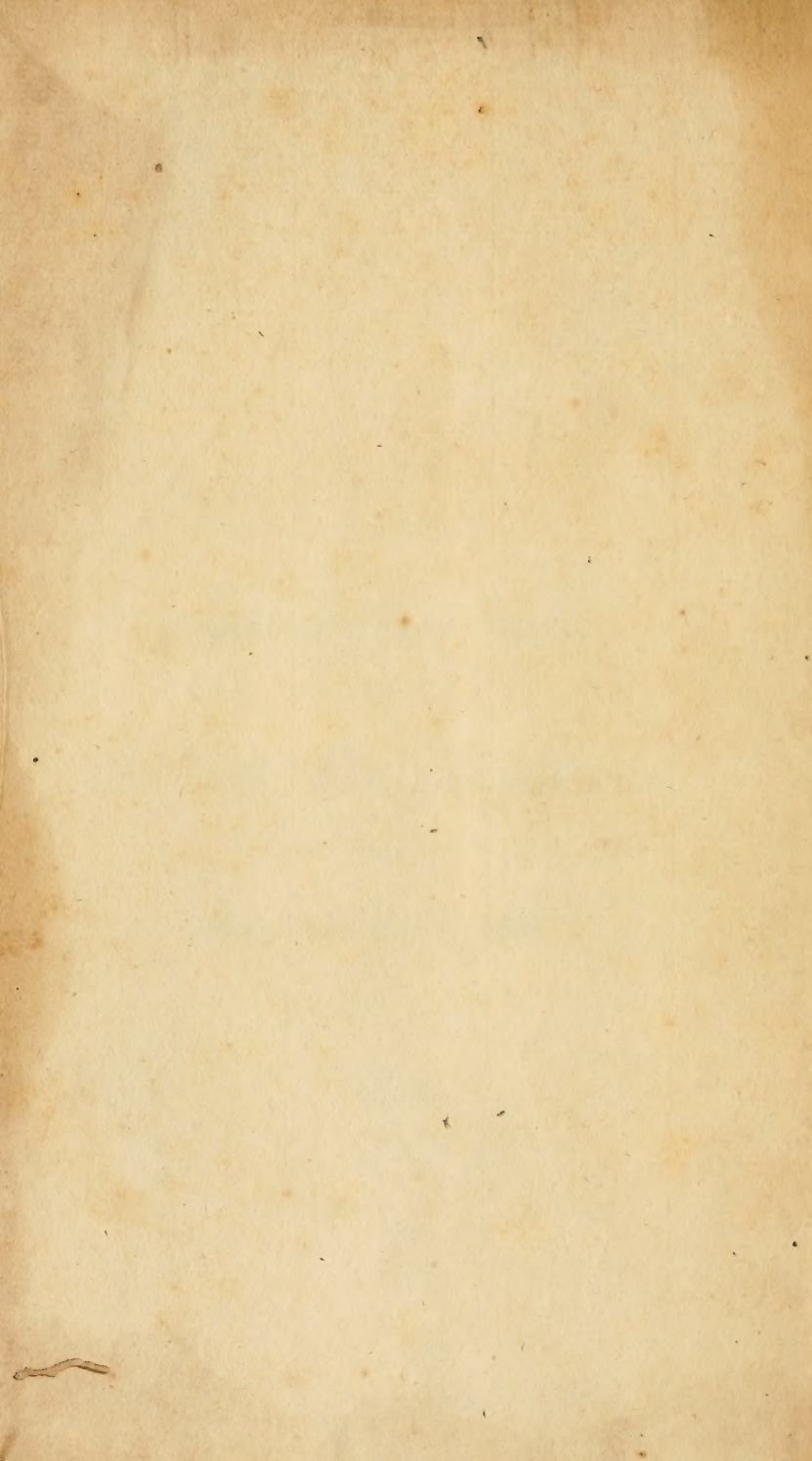


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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS,
OR,
Protestant Non-Conformists,
FROM THE
REFORMATION
TO THE
Toleration Act of King WILLIAM
and Queen MARY:
WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts
for a further REFORMATION in the
CHURCH; their Sufferings; and the Lives
and Characters of their principal DIVINES.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

In Four VOLUMES.

HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS

By the Rev. Mr. John Cotton

REFORMATION

THE
LIFE OF
WILLIAM
AND QUEEN MARY

WITH
An Account of their Principles, their Attempts
for the Reformation of the Church, and the
Effects of their Ministry, and the
Consequences of their Persecutions.

BY DANIEL NEALE, M.A.

Revised for the second Edition, by the
Author.

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THE
HISTORY
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FROM THE
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TO THE
Death of Queen ELIZABETH:
WITH

An Account of their Principles; their Attempts
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CHURCH; their Sufferings; and the Lives
and Characters of their principal DIVINES.

By DANIEL NEAL, M. A.

In Four VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

*Now all these Things happened unto them for Ensamples,
and they are written for our Admonition, 1 Cor. x. 11.*

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Protestant Non-Compliance

REFORMATION

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and characters of their R. in 1570.

DANIEL DEFOE

In Four VOLUMES.

OF I

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T H E P R E F A C E.

TH E design of the following work is to preserve the memory of those great and good men among the reformers who lost their preferments in the Church, for attempting a further reformation of its discipline and ceremonies; and to account for the rise and progress of that Separation from the national establishment which subsists to this day.

To set this in a proper light it was necessary to look back upon the sad state of religion before the reformation, and to consider the motives that induced King Henry VIII. to break with the Pope, and to declare the Church of England an independent body, of which himself, under Christ, was the supreme head upon earth. This was a bold attempt, at a time when all the powers of the earth were against him; and could not have succeeded without an over-ruling direction of Divine Providence: But as for any real amendment of the doctrines, or superstitions of Popery, any further than was necessary to secure his own supremacy, and those vast revenues of the Church which he had grasped into his hands, whatever his Majesty might design, he had not the honour to accomplish.

The reformation made a quick progress in the short reign of King Edward VI. who had been educated under Protestant tutors, and was himself a prodigious genius for his age; he settled the doctrines of the Church, and intended a reformation of its government and laws; but his noble designs were obstructed by some temporizing Bishops, who having complied with the impositions of King Henry VIII. were willing to bring others under the same yoke; and to keep up an alliance with the Church of Rome, lest they should lose the uninterrupted succession of their characters from the Apostles. The controversy that gave rise to the Separation

The P R E F A C E.

ration began in this reign, on occasion of Bishop Hooper's refusing to be consecrated in the popish habits : This may seem an unreasonable scruple in the opinion of some people, but was certainly an affair of great consequence to the reformation, when the habits were the known badges of Popery ; and when the administrations of the Priests were thought to receive their validity from the consecrated vestments, as I am afraid many both of the Clergy and common people are too inclinable to apprehend at this day. Had the reformers fixed upon other decent garments, as badges of the episcopal or priestly office, which had no relation to the superstitions of Popery, this controversy had been prevented. But the same regard to the old religion was had in revising the liturgy, and translating it into the English language ; the reformers, instead of framing a new one in the language of Holy Scripture, had recourse to the offices of the Church of Rome, leaving out such prayers and passages as were offensive, and adding certain responses to engage the attention of the common people, who till this time had no concern in the publick devotions of the church, as being uttered in an unknown tongue : This was thought a very considerable advance, and as much as the times would bear, but was not designed for the last standard of the English reformation ; however, the immature death of young King Edward put an end to all further progress.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, Popery revived by the supremacy's being lodged in a single hand ; and within the compass of little more than a year, became a second time the established religion of the Church of England : The statutes of King Edward were repealed, and the penal laws against hereticks were put in execution against the reformers ; many of whom, after a long imprisonment, and cruel trials of mockings and scourgings, made a noble confession of their faith before many witnesses, and sealed it with their blood. Great numbers fled into banishment, and were entertained by the reformed States of Germany, Switzerland,

land, and Geneva, with great humanity; the magistrates enfranchising them, and appointing Churches for their publick worship. But here began the fatal division; some of the Exiles were for keeping to the liturgy of King Edward, as the religion of their country, while others considering that those laws were repealed apprehended themselves at full liberty, and having no prospect of returning home, they resolved to shake off the remains of antichrist, and to copy after the purer forms of those churches among whom they lived. Accordingly the congregation at Frankfort, by the desire of the magistrates, began upon the Geneva model, with an additional prayer for the afflicted State of the Church of England, at that time; but when Dr. Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, came with a new detachment from England, he interrupted the publick service by answering aloud after the Minister, which occasioned such a disturbance and division as could never be healed. Mr. Knox and Mr. Whittingham, with one half of the congregation, being obliged to remove to Geneva, Dr. Cox and his friends kept possession of the Church at Frankfort, till there arose such quarrels and contentions among themselves as made them a reproach to the strangers among whom they lived. Thus the separation began.

When the Exiles, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, returned to England, each party were for advancing the reformation according to their own standard. The Queen, with those that had weathered the storm at home, were only for restoring King Edward's liturgy, but the majority of the Exiles were for the worship and discipline of the foreign churches, and refused to comply with the old establishment, declaiming loudly against the popish habits and ceremonies. The new Bishops, most of whom had been their companions abroad, endeavoured to soften them for the present, declaring they would use all their interest at Court to make them easy in a little time: The Queen also connived at their non-conformity, till her government was settled, but then declared roundly, that she

had fixed her standard, and would have all her subjects conform to it; upon which the Bishops stiffened in their behaviour, explained away their promises, and became too severe against their dissenting brethren.

In the year 1564. their Lordships began to shew their authority, by urging the clergy of their several dioceses to subscribe the liturgy, ceremonies and discipline of the church; when those that refused were first called Puritans, a name of reproach derived from the Cathari, or Puritani of the third century after Christ, but proper enough to express their desires of a more pure form of worship and discipline in the church. When the doctrines of Arminius took place in the latter end of the reign of King James I. those that adhered to Calvin's explication of the five disputed points were called doctrinal Puritans; and at length (says Mr. Fuller) the name was improved to stigmatize all those who endeavoured in their devotions to accompany the Minister with a pure heart, and who were remarkably holy in their conversations. A Puritan therefore was a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a Non-conformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the church, though he did not totally separate from it.

Ch. history.
B. IX.
p. 97.
B. X.
p. 100.

The Queen having conceived a strong aversion to these people, pointed all her artillery against them; for besides the ordinary Courts of the Bishops, her Majesty erected a new tribunal, called the Court of High Commission, which suspended and deprived men of their livings, not by the verdict of twelve men upon oath, but by the sovereign determination of three Commissioners of her Majesty's own nomination, founded not upon the Statute Laws of the Realm, but upon the bottomless deep of the Canon Law; and instead of producing witnesses in open Court to prove the charge, they assumed a power of administering an oath *Ex Officio*, whereby the prisoner was obliged to answer all questions the Court should put to him, tho' never so prejudicial to his own defence: If he refused to swear,
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he was imprisoned for contempt; and if he took the oath, he was convicted upon his own confession.

The reader will meet with many examples of the high proceedings of this Court in the course of this history; of their sending their Pursuivants to bring Ministers out of the country, and keeping them in town at excessive charges; of their interrogatories upon oath, which were almost equal to the Spanish inquisition; of their examinations and long imprisonments of Ministers without bail, or bringing them to a trial; and all this not for inefficiency, or immorality, or neglect of their Cures, but for not wearing a white surplice, not baptizing with the sign of the Cross, or not subscribing to certain Articles that had no foundation in law. A fourth part of all the preachers in England were under suspension from one or other of these courts, at a time when not one beneficed clergyman in six was capable of composing a sermon. The edge of all those laws that were made against popish recusants, who were continually plotting against the Queen, was turned against protestant non-conformists; nay, in many cases they had not the benefit of the law; for as Lord Clarendon Vol. I. 2vo. p. 27. rightly observes, Queen Elizabeth carried her prerogative as high as in the worst times of King Charles I. “They who look back upon the Council Books of those times (says his Lordship) and upon the acts of the Star-chamber then, shall find as high instances of power and sovereignty upon the liberty and property of the subject, as can be since given. But the art, order, and gravity of those proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules, were set, and smartly pursued, and the party felt only the weight of the judgment, not the passion of his judges) made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the publick, tho’ as intolerable to the person.”

These severities, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the church drove them further from it; for men don’t care to be beat from their principles by the artillery of canons, injunctions, and penal laws; nor can they be in love with a church that uses such me-

thods of conversion. A great deal of ill blood was bred in the nation by these proceedings; the bishops lost their esteem with the people, and the number of Puritans was not really lessened though they lay concealed, till in the next age they got the power into their hands and shook off the yoke.

The reputation of the Church of England has been very much advanced of late years, by the suspension of the penal laws, and the legal indulgence granted to protestant dissenters. Long experience has taught us, that uniformity in doctrine and worship, enforced by penal laws, is not the way to the church's peace; that there may be a separation from a true church without schism; and schism within a church without separation; that the indulgence granted by law to protestant non-conformists, which has now subsisted above forty years, has not been prejudicial to church or state, but rather advantageous to both; for the revenues of the establish'd church have not been lessen'd; a number of poor have been maintained by the dissenters, which must otherwise have come to the parish; the separation has kept up an emulation among the clergy; quicken'd them to their pastoral duty, and been a check upon their moral behaviour; and I will venture to say, whenever the separate assemblies of protestant non-conformists shall cease, and all men be obliged to worship at their parish churches, that ignorance and laziness will prevail among the clergy; and that the laity in many parts of the country will degenerate into superstition, prophaneness, and downright atheism. With regard to the state, it ought to be remember'd, that the protestant dissenters have always stood by the laws and constitution of their country; that they joined heartily in the glorious revolution of king William and queen Mary, and suffered for their steady adherence to the protestant succession in the illustrious house of his present Majesty, when great numbers that called themselves churchmen were looking another way; for this, the schism bill and other hardships were put upon them, and not for their religious differences with the church;

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for if they would have joined the administration at that time, 'tis well known they might have made much better terms for themselves; but as long as there is a protestant dissenter in England there will be a friend of liberty, and of our present happy constitution. Instead therefore of crushing them, or comprehending them within the church, it must be the interest of all true lovers of their country, even upon political views, to ease their complaints, and to support and countenance their christian liberty.

For though the Church of England is as free from persecuting principles as any establishment in Europe, yet still there are some grievances remaining, which wise and good men of all parties wish might be reviewed; not to mention the subscriptions which affect the clergy; there is the act of the 25th of king Charles II. for preventing dangers arising from popish recusants, commonly called the Test Act, “ which obliges, under
 “ very severe penalties, all persons, [of the laity] bear-
 “ ing any office, or place of trust or profit (besides
 “ taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and
 “ subscribing a declaration against transubstantiation;)
 “ to receive the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper ac-
 “ cording to the usage of the church of England, in
 “ some parish church on a Lord’s day immediately af-
 “ ter divine service and sermon, and to deliver a Cer-
 “ tificate of having so received it, under the hands of
 “ the respective ministers and church-wardens, proved
 “ by two credible witnesses upon oath, to be recorded
 “ in court.” It appears by the title of this act, and by the disposition of the Parliament at that time, that it was not design’d against protestant non-conformists; but the dissenters in the house generously came into it to save the nation from Popery; for when the court, in order to throw out the bill, put them upon moving for a clause to except their friends, Mr. Love, who had already declared against the dispensing power, stood up, and desired that the nation might first be secured against Popery, by passing the bill without any amendment, and that then, if the house pleased, some re-
 guard

Eachard's
Ch. History,
Ad. Ann.
1672-3.

gard might be had to protestant dissenters ; in which (says Mr. Eachard) he was seconded by most of his party. The bill was voted accordingly, and another brought in for the ease of his Majesty's protestant dissenting subjects, which passed the Commons, but before it could get through the lords, the king came to the house and prorogued the parliament. Thus the protestant non-conformists, out of their abundant zeal for the Protestant religion, shackled themselves, and were left upon a level with popish recusants.

It was necessary to secure the nation against Popery at that time, when the presumptive heir of the crown was of that religion ; but whether it ought not to have been done by a civil rather than by a religious test, I leave with the reader. The obliging all persons in places of civil trust to receive the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, seems to be a hardship upon those Gentlemen, whose manner of life loudly declares their unfitness for so sacred a solemnity, and who would not run the hazard of eating and drinking unworthily, but that they satisfy themselves with throwing off the guilt upon the imposers. Great Britain must not expect an army of saints ; nor is the time yet come, when " all her officers shall be peace, and her exacters righteousness." It is no less a hardship upon a great body of his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, who are qualified to serve their king and country, in all offices of civil trust, and would perform their duty with all chearfulness, did they not scruple to receive the sacrament after the usage of the church of England, or to prostitute a sacred and religious institution, as a qualification for a civil employment. I can see no inconvenience either to Church or State, if his Majesty, as the common father of his people, should have the service of all his subjects who are willing to swear allegiance to his royal person and government ; to renounce all foreign jurisdiction, and to give all reasonable security not to disturb the Church of England, or any of their fellow subjects, in the peaceable enjoyment of their religious and civil rights and properties. Besides,

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the removing this grievance would do honour to the Church of England it self, by obviating the charge of imposition, and by relieving the clergy from a part of their work, which has given some of them very great uneasiness : but I am chiefly concerned for the honour of religion and publick virtue, which is wounded hereby in the house of its friends. If therefore (as some conceive) the sacramental test be a national blemish, I humbly conceive, with all due submission, the removal of it would be a publick blessing.

The protestant non-conformists observe with pleasure the right reverend fathers of the church owning the cause of religious liberty, “ That private judgment
“ ought to be formed upon examination, and that religion is a free and unforced thing.” And we sincerely join with the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, in the preface to his excellent vindication of the miracles of our blessed Saviour, “ in congratulating our country on the enjoyment of their civil and ecclesiastical liberties within their just and reasonable bounds, as the most valuable blessings;” though we are not fully satisfied with the reasonableness of those bounds his lordship has fixed. God forbid ! that any among us should be patrons of open profaneness, irreligion, scurrility, or ill manners to the established religion of the nation ; much less that we should countenance any who blasphemously revile the founder of it, or who deride whatsoever is sacred. No, we have a fervent zeal for the honour of our Lord and Master, and are desirous to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints with all sorts of spiritual weapons ; but we do not yet see a necessity of stopping the mouths of the adversaries of our holy religion with fines and imprisonments, even though to their own infamy and shame they treat it with indecency : Let scandal and ill manners be punished as it deserves, but let not men be terrified from speaking out their doubts, or proposing their objections against the Gospel Revelation, which we are sure will bear a thorough examination ; and though the late ungenerous

rous attacks upon the miracles of our blessed Saviour, may have had an ill influence upon the giddy and unthinking youth of the age, they have given occasion to the publishing such a number of incomparable defences of christianity, as have confirmed the faith of many, and must satisfy the minds of all reasonable enquirers after truth.

Pref. p. 8.

Nor do we think it right to fix the boundaries of religious liberty upon the degree of people's differing from the national establishment, because Enthusiasts or Jews have an equal right with Christians to worship God in their own way ; to defend their own peculiar doctrines, and to enjoy the publick protection, as long as they keep the peace, and maintain no principles manifestly inconsistent with the safety of the government they live under.

Ibid. p. 9.

But his Lordship apprehends he has a chain of demonstrable Propositions to maintain his Boundaries; he observes, " 1. That the true ends of government " require the establishment of some Religion." By which, if no more be meant than that civil government can't subsist without Religion, no reasonable man will dispute it. " 2. That open impiety, or a " publick opposition made to, and an avowed con- " tempt of the established religion, which is a consi- " derable part of the constitution, do greatly promote " the disturbance of the publick peace, and naturally " tend to the subversion of the whole constitution."

'Tis here supposed that one particular religion must be incorporated into the constitution, which is not necessary to the ends of government ; for religion and civil government are distinct things, and stand upon a separate basis. Religion in general is the support of civil government, and 'tis the office of the civil magistrate to protect all his dutiful and loyal subjects in the free exercise of their religion ; but to incorporate one particular religion into the constitution, so as to make it part of the common law, and to conclude from thence, that the constitution having a right to preserve itself, may make laws for the punishment of those that
publickly

Ibid. p. 10.

publickly oppose any one branch of it, is to put an effectual stop to the progress of the reformation throughout the whole christian world; for by this reasoning our first reformers must be condemned; and if a subject of France, or the Ecclesiastical state should at this time write against the usurped power of the Pope; or expose the absurdities of transubstantiation, adoration of the host, worshipping of images, &c. it would be laudable for the legislative powers of those countries to send the Writer to the galleys or shut him up in a dungeon, as a disturber of the publick peace, because Popery is supported by law, and is a very considerable part of their constitution.

But to support the government's right to enact penal laws against those that oppose the established religion, his lordship is pleas'd to refer us to the edicts of the first christian emperors out of the Codex Theodosianus, composed in the 5th Century, which acquaints us with the sentiments of that and the preceding age; but says nothing of the doctrine of scripture, or of the practice of the church for 300 years before the empire became christian. His lordship then subjoins sundry passages out of a sermon of archbishop Tillotson, whom he justly ranks among the greatest of the moderns. But it ought to be remember'd, that this sermon was preached at Court in the year 1680. when the nation was in imminent danger from the popish plot. His lordship should also have acquainted his readers with the archbishop's cautious introduction, which is this; "I cannot think
 " (till I be better informed, which I am always ready
 " to be) that any pretence of conscience warrants any
 " man that cannot work miracles, to draw men off
 " from the established religion of a nation, nor openly
 " to make proselytes to his own religion, in contempt
 " of the magistrate and the law, though he is never so
 " sure he is in the right." This proposition, though pointed at the popish missionaries in England at that time, is not only inconsistent with the Protestant Reformation (as I observed before) but must effectually prevent the propagating of christianity among the idolatrous

Abp. Tillot.
 Works,
 Vol. I. Fol.
 p. 320, 321.

latrous nations of the eastern and western Indians without a new power of working miracles, which we have no ground to expect ; and I may venture to assure his lordship and the world, that the good archbishop lived to see his mistake ; and could name the learned person to whom he frankly confessed it after some hours conversation upon the subject : but human authorities are of little weight in points of reason and speculation.

It was from this mistaken principle that the government prei's'd so hard upon those Puritans whose history is now before the reader ; in which he will observe how the transferring the supremacy from the Pope to the King, united the church and state into one body under under one head, insomuch that writing against the church was construed by the judges in Westminster-hall, a seditious libelling the Queen's government, and was punished with exorbitant fines, imprisonment and death. He will observe further, the rise and progress of the penal laws ; the extent of the regal supremacy in those times ; the deplorable ignorance of the clergy ; with the opposite principles of our Church reformers, and of the Puritans, which I have set in a true light, and have pursued the controversy as an historian in its several branches, to the end of the long reign of Queen Elizabeth ; to all which I have added some short remarks of my own, which the reader will receive according to their evidence. And because the principles of the Scots Reformers were much the same with those of the English Puritans, and the imposing a Liturgy and Bishops upon them gave rise to the confusions of the next age, I have inserted a short account of their religious establishment ; and have enlivened the whole with the lives and characters of the principal Puritans of those times.

A history of this kind was long expected from the late reverend and learned Dr. John Evans, who had for some years been collecting materials for this purpose, and had he lived to perfect his design, would have done it to much greater advantage ; but I have seen none of his papers, and am informed, that there is but
a very

a very small matter capable of being put in order for the press. Upon his decease I found it necessary to undertake this province, to bring the history forward to those times when the Puritans had the power in their own hands; in examining into which I have spent my leisure hours for some years; but the publishing those collections will depend, under God, upon the continuance of my health, and the acceptance this meets with in the world.

I am not so vain as to expect to escape the censures of criticks, nor the reproaches of angry men, who while they do nothing themselves, take pleasure in exposing the labours of others in pamphlets and news-papers; but as I shall be always thankful to any that will convince me of my mistakes in a friendly manner, the others may be secure of enjoying the satisfaction of their satyrical remarks without any disturbance from me.

I have endeavoured to acquaint myself thoroughly with the times of which I write; and as I have no expectations from any party of christians, I am under no temptation to disguise their conduct. I have cited my authorities in the margin, and flatter myself that I have had the opportunity of bringing many things to light relating to the sufferings of the Puritans, and the state of the Reformation in those times, which have hitherto been unknown to the world, chiefly by the assistance of a large manuscript collection of papers faithfully transcribed from their originals in the university of Cambridge, by a person of character employed for that purpose, and generously communicated to me by my ingenious and learned friend Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor; for which I take this opportunity of returning him my own, and the thanks of the publick. Among the ecclesiastical historians of these times, Mr. Fuller, Bishop Burnet, and Mr. Strype are the chief; the last of whom has searched into the records of the English Reformation more than any man of the age; Dr. Heylin and Collyer are of more suspected authority, not so much for their party principles, as because the former never gives us his vouchers, and yet the latter follows him blindly in all things.

Upon

Upon the whole, I have endeavoured to keep in view the honesty and gravity of an historian, and have said nothing with a design to exasperate or widen the differences among Christians; for as I am a sincere admirer of the doctrines of the New Testament, I would have an equal regard to its most excellent precepts, of which these are some of the capital, That we love one another; that we forgive offences; that we bear one anothers infirmities, and even bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us. If this spirit and temper were more prevalent, the lives of christians would throw a bright lustre upon the truth and excellency of their divine faith, and convince the atheists and infidels of the age, more than all their arguments can do without it.

I would earnestly recommend this temper to the Protestant Non-conformists of the present age, together with an holy emulation of each other in undissembled piety and sanctity of life, that while they are reading the heavy and grievous sufferings of their ancestors from ecclesiastical Commissions, spiritual Courts, and penal Laws, for Conscience sake, they may be excited to an humble adoration of divine Providence which has delivered them so far from the yoke of oppression; to a detestation of all persecuting principles; and to a loyal and dutiful behaviour to the best of Kings, under whose mild and just government they are secure of their civil and religious liberties. And may Protestants of all persuasions improve in the knowledge and love of the truth, and in sentiments of christian charity and forbearance toward each other, that being at peace among themselves, they may with greater success bend their united forces against the common enemies of Christianity!

DANIEL NEAL.

London,
Feb. 1st. 1731-2.


T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

The Reign of HENRY VIII.

ING William the Conqueror having got possession of the crown of England, by the assistance of the see of Rome; and King John having afterwards sold it, in his wars with the barons, the rights and privileges of the English Clergy were delivered up into the hands of the Pope, who taxed them at his pleasure, and in process of time drained the Kingdom of immense treasures; for besides all his other dues, arising from Annates, First Fruits, Peter Pence, &c. he extorted large Sums of Money from the Clergy for their preferments in the Church. He advanced Foreigners to the richest bishopricks, who never resided in their dioceses, nor so much as set foot upon English ground, but sent for all their profits to a foreign country; nay, so covetous was his Holiness, that before Livings became void, he sold them provisionally

State of religion before the reformation.

VOL. I. B among

Burnet's
Hist. Ref.
Vol. I.
p. 107.
Statute of
Provisor's,
An. 1350.

among his Italians, infomuch, that neither the King nor the Clergy, had any thing to dispose of, but every thing was bargain'd for before-hand at Rome. This awaken'd the resentments of the legislature, who in the 25th year of King Edward III. pass'd an Act, called the Statute of Provisor's, whereby it is enacted, " that the King, and other Lords, " shall present unto benefices of their own, or their ancestor's foundation, and not the bishop of Rome. That " all forestalling of benefices to foreigners shall cease; and " that the free elections, presentments, and collations of " benefices, shall stand in right of the crown, or of any of " his Majesty's subjects, as they had formerly enjoyed them, " notwithstanding any Provisions from Rome.

But still the power of the court of Rome ran very high, for they brought all the trials of titles to advowsons, into their own courts beyond Sea, and though by the 7th of Richard II. the power of nomination to benefices, without the King's licence, was taken from them, they still claim'd the benefit of confirmations, of translations of bishops, and of excommunications; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York might still by virtue of bulls from Rome, assemble the Clergy of their several provinces, at what time and place they thought fit, without leave obtained from the crown; and all the canons and constitutions concluded upon in those synods were binding, without any farther ratification from the King; so that the power of the Church was independent of the civil government. This being represented to the parliament of the 16th of Richard II. they passed the Statute commonly called PRÆMUNIRE, by which it was enacted, " That if any of the Clergy did purchase translations to benefices, processes, sentences of excommunication, bulls, or any other instruments from the court " of Rome, against the King or his crown; or whoever " brought them into England, or did receive or execute " them, they were declared to be out of the King's protection, and should forfeit their goods and chattles to " the King, and their persons be imprison'd." From this time the Archbishops called no more convocations by their sole authority, but by licence from the King; their synods being formed by a writ or precept from the crown, directed to the Archbishops, to assemble their Clergy, in order to consult upon such affairs as his Majesty should lay before them. But still their canons were binding, tho' confirm'd by no authority but their own, till the act of supremacy took place.

Statute of
Præmunire.
An. 1393.
cap. 5.

Fuller's
Ch. History,
p. 190.

About

About this time flourished the famous John Wickliffe, the morning-star of the Reformation. He was born at Wickliffe, near Richmond in Yorkshire, about the year 1324, and was educated in Queen's College, Oxford, where he was Divinity Professor, and afterwards Parson of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. He flourished in the latter end of the reign of King Edward III. and the beginning of Richard II. about one hundred and thirty years before the Reformation of Luther. The University gave this testimonial of him after his death, "That from his youth to the time of his death, his conversation was so praiseworthy, that there was never any spot, or suspicion notified of him; that in his reading and preaching he behaved like a stout and valiant champion of the faith; and that he had written in Logick, Philosophy, Divinity, Morality, and the speculative Arts, without an equal." While he was Divinity Professor at Oxford, he published certain conclusions, "against Transubstantiation, and against the infallibility of the Pope; that the Church of Rome was not the head of all other Churches; nor had St. Peter the power of the keys, any more than the rest of the Apostles: that the New Testament, or Gospel, is a perfect rule of life and manners, and ought to be read by the people." He maintained further, most of those Points by which the PURITANS were afterwards distinguished; as, that in the Sacrament of Orders there ought to be but two degrees, Presbyters, or Bishops and Deacons; that all human traditions are superfluous and sinful; that we must practise and teach only, the laws of Christ; that mystical and significant ceremonies in religious worship are unlawful; and, that to restrain men to a prescribed form of prayer, is contrary to the liberty granted them by God. These, with some other of Wickliffe's doctrines, against the temporal grandeur of the Prelates, and their usurped authority, were sent to Rome, and condemned by Pope Gregory XI. in a consistory of twenty three Cardinals, in the year 1378, but the Pope dying soon after put a stop to the Process. Urban, his Successor, writ to young King Richard II. and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and University of Oxford, to put a stop to the progress of Wickliffism; accordingly, Wickliffe was cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brethren the Prelates, several times, but was always dismissed, either by the interest of the citizens of London, or the powerful interposition of some great Lords at Court, or some other uncommon providence,

Life and writings of John Wickliffe.

Fox's Martyrol.
Pierce's vindicat. p. 3, 4.

which terrified the Bishops from passing a peremptory sentence against him for a considerable time; but at length his new doctrines (as they were called) were condemned in a convocation of Bishops, Doctors, and Batchelors, held at London by the commandment of the Archbishop of Canterbury 1382, and he was deprived of his Professorship, his books and writings were ordered to be burned, and himself to be imprisoned, but he kept out of the way, and in the time of his retirement writ a confession of his faith to the Pope, in which he declares himself willing to maintain his opinions at Rome, if God had not otherwise visited him with sickness, and other infirmities: But it was well for this good man that there were two Anti-Popes at this time at war with each other, one at Rome, and the other at Avignon. In England also there was a minority, and after some time a controversy arose between the Houses of York and Lancaster, about the right of succession to the Crown, which was favourable to Wickliffe, insomuch that he ventured out of his retirement, and returned to his parish at Lutterworth, where he quietly departed this life in the year 1384. This Wickliffe was a wonderful man for the times in which he lived, which were overspread with the thickest darkness of antichristian idolatry; he was the first that translated the New Testament into English; but the Art of Printing not being then found out, it hardly escaped the inquisition of the Prelates, at least it was very scarce when Tyndal translated it a second time 1527. He preached and published the very same doctrines for substance that afterwards obtained at the Reformation; he writ near two hundred volumes, all which were called in, condemned, and ordered to be burned together with his bones by the Council of Constance, in the year 1425, forty one years after his death; but his doctrine remained, and the number of his disciples who were distinguished by the name of Lollards encreased after his decease, which gave occasion to the making sundry other severe laws against hereticks.

Rise of penal
laws against
hereticks.

The Clergy made their advantage of the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster; both parties courting their assistance, which they did not fail to make use of for the support of the Catholick Faith, (as they called it) and the advancement of their spiritual tyranny over the consciences of men. In the primitive times there were no capital proceedings against hereticks, the weapons of the Church being only spiritual; but when it was found
that

that ecclesiastical Censures were not sufficient to keep men in a blind subjection to the Pope, a Decree was obtained in the fourth Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215. "That all hereticks should be delivered over to the civil magistrate to be burned." Here was the spring of that anti-christian tyranny and oppression of the consciences of men, which has since been attended with a sea of christian blood: The Papists learned it from the heathen Emperors; and the most zealous Protestants of all Nations have taken it up from them. Conscience can't be convinced by fines and imprisonments, or by fire and faggot; all attempts of this kind serve only to make men hypocrites, and are deservedly branded with the name of Persecution. There was no occasion for putting these sanguinary laws in execution among us till the latter end of the fourteenth Century; but when the Lollards, or followers of Wickliffe threatened the Papal Power, the Clergy brought this Italian Drug from Rome, and planted it in the Church of England.

In the 5th year of Richard II. it was enacted, "That all that preached without licence against the Catholick Faith, or against the laws of the land, should be arrested, and kept in prison, till they justified themselves according to the law and reason of holy Church. Their commitment was to be by writ from the Chancellor, who was to issue forth Commissions to the Sheriffs, and other the King's Ministers, after the Bishops had returned the names of the delinquents into the Court of Chancery."

Statute
Rich. 2.
cap. 5.
1382.

When Richard II. was deposed, and the Crown usurped by Henry IV. in order to gain the good will of the Clergy, it was further enacted, in the second year of his reign, "that if any persons were suspected of heresy, the ordinary might detain them in prison till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their Errors; provided always, that the proceedings against them were publickly and judicially ended within three months. If they were convicted, the Diocesan, or his Commissary, might imprison and fine them at discretion. Those that refused to abjure their errors, or after abjuration relapsed, were to be delivered over to the secular power, and the Mayors, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs, were to be present, (if required) when the Bishop, or his Commissary passed sentence, and after sentence they were to receive them, and in some high place burn them to death before the people." By this law the King's subjects were put from under his

Statute
Henry 4.
cap. 15.
1400.

protection, and left to the mercy of the Bishops in their spiritual courts, and might, upon suspicion of heresy, be imprisoned and put to death, without presentment, or trial by a jury, as is the practice in all other criminal cases.

Statute
Henry 5.
cap. 7.
1414.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry V. who was a martial Prince, a new law passed against the Lollards, or Wickliffites, "that they should forfeit all the lands they had in fee simple, and all their goods and chattles to the King. All State Officers, at their entrance into office, were sworn to use their best endeavours to discover them; and to assist the ordinaries in prosecuting and convicting them." I find no mention in any of these acts, of a writ or warrant from the King, *de Hæretico comburendo*; the Sheriff might proceed to the burning of hereticks without it; but it seems the King's learned Council advised him to issue out a writ of this kind to the Sheriff, by which his Majesty took them, in some sort, under his protection again; but it was not as yet necessary by law, nor are there any of them to be found in the Rolls, before the reign of King Henry VIII.

By virtue of these Statutes the Clergy, according to the Genius of the Popish Religion, exercised numberless cruelties upon the people. If any man denied them any degree of respect, or any of those profits they pretended was their due, he was immediately suspected of heresy, imprisoned, and it may be put to death; of which some hundreds of examples are upon record.

King Henry
VIII's birth
and character.

Thus stood the laws with respect to religion, when King Henry VIII. second son of King Henry VII. came to the crown; he was born in the year 1491, and bred a scholar: He understood the purity of the Latin tongue, and was well acquainted with school divinity. No sort of flattery pleased him better than to have his wisdom and learning commended. In the beginning of his reign he was a most obedient son of the Papacy, and employed his talents in writing against Luther in defence of the seven Sacraments of the Church. This book was magnified by the Clergy as the most learned performance of the age; and upon presenting it to the Pope, his Holiness conferred upon the King of England and his successors, the glorious title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH: It was voted in full consistory, and signed by twenty seven Cardinals, in the year 1521.

At

At the same time Cardinal Woolsey, the King's favourite, exercised a sovereign power over the whole Clergy and people of England in spiritual matters; he was made Legate in the year 1519, and accepted of a bull from the Pope, contrary to the statute of Præmunire, empowering him to superintend and correct what he thought amiss in both the provinces of Canterbury and York; and to appoint all officers in the Spiritual Courts. The King also granted him a full power of disposing of all ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the Crown; with a visitatorial power over Monasteries, Colleges, and all his Clergy, exempt or not exempt. By virtue of these vast powers a new court of justice was erected, called the Legate's Court, the jurisdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conscience, and numberless rapines and extortions were committed by it under colour of reforming mens manners; all which his Majesty connived at out of zeal to the Church.

King
Hen. VIII.
1527.

Cardinal
Woolsey's
legantine
power.

Burnet's
Hist. Ref.
p. 8.

But at length the King being weary of his Queen Katharine, after he had lived with her almost twenty years, or being troubled in conscience because he had married his brother's wife, and the legitimacy of his daughter had been called in question by some foreign Princes, he first separated from her bed, and then moved the Pope for a divorce; but the Court of Rome having held his Majesty in suspense for two or three years for fear of offending the Emperor the Queen's nephew, the impatient King by the advice of Doctor Cranmer appealed to the principal Universities of Europe, and desired their opinions upon these two questions.

King moves
for a divorce
from his
Queen.

1530.

1. "Whether it was agreeable to the law of God for a man to marry his brother's wife.

2. "Whether the Pope could dispense with the law of God?

All the Universities, and most of the learned men of Europe both Lutherans and Papists, except those at Rome, declared for the negative of the two questions. The King laid their determinations before the Parliament and Convocation who agreed with the foreign Universities. In the Convocation of English Clergy, 253 were for the divorce, and but 19 against it. Sundry learned books were writ for and against the lawfulness of the marriage; one party being encouraged by the King, and the other by the Pope and Emperor. The Pope cited the King to Rome, but his Majesty ordered the Earl of Wiltshire to protest against

King
Hen. VIII.
1530.

the citation as contrary to the prerogative of his Crown; and sent a letter signed by the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, 4 Bishops, 2 Dukes, 2 Marquises, 13 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 23 Barons, 22 Abbots, and 11 Commoners, exhorting his Holiness to confirm the judgment of the learned men, and of the Universities of Europe by annulling his marriage, or else he should be obliged to take other measures. But the Pope in his answer, after having acknowledged his Majesty's favours, told him that the Queen's appeal and avocation of the cause to Rome must be granted. The King seeing himself abused, and that the affair of his marriage which had been already determined by the most learned men in Europe, and had been argued before the Legates Campegio and Woolsey must commence again, began to suspect Woolsey's sincerity; upon which his Majesty sent for the seals from him, and soon after commanded his Attorney General to put in an information against him in the King's-Bench, because that notwithstanding the Statute of Richard II. against procuring bulls from Rome under the pains of a Præmunire, he had received Bulls for his Legantine Power, which for many years he had executed. The Cardinal pleaded ignorance of the Statute, and submitted to the King's mercy; upon which he was declared to be out of the King's protection, to have forfeited his goods and chattles, and that his person might be seized. The haughty Cardinal not knowing how to bear his disgrace, soon after fell sick and died, declaring, "That if he had served God as well as he had done his Prince, he would not have given him over in his gray hairs."

King breaks
with the
Pope.

But the King not satisfied with his resentments against the Cardinal, resolved to be revenged on the Pope himself, and accordingly September 19th, a week before the Cardinal's death, he published a proclamation forbidding all Persons to purchase any thing from Rome under the severest penalties; and resolved to annex the ecclesiastical Supremacy to his own Crown for the future. It was easy to foresee that the Clergy would startle at the King's assuming to himself the Pope's Supremacy, but his Majesty had them at his Mercy, for they having acknowledged Cardinal Woolsey's Legantine power, and submitted to his jurisdiction, his Majesty caused an indictment to be preferred against them in Westminster-hall, and obtained judgment upon the Statute of Præmunire, whereby the whole Body of the Clergy were declared to be out of the King's protection, and to have forfeited all their goods and chattles.

In

In this condition they were glad to submit upon the best terms they could get, but the King would not pardon them but upon these two conditions, (1.) That the two provinces of Canterbury and York should pay into the Exchequer 118840*l.* a vast sum of money in these times, (2.) That they should yield his Majesty the title of "sole and supreme Head of the Church of England," next and immediately under Christ. The former they readily complied with, and promised for the future never to assemble in Convocation but by the King's writ; nor to make or execute any canons or constitutions without his Majesty's licence: But to acknowledge a Layman to be supreme head of an ecclesiastical Body, was such an absurdity, in their opinion, and so inconsistent with their allegiance to the Pope, that they could not yield to it without an additional clause, "As far as is agreeable to the laws of Christ." The King accepted it with the clause for the present, but a year or two after obtained the confirmation of it in Parliament and Convocation without the clause.

King
Hen. VIII.
1531.

The Substance of the Act of Supremacy is as follows,
 "albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is, and
 "ought to be supreme head of the Church of England,
 "and is so recognized by the Clergy of this Realm in their
 "convocations, yet nevertheless, for confirmation and cor-
 "roboration thereof, and for increase of vertue in Christ's
 "religion, within this realm of England, &c. Be it en-
 "acted by the authority of this present Parliament, that
 "the King, our sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors,
 "Kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and
 "reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church
 "of England; and shall have and enjoy, annexed and
 "united to the Imperial crown of this realm, as well the
 "title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, immu-
 "nities, profits and commodities, to the said dignity of
 "supreme head of the said Church belonging and apper-
 "taining; and that our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and
 "successors Kings of this realm, shall have full power
 "and authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, order,
 "correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies,
 "abuses, contempts, and enormities whatsoever they be,
 "which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdic-
 "tion, ought or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, or-
 "dered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended,
 "most to the pleasure of Almighty God, and encrease of
 "vertue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of
 "peace,

Act of Su-
premacy.
26 Hen. 8.
cap. 1.

King
Hen. VIII.
1533.

“ peace, unity and tranquillity of this Realm, any usage,
“ custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescripti-
“ on, or any thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding.”

Here was the rise of the Reformation. The whole power of reforming heresies and errors in doctrine and worship was transferred from the Pope to the King, without any regard to the rights of synods or councils of the Clergy ; and without a reserve of liberty to such consciences as could not comply with the publick standard. This was undoubtedly a change for the better, but is far from being consonant to scripture or reason.

Against
Appeals.
24 Hen. 8.
cap. 12.

The Parliament had already forbid all appeals to the court of Rome, in causes testamentary, matrimonial, and in all disputes concerning divorces, tithes, oblations, &c. under penalty of a *Præmunire* ; and were now voting away Annates and First Fruits ; and providing, “ That in case the
“ Pope denied his Bulls for electing or consecrating Bi-
“ shops, it should be done without them by the Archbi-
“ shop of the province ; that an Archbishop might be
“ consecrated by any two Bishops whom the King should
“ appoint ; and being so consecrated should enjoy all the
“ rights of his See, any law or custom to the contrary not-
“ withstanding.” All which Acts passed both houses without any considerable opposition. Thus, while the Pope stood trifling about a contested marriage, the King and Parliament took away all his profits, revenues, and authority, in the Church of England.

King's Di-
vorce.

His Majesty having now waited six years for a determination of his marriage from the court of Rome, and being now himself Head of the Church of England, commanded Dr. Cranmer lately consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury to call a court of Canonists and Divines, and proceed to Judgment. Accordingly his Grace summoned Queen Katharine to appear at Dunstable near the Place where she resided, in Person or by proxy on the 20th of May, 1533. but her Majesty refused to appear adhering to her appeal to the Court of Rome ; upon which the Archbishop by advice of the Court, declared her Contumax, and on the 23d of the same month pronounced the King's marriage with her null and void, as being contrary to the laws of God. Soon after which his Majesty married Anne Bullen, and procured an Act of Parliament, for settling the crown upon the heirs of her body, which all his subjects were obliged to swear to.

There

There was a remarkable appearance of divine providence in this affair; for the French King had prevailed with the King of England, to refer his cause once more to the Court of Rome, upon assurances given, that the Pope should decide it in his Majesty's favour within a limited time; the Pope consented, and fixed a time for the return of the King's answer, but the courier not arriving upon the very day, the Imperialists who dreaded an alliance between the Pope and King of England, perswaded his Holiness to give Sentence against him, and accordingly March 23d, the marriage was declared good, and the King was required to take his wife again, otherwise the censures of the Church were to be denounced against him. Two days after this the courier arrived from England with the King's submission under his hand in due form, but it was then too late, it being hardly decent for the Infallible Chair to revoke its decrees in so short a time. Such was the crisis of the reformation!

King
Hen. VIII.
1533.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 89.

The Pope having decided against the King, his Majesty determined to take away all his profits and authority over the Church of England at once; accordingly a bill was brought into the Parliament then sitting, and passed without any protestation, by which it is enacted, "That all payments made to the Apostolick Chamber, and all provisions, bulls, or dispensations, should from thenceforth cease; and that all dispensations or licences, for things not contrary to the law of God should be granted without in the Kingdom under the Seals of the two Archbishops in their several provinces. The Pope was to have no further concern in the nomination or Confirmation of Bishops, which were appointed to be chosen by Conge de Elire from the Crown, as at present. Peter Pence, and all procurations from Rome were abolished. Moreover, all religious houses, exempt or not exempt, were to be subject to the Archbishops visitation, except some Monasteries and Abbies which were to be subject to the King." Most of the Bishops voted against this bill, but all but one set their hands to it after it was passed, according to the custom of those times. Thus the Church of England became independent of the Pope, and all foreign jurisdiction.

Pope's Authority over
the Ch. of
England
taken away.
25 H. 8.
cap. 20, 21.

Complaints being daily made of the severe proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts against Hereticks, the Parliament took this matter into consideration, and repealed the Act of the 2d of Henry IV. abovementioned, but left the Statutes

Laws against
Hereticks
repealed.
25 H. 8.
cap. 14.

tutes

King
Hen. VIII.
1534.

tutes of Richard II. and Henry V. in full force, with this qualification, that Hereticks should be proceeded against upon presentments by two witnesses at least; that they should be brought to answer in open Court, and if they were found guilty and would not abjure, or were relapsed, they should be adjudged to death, the King's writ de Hæretico comburendo being first obtained. By this Act the ecclesiastical Courts were limited; Hereticks being now to be tried according to the forms of law, as in other cases.

Clergy's
Submission.

Towards the latter end of this Session the Clergy, assembled in Convocation, sent up their submission to the King to be passed in Parliament, which was done accordingly: The contents were, "That the Clergy acknowledged all Convocations ought to be assembled by the King's writ; and promised, in verbo sacerdotii, that they would never make nor execute any new Canons or constitutions without the Royal assent; and, since many canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the King's prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and heavy to the subjects, that therefore there should be a Committee of 32 Persons, 16 of the two houses of Parliament, and as many of the Clergy, to be named by the King, who should have full power to revise the old canons, and to abrogate, confirm, or alter them as they found expedient, the King's assent being obtained." This submission was confirmed by Parliament; and by the same Act all appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any parties found themselves aggrieved in the Archbishop's Courts, an appeal might be made to the King in the Court of Chancery, and the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission under the great Seal for a hearing before Delegates, whose determination should be final. All exempted Abbots were also to appeal to the King; and the Act concluded with a proviso, "That till such correction of the canons was made, all those which were then received should remain in force, except such as were contrary to the laws and customs of the Realm, or were to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative." Upon the proviso of this Act all the proceedings of the Commons, and other spiritual Courts are founded; for the canons not being corrected to this day, the old ones are in force with the exceptions abovementioned; and this proviso is probably the reason why the canons were not corrected in the following reigns, for now it lies in the breast

Act for re-
vising the
Canons.
25 H. 8.
cap. 19.

breast of the judges to declare what canons are contrary to the laws, or rights of the Crown, which is more for the King's prerogative, than to make a Collection of ecclesiastical laws which should be fixed and immoveable.

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Before the Parliament broke up they gave the Annates or first Fruits of benefices, and the yearly Revenue of the tenth Part of all livings which had been taken from the Pope last year, to the King. This displeased the Clergy who were in hopes of being freed from that Burthen; but they were mistaken, for by the 32d of Henry VIII. cap. 45. a Court of Record is ordered to be erected, called the Court of the first Fruits and tenths, for the levying and Government of the said First Fruits for ever.

The Session being ended, Commissioners were sent over the Kingdom, to administer the oath of succession to all his Majesty's subjects, according to a late Act of Parliament, by which it appears that besides renewing their Allegiance to the King, and acknowledging him to be Head of the Church, they declared upon oath "the lawfulness of his marriage with Queen Anne, and that they would be true to the issue begotten in it. That the Bishop of Rome had no more Power than any other Bishop in his own Diocese; that they would submit to all the King's laws, notwithstanding the Pope's censures; that in their prayers they would pray first for the King as supreme Head of the Church of England; then for the Queen [Anne] then for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other ranks of the Clergy." Only Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More Lord Chancellor refused to take the oath, for which they afterwards lost their lives.

Oath of Succession and Supremacy.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. I.
p. 155.

The separation of the Church of England from Rome contributed something towards the Reformation of its doctrines, though the body of the inferior Clergy were as stiff for their old opinions as ever, being countenanced and supported by the Duke of Norfolk, by the Lord Chancellor More, by Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Fisher of Rochester; but some of the Nobility and Bishops were for a further Reformation: Among these were the new Queen, Lord Cromwel afterwards Earl of Essex, Dr. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester. As these were more or less in favour with the King, the Reformation of religion went forwards or backwards throughout the whole course of his reign.

Reformation
of its Doctrine.

The

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Books printed.

Supplication
of the Beggars.

Answered
with Severities.

Hist. Ref.
p. 167.

The progress of the Reformation in Germany, by the preaching of Luther, Melancton, and others, with the number of books that were published, in those parts, some of which were translated into English, revived learning, and raised people's curiosities to look into the state of religion here at home. One of the first books that was published, was the translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, printed at Antwerp, 1527. The next was the Supplication of the Beggars, by Simon Frith of Grays Inn, 1529. It was levelled against the Begging Friars, and complains that the common poor were ready to starve, because the alms of the people were intercepted by great companies of lusty idle Friars who were able to work, and were a burthen to the Commonwealth. More and Fisher answered the book, endeavouring to move the peoples passions, by representing the supplications of the souls in Purgatory which were relieved by the Masses of these Friars. But the strength of their arguments lay in the sword of the magistrate, which was now in their hands; for while these gentlemen were in power the Clergy made sad havock among those people who were seeking after christian knowledge: Some were cited into the Bishops courts for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; some for reading forbidden books; some for speaking against the vices of the Clergy; some for not coming to confession and the Sacrament; and some for not observing the Church fasts; most of whom through fear of death did penance and were dismissed; but several of the Clergy refusing to abjure, or after abjuration falling into a relapse, suffered death. Among these were the reverend Mr. Hitton, Curate of Maidstone, burnt in Smithfield 1530, the reverend Mr. Bilney, burnt at Norwich 1531. Mr. Byfield a Monk of St. Edmondsbury, Mr. Bainham of the Temple, besides two men and a woman at York. In the year 1533. Mr. John Frith, an excellent scholar of the university of Combridge, was burnt in Smithfield, with one Hewet a poor apprentice, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but upon the rupture between the King and Pope, and the repeal of the Act of King Henry IV. against Hereticks, the wings of the Clergy were clipped, and a stop put to their cruelties for a time.

None were more averſe to the Reformation than the Monks and Friars: Theſe ſpoke openly againſt the King's proceedings, exciting the people to rebellion, and endeavouring to embroil his affairs with foreign princes; the King therefore reſolved to humble them, and for this purpoſe appointed a general viſitation of the Monafteries, the management of which was committed to the Lord Cromwel, with the title of Viſitor General, who appointed other commiſſioners under him, and gave them injunctions and articles of enquiry. Upon this ſeveral Abbots and Priors to prevent a ſcrutiny into their conduct, voluntarily ſurrender'd their houſes into the King's hands; others upon examination appear'd guilty of the greateſt frauds and impositions on the ſimplicity of the people: Many of their pretended relicks were expoſed and deſtroyed, as the Virgin Mary's Milk ſhewed in eight places; the Coals that roaſted St. Lawrence; an Angel with one Wing that brought over the head of the ſpear that pierced our Saviour's ſide; the Rood of Grace, which was ſo contrived, that the eyes and lips might move upon occaſion; with many others. The images of a great many pretended ſaints were taken down and burnt, and all the rich offerings made at their ſhrines were ſeized for the crown, which brought an immense treaſure into the Exchequer.

King
Hen. VIII.
1535.
Monafteries
viſited.

Upon the report of the Viſitors the Parliament conſented to the ſuppreſſing of the leſſer Monafteries under 200 l. a year value, and gave them to the King, to the number of 376. Their rents amounted to about 32000 l. per ann. their plate, jewels and furniture to about 100000 l. The Churches and Cloiſters were for the moſt part pulled down, and the lead and bells, and other materials ſold. A new court, called the Court of Augmentations of the King's Revenue was erected, to receive the rents, and to diſpoſe of the lands, and bring the profits into the Exchequer. Every religious perſon that was turned out of his Cell had 45 s. given him in money, of which number there were about 10000; and every governor had a penſion. But to eaſe the government of this charge, the Monks and Friars were put into benefices as faſt as they became vacant; by which means it came to paſs that the body of the inferior Clergy were diſguiſed Papiſts, and enemies of the Reformation.

Monafteries
ſuppreſſed.
1536.
Hiſt. Ref.
V. I. p. 223.
27 H. 8.
cap. 27, 28.

The leſſer religious houſes being diſſolved, the reſt followed in a few years: for in the years 1537 and 1539 the greater Abbies and Monafteries were broken up,

or

King
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1536.

Hist. Ref.
V. I. p. 300.

Their Reve-
nues.

Bible tran-
slated into
English.

or surrender'd to the Crown, to prevent an inquiry into their lives and manners. This raised a great clamour among the people, the Monks and Friars going up and down the country like beggars, clamouring at the injustice of the suppression. The King to quiet them gave back 15 Abbies and 16 Nunneries for perpetual alms; but several of the Abbots being convicted of plots and conspiracies against his government, his Majesty resumed his grants after two years; and obtained an Act of Parliament whereby he was empowered to erect sundry new Cathedral Churches and Bishopricks, and to endow them out of the profits of the religious houses. The King intended (says Bishop Burnet) to convert 18000 l. a year into a revenue for 18 Bishopricks and Cathedrals; but of them he only erected six (viz.) the Bishopricks of Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester and Bristol. This was the chief of what his Majesty did for Religion; which was but a small return of the immense sums that fell into his hands: For the clear rents of all the suppressed houses were cast up at One hundred thirty one thousand, six hundred and seven pounds, six shillings and four pence, per annum, as they were then rated; but were at least Ten times as much in value. Most of the Abbey lands were given away among the courtiers, or sold at easy rates to the gentry, to engage them by interest against the resumption of them to the Church. In the year 1545. the Parliament gave the King the Chauntries, Colleges, free Chapels, Hospitals, Fraternities and Guilds, with their Manors and Estates. Seventy manors and parks were alienated from the Archbishoprick of York, and twelve from Canterbury, and confirmed to the Crown. How easily might this King, with his immense revenues, have put an end to the being of Parliaments!

The translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, already mentioned, had a wonderful spread among the people; tho' the Bishops condemned it, and proceeded with the utmost severity against those that read it. They complained of it to the King; upon which his Majesty called it in by proclamation in the month of June 1530. and promised that a more correct translation should be published: But it was impossible to stop the curiosity of the people so long; for though the Bishops bought up, and burnt all they could meet with, the Testament was reprinted abroad and sent over to Merchants at London, who dispersed the copies privately among their acquaintance and friends.

At

At length it was moved in Convocation, that the whole Bible should be translated into English, and set up in Churches ; but most of the old clergy were against it. They said this would lay the foundation of innumerable Heresies, as it had done in Germany ; and that the people were not proper judges of the sense of Scripture : To which it was replied, that the Scriptures were writ at first in the vulgar tongue ; that our Saviour commanded his hearers " To search the Scriptures ;" and that it was necessary people should do so now, that they might be satisfied that the alterations the King had made in Religion were not contrary to the Word of God. These arguments prevailed with the majority to consent that a petition should be presented to the King, that his Majesty would please to give order about it.

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1536.

But the old Bishops were too much disinclined to move in it. The Reformers therefore were forced to have recourse to Mr. Tyndal's Bible, which had been printed at Hambourg 1532. and reprinted three or four years after by Grafton and Whitchurch. The translators were Tyndal, assisted by Miles Coverdale, and Mr. John Rogers the Protomartyr : The Apocrypha was done by Rogers, and some marginal notes were inserted to the whole which gave offence, and occasioned that Bible to be prohibited. But Archbishop Cranmer having now reviewed and corrected it, left out the prologue and notes, and added a preface of his own ; and because Tyndal was now put to death for an Heretick, his name was laid aside, and it was called Thomas Matthews's Bible, and by some Cranmer's Bible ; though it was no more than Tyndal's translation corrected. This Bible was allowed by authority, and eagerly read by all sorts of people.

The fall of Queen Anne Bullen, mother of Queen Elizabeth, was a great prejudice to the Reformation. She was a virtuous and pious lady, but airy and indiscreet in her behaviour : The popish party hated her for her Religion, and having awaken'd the King's jealousy, put him upon a nice observance of her carriage, by which she quickly fell under his Majesty's displeasure, who ordered her to be sent to the Tower, May 1. On the 15th of the same month she was tried by her Peers " For Incontinence, for a Pre-
" contract of Marriage, and for conspiring the King's
" Death ;" and though there was little or no evidence, the Lords found her guilty for fear of offending the King ; and four days after she was beheaded within the Tower, pro-

L. of Cran.
p. 59. 82.
Death of Q.
Anne Bul-
len.

King
Hen. VIII.
1536.
28 Hen. 8.
cap. 7.

testifying her innocence to the last. Soon after her execution the King called a Parliament, to set aside the Succession of the Lady Elizabeth her daughter, which was done, and the King was empowered to nominate his successor by his last will and testament; so that both his Majesty's daughters were now declared illegitimate: But the King having power to settle the succession as he pleased, in case of failure of male heirs, they were still in hopes, and quietly submitted to their father's pleasure.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
109.

Complaint being sent to court of the diversity of doctrines delivered in pulpits, the King sent a circular letter to all the Bishops, July 12th. forbidding all preaching till Michaelmas; by which time certain Articles of Religion most Catholick should be set forth: The King himself fram'd the Articles and sent them into Convocation, where they were agreed to by both Houses. An abstract of them will shew the state of the Reformation at this time.

Articles of
Religion de-
vised by the
King.

1. " All preachers were to instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three Creeds (viz.) the Apostles, the Nicene and Athanasian, and to interpret all things according to them.

2. " That Baptism was a sacrament instituted by Christ; that it was necessary to salvation; that infants were to be baptized for the pardon of Original Sin; and, that the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were detestable Heresies.

Hist. Ref.
p. 214.

3. " That Penance, that is, Contrition, Confession, and Amendment of Life, with Works of Charity, was necessary to Salvation; to which must be added Faith in the Mercy of God, that he will justify and pardon us, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by us, but for the only merits of the Blood and Passion of Jesus Christ; nevertheless, that Confession to a Priest was necessary if it might be had; and that the Absolution of a Priest was the same as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's words. That Auricular Confession was of use for the comfort of mens consciences. And though we are justified only by the Satisfaction of Christ, yet the people were to be instructed in the necessity of good Works.

4. " That in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Form of Bread and Wine, there was truly and substantially, the same Body of Christ that was born of the Virgin.

5. " That

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5. " That Justification signified the Remission of Sins,
" and a perfect Renovation of Nature in Christ.

6. " Concerning Images—that the use of them was
" warranted in Scripture; that they served to stir up De-
" votion; and that it was meet they should stand in
" Churches: But the people were to be taught, that in
" kneeling or worshipping before them they were not to do
" it to the image but to God.

7. " Concerning honouring of Saints, they were to be
" instructed not to expect those favours from them which
" are to be obtained only from God, but they were to ho-
" nour them, to praise God for them, and to imitate their
" Virtues.

8. " —For praying to Saints—That it was good to
" pray to them to pray for us and with us.

9. " Of Ceremonies. The people were to be taught
" that they were good and lawful; having mystical significa-
" tions in them; such were the vestments in the Worship
" of God, sprinkling holy water to put us in mind of our
" Baptism and the blood of Christ; giving holy bread in
" sign of our union to Christ; bearing candles on Candle-
" mas Day in remembrance of Christ the spiritual Light;
" giving ashes on Ash-wednesday, to put us in mind of
" penance and our Mortality; bearing palms on Palm-
" Sunday to shew our desire to receive Christ into our
" hearts as he entered into Jerusalem; creeping to the
" cross on Good-Friday, and kissing it in memory of his
" death; with the setting up of the sepulchre on that
" day, the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and
" benedictions.

Lastly, " As to Purgatory they were to declare it good
" and charitable to pray for Souls departed; but since the
" place they were in, and the pains they suffered were
" uncertain by scripture, they ought to remit them to
" God's mercy. Therefore all abuses of this doctrine
" were to be put away, and the people disengaged from
" believing that the Pope's pardons or masses said in cer-
" tain places, or before certain images, could deliver souls
" out of Purgatory."

These articles were signed by the Archbishop of Can-
terbury, 17 Bishops, 40 abbots and Priors, and 50 Arch-
deacons and Proctors of the lower house of Convocation:
They were published by the King's authority, with a pre-
face in his name requiring all his subjects to accept them,
which would encourage him to take farther pains for the

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honour of God and the welfare of his people. One sees here the dawn of the Reformation; the scriptures and the antient creeds are made the standards of Faith without the tradition of the Church or decrees of the Pope; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated; four of the seven Sacraments are passed over, and Purgatory is left doubtful. But Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, the worshipping of images and saints still remained.

Pope excom-
municates
the King.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. I.
P. 225.

The Court of Rome were not idle spectators of these proceedings; they threatened the King, and spirited up the Clergy to rebellion; and when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, the Pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against the whole Kingdom, depriving his Majesty of his crown and dignity, forbidding his subjects to obey him, and all foreign Princes to correspond with him; all his leagues with them were dissolved, and his own Clergy were commanded to depart the Kingdom, and his Nobility to rise in arms against him. The King laying hold of this opportunity called a Parliament, and obtained an act, requiring all his subjects under the pains of treason, to swear that the King was supreme head of the Church of England; and to strike terror into the popish party, three Priors and a Monk of the Carthusian order, and three Monks of the Charter-house, were executed as traitors, for "refusing the oath, and for saying, that the King was not supreme head under Christ of the Church of England;" but the two greatest sacrifices were John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor of England, who were both beheaded last year within a fortnight of each other. This quieted the people for a time; but soon after there was an insurrection in Lincolnshire of 20000 men, headed by a Churchman and directed by a Monk; but upon a proclamation of pardon they dispersed themselves: The same year there was another more formidable in the North, but after some time the rebels were defeated by the Duke of Norfolk, and the heads of them executed, among whom were divers Abbots and Priests. These commotions incensed the King against the religious houses, as nurseries of sedition, and made him resolve to suppress them all.

Occasions
Insurrections.

In the mean time his Majesty went on boldly against the Church of Rome, and published certain injunctions by his own Authority, to regulate the Behaviour of the Clergy. This was the first act of pure Supremacy done by the King; for in all that went before he had the concurrence

of

of the Convocation. The injunctions were to this purpose. King
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1. "That the Clergy should twice every quarter publish
"to the people, that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power
"had no foundation in scripture, but that the King's
"Supremacy was according to the laws of God. King's in-
junctions.

2, 3. "They were to publish the late articles of Faith
"set forth by the King; and likewise the King's proclamation
"for the abrogation of certain holidays in Harvest
"time.

4. "They were to dissuade the people from making
"pilgrimages to saints, and to exhort them to stay at
"home and mind their families, and keep God's com-
"mandments.

5. "They were to exhort them to teach their children
"the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and ten Commandments in
"English.

6. "They were to take care that the Sacraments were
"reverently administered in their Parishes.

7. "That the Clergy do not frequent taverns and ale-
"houses, nor sit long at games, but give themselves to the
"study of the Scriptures and a good life.

8. "Every beneficed person of 20 l. a year, that did
"not reside, was to pay the 4th part of his benefice to the
"poor.

9. "Every incumbent of 100 l. a year to maintain one
"Scholar at the University; and so many hundreds a year
"so many Scholars.

10. "The fifth part of the profits of livings to be
"given to the repair of the Vicarage house if it be in
"decay."

Thus the very same opinions, for which the followers of
Wickliffe and Luther had been burnt a few years before,
were enjoined by the King's authority.

This year a very remarkable book was printed by Batche-
lor, the King's Printer, "cum Privilegio," called the "Insti-
tution of a Christian Man." It was called the Bishop's book,
because it was composed by sundry Bishops, as Cranmer
Archbishop of Canterbury, Stokesly of London, Gardiner
of Winchester, Sampson of Chichester, Repps of Norwich,
Goodrick of Ely, Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Sal-
isbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and
some other Divines. 'Tis divided into several Chapters,
and contains an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, the
Creed, the seven Sacraments, the ten Commandments,

Abstract of
the Institution
of a
Christian
Man

King
Hen. VIII.

1537.

Mem. of
Abo. Cran.
p. 51.

Bible set up
in churches.

1538.

the Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory. " The
" book maintains the local descent of Christ into hell, and
" that all articles of faith are to be interpreted according
" to Scripture and the four first general Councils. It de-
" fends the seven Sacraments, and under the Sacrament
" of the altar affirms that the body of Christ that suffer-
" ed on the cross is substantially present under the form
" of bread and wine. It maintains but two orders of the
" Clergy, and avers that no one Bishop has authority over
" another according to the word of God. The Invocation
" of Saints is restrained to intercession, for as much as
" they have it not in their own power to bestow any blef-
" sings upon us. It maintains, that no Church should be
" consecrated to any being but God. It gives liberty to
" work on Saints days, especially in harvest time. It
" maintains the doctrine of passive obedience. In the ar-
" ticle of justification it says, we are justified only by the
" merits and satisfaction of Christ, and that no good
" works on our part can procure the divine favour, or
" prevail for our justification." This book was recom-
mended and subscribed by the two Archbishops, nineteen
Bishops, and by the lower house of Convocation, among
whom were Gardiner, Bonner, and others, who put their
brethren to death for these doctrines in the reign of Queen
Mary; but the reason of their present compliance might
be, because all their hopes from the succession of the Prin-
cess Mary were now defeated, Queen Jane being brought
to bed of a son October 12th this year, who was baptized
Edward, and succeeded his father.

The translation of the bible already mentioned, was this
year printed and published. Cromwel procured the King's
warrant for all his Majesty's subjects to read it without
controul; and by his injunctions commanded one to be set
up publickly in all the Churches in England; that the peo-
ple might read it. His Majesty farther enjoined the Clergy,
to preach the necessity of Faith and Repentance, and
against trusting in pilgrimages and other mens works; to
order such images as had been abused to superstition to be
taken down; and to tell the people, that praying to them
was no less than idolatry: But still Transubstantiation, the
seven Sacraments, the Communion in one kind only, Pur-
gatory, Auricular Confession, praying for the dead, the Ce-
libacy of the Clergy, sprinkling of holy water, invocation
of Saints, some images in Churches, with most of the su-
perstitious

perstitious rites and ceremonies of the popish Church were retained.

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1538.

Here his Majesty made a stand; for after this the Reformation fluctuated, and upon the whole went rather backwards than forwards; which was owing to several causes, as, (1.) To the unhappy death of the Queen in childbed, who had possession of the King's heart, and was a promoter of the Reformation. (2.) To the King's disagreement with the protestant Princes of Germany, who would not put him at the head of their league, because he would not abandon the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and permit the Communion in both kinds. (3.) To the King's displeasure against the Archbishop, and the other Bishops of the new learning, because he could not prevail with them to give consent in Parliament, that the King should appropriate all the suppressed Monasteries to his own use. (4.) To his Majesty's unhappy marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, a Protestant; which was promoted by the Reformers, and proved the ruin of the Lord Cromwel, who was at that time the bulwark of the Reformation. (5.) To the artifice and abject submission of Gardiner, Bonner, and other popish Bishops, who by flattering the King's imperious temper, and complying with his dictates, prejudiced him against the Reformed. And, lastly, to his Majesty's growing infirmities, which made him so peevish and positive, that it was dangerous to advise any thing that was not known to be agreeable to his sovereign will and pleasure.

Hindrances
of a farther
Reformation

L. of Cran.
P. 72.

The King began to discover his zeal against the Sacramentaries (as those were called who denied the corporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist) by prohibiting the importing of all foreign books, or printing any portions of Scripture till they had been examined by himself and Council, or by the Bishop of the Diocese; by punishing all that denied the old rites, and by forbidding all to argue against the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament on pain of death. For breaking this last order he condemned to the flames this very year that faithful witness to the truth, John Lambert, who had been Minister of the English congregation at Antwerp, and afterwards taught school in London; but hearing Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real Presence, he offered him a paper of reasons against it: Taylor carried the paper to Cranmer who was then a Lutheran, and endeavoured to make him retract; but Lambert unhappily appealed to the King, who after a kind of

Persecution
of the Pro-
testants.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 137.

King
Hen. VIII.
1539.

Lambert
burned.

Statute of
the six Arti-
cles.
31 H. 8.
cap. 14.

mock trial in Westminster-hall, in presence of the Bishops, Nobility, and Judges, passed sentence of death upon him, condemning him to be burnt as an incorrigible heretick. Cranmer was appointed to dispute against him, and Cromwel to read the sentence. He was soon after executed in Smithfield in a most barbarous manner; his last words in the flames were, "none but Christ, none but Christ!"

The Parliament that met next spring dissolved the Reformation, and brought Religion back to the standard in which it continued to the King's death, by the act commonly known by the name of the bloody Statute, or the Statute of six articles; it was intituled, "an act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian Religion. The six Articles were these.

1. "That in the Sacrament of the altar after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ is present.
2. "That Communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds.
3. "That Priests may not marry by the law of God.
4. "That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.
5. "That private Masses ought to be continued, which as it is agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit by them.
6. "That Auricular Confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.

It was further enacted, that if any did speak, preach or write against the first article, they should be judged hereticks, and be burnt without any abjuration, and forfeit their real and personal estate to the King. Those who preached or obstinately disputed against the other articles were to suffer death as felons without benefit of Clergy; and those who either in word or writing declared against them were to be prisoners during the King's pleasure, and to forfeit their goods and chattles for the first offence, and for the second to suffer death. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their Churches once a quarter.

Sad effects
of it.

As soon as the six articles took place, Shaxton Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, resigned their Bishopricks, and being presented for speaking against the act, they were imprisoned; Latimer continued a prisoner to the King's Death,

death, but Shaxton being threatened with the fire turned Apostate, and proved a cruel persecutor of the Protestants in Queen Mary's reign. Commissions were issued out to the Archbishops, Bishops and their Commissaries, to hold a Sessions quarterly, or oftner, and to proceed upon presentments by a Jury according to law; which they did most severely, insomuch that in very little time 500 persons were put in prison and involved in the guilt of the Statute; but Cranmer and Cromwel obtained their pardon, which mortified the popish Clergy to such a degree that they proceeded no farther till Cromwel fell.

King
Hen. VIII.
1539.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
151.

Another very remarkable Act of Parliament passed this Session, was concerning obedience to the King's Proclamations. It enacts that the King with advice of his council, may set forth proclamations with pains and penalties, which shall be obeyed as fully as an Act of Parliament, provided they be not contrary to the laws and customs in being, and do not extend so far as that the subject should suffer in estate, liberty or person. An Act of Attainder was also passed against sixteen persons, some for denying the supremacy, and others without any particular crime mentioned; none of them were brought to a trial, nor is there any mention in the Records of any witnesses examined. There never had been an example of such arbitrary proceedings before in England; yet this precedent was followed by several others in the course of this reign. By another Statute it was enacted, that the Counsellors of the King's successor, if he were under age, might set forth proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with those set forth by the King himself. I mention this, because upon this Act was founded the validity of all the changes of religion in the minority of Edward VI.

Acts in fa-
vour of the
Prerogative.
31 Hen. 8.
cap. 8.

Hist. Ref.
p. 360.

Next year happened the fall of Lord Cromwel, one of the great pillars of the Reformation. He had been lately constituted the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, and made a speech in Parliament April 12th, under that character. On the 14th of April the King created him Earl of Essex, and Knight of the Garter; but within two Months he was arrested at the Councel table for high treason, and sent to the Tower, and on the 28th of July was beheaded by virtue of a bill of Attainder without being brought to a trial, or once allowed to speak for himself. He was accused of executing certain orders and directions, for which he had very probably the King's war-

L. Crom-
wel's death.

rant,

King
Hen. VIII.
1540.

rant, and therefore was not admitted to make answer. But the true cause of his fall was the share he had in the King's marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, whom his Majesty took an aversion to as soon as he saw her, and was therefore determined to shew his resentments against the promoters of it; but his Majesty soon after lamented the loss of his honest and faithful servant when it was too late.

Mixed Execution of
Protestants
and Papists.

Two days after the death of Cromwel there was a very odd execution of Protestants and Papists at the same time and place. The Protestants were Dr. Barnes, Mr. Gerard, and Mr. Jerome, all Clergymen and Lutherans; they were sent to the Tower for offensive sermons preached at the Spittle in the Easter week, and were attainted of heresy by the Parliament without being brought to a hearing. Four Papists (viz.) Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplin, Edmund Brindholme, and Clement Philpot, were by the same Act attainted for denying the King's supremacy, and adhering to the Bishop of Rome. The Protestants were burnt, and the Papists hanged: The former cleared themselves of heresy by rehearsing the Articles of their Faith at the stake, and died with great devotion and piety; and the latter, though grieved to be drawn in the same hurdle with them they accounted Hereticks, declared their hearty forgiveness of all their enemies.

Abstract of
the Erudition
of a
Christian
Man.

About this time was published a very remarkable treatise, called "A necessary erudition for a christian man." It was drawn up by a Committee of Bishops and Divines, and was afterwards read and approved by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the lower house of Parliament. A great part of it was corrected by the King's own hand, and the whole was published by his order, with a preface in the name of King Henry VIII. dedicated to all his faithful subjects. It was called the King's book; and was designed for a standard of christian belief. The reader therefore will judge by the following abstract, of the sentiments of our first Reformers in sundry points of doctrine and discipline.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
P. 153.

Of Faith.

"It begins with a description of faith, of which (says the book) there are two acceptations, (1.) It is sometimes taken for a belief or persuasion wrought by God in men's hearts, whereby they assent and take for true all the words and sayings of God revealed in scripture: This faith, if it proceeds no further, is but a dead faith. (2.) Faith is sometimes considered in conjunction
" with

“ with hope and charity, and so it signifies a sure confi-
 “ dence and hope to obtain whatsoever God has promised
 “ for Christ’s sake, and is accompanied with a hearty love
 “ to God, and obedience to his commands. This is a
 “ lively and effectual faith, and is the perfect faith of a
 “ Christian. ’Tis by this faith that we are justified, as it is
 “ joined with hope and charity, and includes an obedience
 “ to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ. But whether
 “ there be any special particular knowledge, whereby
 “ men may be certain and assured that they are among the
 “ Predestinate, which shall to the end persevere in their
 “ calling, we cannot find either in the scriptures or Do-
 “ ctors; the promises of God being conditional, so that
 “ tho’ his promise stands, we may fail of the Blessing for
 “ want of fulfilling our obligation.

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 Hen. VIII.
 1543.

After the chapter of Faith follows an excellent para-
 phrase on the 12 articles of the Creed, the Lord’s prayer,
 the Ave Maria, or the salutation of the Angel to the blessed
 Virgin, and the ten commandments; and here the second
 commandment is shortened, the Words “ for I the Lord
 “ thy God, &c.” being left out, and only those that go
 before set down. Images are said to be profitable to stir
 up the mind to emulation, though we may not give them
 godly honour; nevertheless censuring and kneeling before
 them is allowed. Invocation of Saints as intercessors is de-
 clared lawful; and the fourth commandment only ceremo-
 nial and obliging the Jews.

Then follows an article of free-will, which is described, Of Free-
 “ A certain power of the will joined with reason, whereby Will.
 “ a reasonable creature without constraint in things of rea-
 “ son, discerneth and willeth good and evil; but it willeth
 “ not that that is acceptable to God unless it be holpen
 “ with grace, but that which is ill it willeth of itself. Our
 “ wills were perfect in the state of innocence, but are
 “ much impaired by the fall of Adam; the high powers
 “ of reason and freedom of will being wounded and cor-
 “ rupted, and all men thereby brought into such blindness
 “ and infirmity that they cannot avoid sin except they are
 “ made free by special grace, that is, by the supernatural
 “ working of the Holy Ghost. The light of reason
 “ is unable to conceive the things that appertain to
 “ eternal life, though there remains a sufficient free-
 “ dom of will in things pertaining to the present life.
 “ Without me (says the scripture) you can do no-
 “ thing; therefore when men feel, that notwithstanding
 “ their

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“ their diligence they are not able to do that which they
“ desire, they ought with a stedfast faith and devotion to
“ ask of him, who gave the beginning, that he would
“ vouchsafe to perform it. But preachers are to take care
“ so to moderate themselves, that they neither so preach
“ the Grace of God as to take away free-will, and make
“ God the author of sin ; nor so extol free-will as to injure
“ the Grace of God.

Of Justifica-
tion.

In the article of justification it asserts, “ That all the
“ posterity of Adam are born in original sin, and are here-
“ by guilty of everlasting death and damnation, but that
“ God sent his own Son, being naturally God, to take our
“ nature and redeem us ; which he could not have done
“ but by virtue of the union of his two natures. It then
“ speaks of a two-fold justification : The first is upon our
“ believing, and is obtained by repentance, and a lively
“ faith in the passion and merits of our blessed Saviour,
“ and joining therewith a full purpose to amend our lives
“ for the future. The second or final justification at
“ death, or the last judgment, implies further, the exer-
“ cise of all christian graces, and a following the motions
“ of the Spirit of God in doing good works, which will
“ be considered and recompensed in the day of judgment.
“ When the scripture speaks of justification by faith, with-
“ out mentioning any other grace, it must not be under-
“ stood of a naked faith, but of a lively, operative faith,
“ as before described, and refers to our first justification ;
“ thus we are justified by free-grace : And whatever share
“ good works may have in our final justification, they
“ cannot derogate from the Grace of God, because all
“ our good works come of the free mercy and grace of
“ God, and are done by his assistance ; so that all boasting
“ is excluded.

Of good
Works.

This leads to the article of good works, “ Which are
“ said to be absolute necessary to salvation ; but they are
“ not outward corporal works, but inward spiritual works ;
“ as the love and fear of God, patience, humility, &c.
“ Nor are they superstitious works of men’s invention ;
“ nor only moral works done by the power of reason, and
“ the natural will of man, without faith in Christ ;
“ which though they are good in kind, do not merit ever-
“ lasting life ; but such outward and inward good works.
“ as are done by faith in Christ, out of love to God, and
“ in obedience to his commands ; and which cannot be
“ performed by man’s power without divine assistance.

“ Now

“ Now these are of two sorts, (1.) Such as are done by
 “ persons already justified ; and these, though imperfect,
 “ are accepted for Christ’s sake, and are meritorious to-
 “ wards the attaining everlasting life. (2.) Other works
 “ are of an inferior sort, as fasting, alms-deeds, and other
 “ fruits of penance, which are of no avail without faith.
 “ But after all, justification and remission of sins is the free
 “ gift of the Grace of God ; and it does not derogate from
 “ that grace to ascribe the dignity to good works above-
 “ mentioned, because all our good works come of the
 “ Grace of God.

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 1543.

The chapter of prayer for souls departed, leaves the
 matter in suspense ; “ ’Tis good and charitable to do it ;
 “ but because ’tis not known what condition departed souls
 “ are in, we ought only to recommend them to the mercy
 “ of God.

Of praying
 for the dead.

In the chapter of the sacraments ; “ All the seven sacra-
 “ ments are maintained ; and in particular, the corporal
 “ presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

In the sacrament of orders the book maintains no real
 distinction between Bishops and Priests ; it says that “ St,
 “ Paul consecrated and ordered Bishops by imposition of
 “ hands ; but that there is no certain rule prescribed in
 “ scripture for the nomination, election, or presentation of
 “ them ; this is left to the positive laws of every country.
 “ That the office of the said Ministers is to preach the
 “ word, to minister the sacraments, to bind and loose, to
 “ excommunicate those that will not be reformed, and
 “ to pray for the universal Church ; but that they may not
 “ execute their office without licence from the civil Ma-
 “ gistrate. The sacraments do not receive efficacy or
 “ strength from the ministration of the Priest or Bishop,
 “ but from God ; the said Ministers being only officers, to
 “ administer with their hands those corporal things by
 “ which God gives grace, agreeable to St. Ambrose, who
 “ writes thus, ‘ The Priest lays his hands upon us, but
 “ it is God that gives Grace ; the Priest lays on us his
 “ beseeching hands, but God blebseth us with his mighty
 “ hand.’

Of Bishops
 and Priests.

Concerning the order of Deacons, the book says, “ Their
 “ office in the primitive Church was partly to minister
 “ meat and drink, and other necessities to the poor ; and
 “ partly, to minister to the Bishops and Priests. Then
 “ follows this remarkable passage, Of these two orders on-
 “ ly, that is to say, Priests and Deacons, the scripture mak-
 eth

eth

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“eth express mention, and how they were conferred of
“the Apostles by prayer and imposition of hands; but
“the primitive Church afterwards appointed inferior de-
“grees, as Sub-deacons, Acolytes, Exorcists, &c. but
“least peradventure it might be thought by some, that
“such authorities, powers, and jurisdictions, as Patriarchs,
“Primates, Archbishops and Metropolitans now have, or
“heretofore at any time have had justly and lawfully over
“other Bishops, were given them by God in holy scripture,
“we think it expedient and necessary, that all men should
“be advertised and taught, that all such lawful power and
“authority of any one Bishop over another, were and be
“given them by the consent, ordinances, and positive laws
“of men only, and not by any ordinance of God in ho-
“ly Scripture; and all such power and authority which
“any Bishop has used over another, which has not been
“given him by such consent and ordinance of men is
“in very deed no lawful power but plain usurpation and
“tyranny.

Remarks.

These are the sentiments of our first Reformers; and this was then the established doctrine of the Church of England: For by the Statute of the 3d. of Henry VIII. cap. 26. it is enacted, “That all decrees and ordinances which
“shall be made and ordained by the Archbishops, Bi-
“shops and Doctors, and shall be published with the
“King’s advice and confirmation, by his Letters Patents,
“in and upon the matters of Christian Faith, and lawful
“rites and ceremonies, shall be in every point thereof
“believed, obeyed and performed, to all intents and pur-
“poses, upon the pains therein comprized; provided no-
“thing be ordained contrary to the laws of the Realm.” How near the book abovementioned comes to the qualifications of this Statute, is obvious to the reader. It is no less evident, that by the same Act the King was in a manner invested with the infallibility of the Pope, and had the consciences and faith of his people at his absolute disposal.

By this abstract of the Erudition of a Christian man, it appears further, that our Reformers built pretty much upon the plan of St. Austin, with relation to the doctrines of Justification and Grace. The Sacraments and Ceremonies are so contrived, as to be consistent with the six Articles established by Parliament. But with regard to discipline, Cranmer and his brethren were for being directed wholly by the civil Magistrate; which has since been distinguished

stinguished by the name of Erastianism. Accordingly they took out commissions to hold their Bishopricks during the King's pleasure, and to exercise their jurisdiction by his authority only.

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1543.

But notwithstanding this Reformation of doctrine, the old popish forms of worship were continued till this year, when a faint attempt was made to reform them. A form of procession was published in English by the King's authority, entitled, "An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet, by his Majesty and his Clergy, to be read to the people; also a Litany, with Suffrages to be said or sung in time of the Processions." In the Litany they invoke the blessed Virgin, the Angels, Archangels, and all holy Orders of blessed Spirits; all holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and all the blessed Company of Heaven to pray for them. The rest of the Litany is in a manner the very same now in use, only a few more collects were placed at the end, with some Psalms, and a paraphrase on the Lord's prayer. The preface is an Exhortation to the duty of prayer, and says, that it is convenient, and very acceptable to God, to use private prayer in our Mother tongue, that by understanding what we ask, we may more earnestly and fervently desire the same. The hand of Cranmer was no doubt in this performance, but it was little regarded, though a Mandate was sent to Bonner Bishop of London to publish it.

1544.

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P. 164.

But Cranmer's power was very much weakened; he strove against the stream, and could accomplish nothing further, except a small mitigation of the rigorous prosecution of the six Articles: For by the 35th of Henry VIII. cap. 5. it is enacted, "That persons shall not be convicted upon this Statute, but by the oaths of 12 men; that the prosecution shall be within a year; and that if any one preaches against the six Articles he shall be informed against within 40 days." This rendered the prosecution more difficult; and yet after all several were burnt at this time, for denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as Mrs. Anne Askew, Mr. Belenian, Adams, Lascels, and others. The books of Tyndal, Frith, Joy, Barnes, and other Protestants, were ordered to be burnt; and the importation of all foreign books relating to religion was forbid, without special licence from the King.

Rigour of
the six Ar-
ticles abated.

Upon the whole, the Reformation went very much backward, the three or four last years of the King's life; as appears by the statute of 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1. which leads

1545.
State of the
Reformati-
on at the
King's
Death.

King
Henry VIII.
1545.

leads the people back into the darkest parts of popery: it says, "that recourse must be had to the catholick and apostolick Church for the decision of controversies; and therefore all books of the old and new Testament in English, being of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any matter of christian religion, articles of faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth by the King [in the six articles] 1540, or to be set forth by the King, shall be abolished. No person shall sing or rhyme contrary to the said doctrine. No person shall retain any English books or writings against the holy and blessed Sacrament of the Altar; or other books abolished by the King's proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or new Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any Church. No women, or artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen or labourers, shall read the new Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the King's instructions. If any spiritual person shall be convicted of preaching, or maintaining any thing contrary to the King's instructions already made, or hereafter to be made, he shall for the first offence recant, for the second bear a fagot, and for the third be burnt."

Here is popery and spiritual slavery in its full Extent. Indeed the Pope is discharged of his jurisdiction and authority; but a like authority is vested in the King. His Majesty's instructions are as binding as the Pope's canons, and upon as severe penalties. He is absolute Lord of the consciences of his Subjects. No Bishop or spiritual person may preach any doctrine but what he approves; nor do any act of government in the Church but by his special commission. This seems to have been given his Majesty by the act of supremacy, and is further confirmed by one of the last statutes of his reign, which declares, that "Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by, under, and from his royal Majesty; and that his Majesty is the only supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland; to whom, by holy Scripture, all authority and power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever; and to all such persons as his Majesty shall appoint thereunto."

This

This was carrying the regal power to the utmost length. Here no reserve of privilege for Convocations, Councils, or Colleges of Bishops: the King may ask their advice, or call them to his aid and assistance, but his Majesty has not only a negative voice upon their proceedings, but may himself by his Letters Patents, publish injunctions in matters of religion, for correcting all errors in doctrine and worship. His proclamations have the force of a law, and all his subjects are obliged to believe, obey and profess according to them, under the highest penalties.

King
Hen. VIII.
1546.

Thus matters stood when this great and absolute monarch died of an ulcer in his leg, being so corpulent, that he was forced to be let up and down stairs with an engine. The humour in his leg made him so peevish, that scarce any body durst speak to him of the affairs of his Kingdom or of another life. He signed his will Dec. 30, 1546. and died Jan. 28. following, in the 38th year of his reign, and the 56th of his age. He ought to be ranked (says Bishop Burnet) among the ill Princes, but not among the worst.

CHAP. II.

The Reign of King EDWARD VI.

THE sole right and authority of reforming the Church of England was now vested in the Crown; and by the act of succession, in the King's Council, if he were under age. This was preferable to a foreign jurisdiction; but it can hardly be proved, that either the King or his Council have a right to judge for the whole Nation, and impose upon the people what religion they think best, without their consent. The Reformation of the Church of England was begun and carried on by the King, assisted by Archbishop Cranmer and a few select divines. The Clergy in Convocation did not move in it, but as they were directed and over-awed by their superiors; nor do they consent till they were modell'd to the designs of the Court.

King
Edw. VI.
1547.

The Justice
of the Eng-
lish Refor-
mation ar-
gued.

Regally de-
bated.

Our learned historian Bishop Burnet endeavours to justify this conduct, by putting the following question, " what must be done when the major part of a Church is, according to the conscience of the supreme civil Majesty, in an error, and the lesser part is in the right?" in answer to this question his Lordship observes, that " there is no promise in Scripture, that the majority of Pastors

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“ shall be in the right ; on the contrary it is certain, that
 “ truth separate from interest has few votaries. Now, as
 “ it is not reasonable that the smaller part should depart
 “ from their sentiments, because opposed by the majority,
 “ whose interest lead them to oppose Reformation, there-
 “ fore they might take Sanctuary in the authority of the
 “ Prince and the Law.” But is there any promise in Scrip-
 “ ture that the King or Prince shall be always in the right ?
 “ or, is it reasonable that the majority should depart from
 “ their sentiments in religion, because the Prince with the
 “ minority are of another mind ? if we ask, what authority
 “ christian Princes have to bind the consciences of their sub-
 “ jects by penal laws to worship God after their manner ?
 “ his Lordship answers, “ this was practized in the Jewish
 “ State.” But it ought to be remember’d, that the Jew-
 “ ish State was a Theocracy ; that God himself was their
 “ King, and their chief Magistrates only his Vicegerents or
 “ Deputies ; that the laws of Moses were the laws of God ;
 “ and the penalties annexed to them as much of divine ap-
 “ pointment as the laws themselves. It is therefore absurd to
 “ make the special commission of the Jewish Magistrates a
 “ model for the rights of Christian Princes. But his Lord-
 “ ship adds, “ it is the first law in Justinian’s Code, made
 “ by the Emperor Theodosius, that all should every
 “ where, under severe pains, follow that faith that was
 “ received by Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alex-
 “ andria. And why might not the King and laws of
 “ England give the like authority to the Archbishops of
 “ Canterbury and York ?” I answer, because Theodosi-
 “ us’s law was an unreasonable usurpation upon the right of
 “ conscience. If the Apostle Paul, who was an inspired per-
 “ son, had not dominion over the faith of the Churches,
 “ how came the Roman Emperor, or other Christian Prin-
 “ ces, by such a jurisdiction, which has no foundation in the
 “ law of nature nor in the new Testament ?

His Lordship goes on, “ It is not to be imagined how
 “ any changes in religion can be made by sovereign Princes,
 “ unless an authority be lodged with them of giving the sanc-
 “ tion of a law to the founder, though the lesser Part of a
 “ Church ; for as Princes and lawgivers are not tied to an
 “ implicit obedience to Clergymen, but are left to the
 “ freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a
 “ power to choose what side to be of, where things are
 “ much enquired into.” And why have not the Clergy
 “ and the common people the same power ? why must they
 “ be

be tied to an implicit Faith in their Princes and Law-givers? is there any promise in the word of God that Princes and Law-givers shall be infallible, and always judge right which is the sounder, though the lesser part of a Church? if (as his Lordship adds) “ the major part of “ Synods cannot be supposed to be in matters of faith so “ assisted from Heaven, that the lesser part must necessarily acquiesce in their decrees; or that the civil powers “ must always make laws according to their votes, especially when interest does visibly turn the scale ;” how can the Prince or civil Magistrate depend upon such assistance? can we be sure that interest or prejudice will never turn the scale with him? or that he has a better acquaintance with the truths of the Gospel than his Clergy or People? ’tis highly reasonable that the Prince should choose for himself what side he will be of, when things are much enquired into; but then let the Clergy and People have the same liberty, and neither the major nor minor part impose upon the other, as long as they entertain no principles inconsistent with the safety of the Government. “ When the “ christian belief had not the support of law, every Bishop taught his own flock the best he could, and gave “ his neighbours such an account of his faith, at, or soon “ after his consecration, as satisfied them; and so (says “ his Lordship) they maintained the Unity of the Church.” And why might it not be so still? is not this better upon all accounts, than to force people to profess what they can’t believe, or to propagate religion with the sword, as was too much the case with our reformers? if the penal laws had been taken away, and the points in controversy between protestants and papists had been left to a free and open debate, while the civil Magistrate had stood by, and only kept the peace, the Reformation would certainly have taken place in due time, and proceeded in a much more unexceptionable manner than it did.

To return to the History. King Edward VI. came to the Crown at the age of nine years and four months; a Prince, for learning and piety, for acquaintance with the world, and application to business, the very wonder of his age. His father, by his last will and Testament, named 16 persons executors of his will, and regents of the Kingdom, till his son should be 18 years of age: out of these the Earl of Hartford, the King’s Uncle, was chosen Protector of the King’s realms and governor of his person. Besides these, twelve were added as a Privy-Council, to be

King
Edw. VI.
1547.

King Ed-
ward’s
Council,

King
Edw. VI.
1547.

assisting to them. Among the regents some were for the old Religion and others for the New ; but it soon appeared that the Reformers had the ascendant, the young King having been educated in their Principles by his Tutor Dr. Cox, and the new Protector his Uncle being on the same side. The heads of the two parties were these,

Heads of the
two Parties.

For the REFORMATION.

King Edward,
Duke of Somerset, Protector,
Dr. Cranmer, Abp. Cant.
Dr. Holgate, Abp. York,
Sir W. Paget. Sec. State,
L. V. Lisle, Lord Admiral,
Dr. Holbeach, Bp. Lincoln,
Dr. Goodrick, Bp. Ely.
Dr. Latimer, Bp. Worcester,
Dr. Ridley, elect of Rochester.

For the Old RELIGION.

Princess Mary,
Wriothesley E. of Southamp-
ton, Lord Chancellor,
Dr. Tonsil, Bp. Durham,
Dr. Gardiner, Bp. Winches-
ter,
Dr. Bonner, Bp. London.

The majority of the Bishops and inferior Clergy were on the side of Popery, but the Government was in the hands of the Reformers, who began immediately to relax the rigors of the late reign. The persecution upon the six articles was stopt ; the prison doors were set open ; and several who had been forced to quit the Kingdom for their Religion returned home, as Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter ; John Hooper, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester ; John Rogers, Proto-Martyr, and many others, who were prefer'd to considerable benefices in the Church. The reforming Divines being deliver'd from their too awful subjection to the late King, began to open against the abuses of Popery. Dr. Ridley and others preached vehemently against images in Churches, and inflamed the People, so that in many places they out-run the law, and pulled them down without authority. Some preached against the lawfulness of Soul Masses and Obits ; though the late King, by his last Will and Testament, had left a large sum of money to have them continued at Windsor where he was buried, and for a frequent distribution of alms for the repose of his Soul, and its deliverance out of Purgatory ; but this charity was soon after converted to other uses. The Popish Clergy were alarmed at these things, and insisted strongly, that till the King their supreme Head was of age, Religion should continue in the state in which King Henry

Henry left it. But the Reformers averr'd, that the King's authority was the same while he was a Minor, as when he was of age; and that they had heard the late King declare his resolution to turn the Mass into a Communion if he had lived a little longer, upon which they thought it their duty to proceed.

King
Edw. VI.
1547.

After the solemnity of the King's Coronation, the Regents appointed a royal visitation, and commanded the Clergy to preach no where but in their parish Churches without licence, till the visitation was over. The Kingdom was divided into six circuits; two gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Register being appointed for each. The Divines were by their preaching to instruct the People in the doctrines of the Reformation, and to bring them off from their old superstitions. The Visitation began in the month of August; six of the gravest Divines, and most popular Preachers, attended it; their names were Dr. Ridley, Dr. Madew, Mr. Briggs, Cottisford, Joseph, and Farrar. A book of homilies or Sermons, upon the chief points of the Christian Faith, drawn up chiefly by Archbishop Cranmer, was printed, and ordered to be left with every parish Priest, to supply the defect of preaching, which few of the Clergy of that time were capable of performing. Cranmer communicated it to Gardiner, and would fain have gained his approbation of it; but he was so inflamed at being left out of the King's will, that he constantly opposed all innovation till the King should be of age. The book consisted of twelve discourses, on the following arguments.

Royal Visitation.

MS.
p. 881.

First Book
of Homilies.

1. Concerning the use of the Scriptures,
2. Of the misery of mankind by Sin,
3. Of their salvation by Christ,
4. Of a true and lively Faith.
5. Of good Works.
6. Of Christian Love and Charity,
7. Against Swearing and Perjury,
8. Against Apostasy.
9. Against the fear of Death.
10. An Exhortation to Obedience.
11. Against Whoredom and Adultery,
12. Against Strife and Contention about matters of Religion.

With these Homilies the Visitors were to deliver sundry Injunctions from the King, to the number of thirty six; the chief were,

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Injunctions.

1. " That all ecclesiastical persons observe the laws relating to the King's Supremacy.
2. " That they preach once a quarter against Pilgrimages, and praying to Images, and exhort to works of Faith and Charity.
3. " That Images abused with Pilgrimages and Offerings be taken down ; that no wax candles or tapers be burnt before them ; but only two lights upon the high altar before the Sacrament shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the Light of the World.

The limitation in this article giving occasion to great heats among the people, some affirming their Images had been so abused, and others not, the Council sent orders to see them all taken down.

4. " That when there is no Sermon the Pater Noster, the Creed and ten Commandments shall be recited out of the pulpit to the Parishioners.
5. " That within three months every Church be provided with a Bible ; and within twelve months with Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament.
9. " That they examine such who come to confession, whether they can recite the Pater Noster, Creed, and ten Commandments in English, before they receive the Sacrament of the Altar, else they ought not to come to God's Board.
21. " That in time of high Mass the Epistle and Gospel shall be read in English ; and that one chapter in the New Testament be read at Mattins, and one in the old at Even Song.
23. " No processions shall be used about Churches or Church-yards ; but immediately before high Mass the Litany shall be said or sung in English ; and all ringing of bells (save one) utterly forborn.
24. " That the holy day, ' at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained,' be wholly given to God, in hearing the word of God read and taught ; in private and publick prayers ; in acknowledging their offences to God, and promising amendment ; in reconciling themselves to their neighbours, receiving the Communion, visiting the sick, &c. Only it shall be lawful in time of harvest to labour upon holy and festival days, in order to save that thing which God hath sent ; and that scrupulosity to obtain from working on those days does grievously offend God.

28. " That

28. " That they take away all shrines, coverings of
" shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindills, or rolls of wax,
" pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned
" miracles, so that no memory of them remain in walls
" or windows; exhorting the people to do the like in their
" several houses."

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1547.

The rest of the Articles related to the advancement of learning, to the encouragement of preaching, and correcting some very gross abuses. The Bishops were enjoined to see the Articles put in execution, and to preach themselves four times a year, unless they had a reasonable excuse. They were to give Orders to none but such as were able to preach, and to recal their Licences from others. The injunctions were to be observed under the pains of excommunication, sequestration or deprivation.

In Bidding of their Prayers they were to remember the King their supreme Head, the Queen Dowager, the King's two Sisters, the Lord Protector and the Council; the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Commons of this Realm. The custom of Bidding Prayer, which is still in use in the Church, is a relick of Popery. Bishop Burnet has preserved the Form, as it was in use before the Reformation, which was this: After the preacher had named and opened his Text, he called on the people to go to their Prayers, telling them what they were to pray for. " Ye shall pray " (says he) for the King, for the Pope, for the holy Catholick Church, &c." After which all the people said their Beads in a general silence, and the Minister kneeled down likewise and said his; they were to say a Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Deus misereatur nostri, Domine salvum fac Regem, Gloria Patri, &c. and then the Sermon proceeded. How sadly this Bidding of Prayer has been abused of late by some Divines, to the entire omission of the duty itself, is too well known to need a remark!

Original of
bidding
Prayers.

Hist. Ref.
V. II. p. 20.

Most of the Bishops complied with the injunctions, except, Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Winchester. Bonner offered a reserve, but that not being accepted, he made an absolute submission; nevertheless he was sent for some time to the Fleet for contempt. Gardiner having protested against the Injunctions and Homilies as contrary to the Law of God, was sent also to the fleet, where he continued till after the Parliament was over, and was then released by a general Act of Grace.

Parliament
repeals several
Popish
Laws and
makes new
ones.

The Parliament that met November 9th, made several alterations in favour of the Reformation. They repealed

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1 Ed. 6.
cap. 1.

Act for ap-
pointing
Bishops.

1 Edw. 6.
cap. 2.
Hist. Ref.
Vol II. p.
218.

all Laws that made any thing Treason but what was specified in the Act of 25 Edward III ; and two of the Statutes against Lollardies. They repealed the Statute of the six Articles, with the Acts that followed in explanation of it ; all Laws in the late Reign, declaring any thing Felony that was not so declared before ; together with the Act that made the King's Proclamation of equal authority with an Act of Parliament. Besides the repeal of these Laws sundry new ones were enacted ; as, That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in both Kinds, agreeably to Christ's first institution, and the Practice of the Church for 500 years ; and that all private Masses should be put down : An Act concerning the admission of Bishops into their Sees ; which sets forth, that the manner of choosing Bishops by a Conge d' Elire, being but the Shadow of an Election, all Bishops hereafter shall be appointed by the King's Letters Patents only, and shall continue the exercise of their jurisdiction "*durante bene placito,*" or "*durante vita naturali, si tam diu se bene gesserint.*" One of the first Patents with this clause is that of Dr. Barlow Bishop of Bath and Wells, bearing date Feb. 3. in the second year of the King's reign ; but all the rest of the Bishops afterwards took out Letters Patents for their Bishopricks with the same clause. In this the Archbishop had a principal hand ; for it was his judgment, that the exercise of all Episcopal Jurisdiction depended upon the Prince ; and that as he gave it he might restrain or take it away at his pleasure : Cranmer thought the exercise of his own Episcopal Authority ended with the late King's Life, and therefore would not act as Archbishop till he had a new commission from King Edward.

In the same Statute it is declared, " That since all jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal was derived from the King, therefore all processes in the Spiritual Court should from henceforward be carried on in the King's Name, and be sealed with the King's Seal, as in the other Courts of common Law, except the Archbishop of Canterbury's Courts only in all Faculties and Dispensations ; but all Collations, Presentations, or Letters of Orders were to pass under the Bishop's proper Seals as formerly." By this Law Causes concerning Wills and Marriages were removed into the courts of Westminster-hall ; but this was repealed in the next reign.

Chauntries
given to the
Crown.

1 Edw. 6.
cap. 14.

Lastly, the Parliament gave the King all the lands for maintenance of Chauntries not possessed by his Father ;

all

all legacies given for Obits, Anniversaries, Lamps in Churches; together with all Guild Lands which any Fraternity enjoyed on the same account: The money was to be converted to the maintenance of Grammar Schools; but the hungry courtiers shared it among themselves. After this the Houses were prorogued from the 24th of December to the 20th of April following.

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Edw. VI.
1547.
L. of Cran.
P. 156.

The Convocation that sat with the Parliament did little; the majority being on the side of Popery, the Archbishop was afraid of venturing any thing of importance with them; nor are any of their proceedings upon Record; but Mr Strype has collected from the notes of a private member, That the lower House agreed to the Communion in both kinds; and that upon a Division, about the lawfulness of Priests Marriages, 53 were for the affirmative and 22 for the negative.

The Reformation in Germany lying under great discouragements, by the victorious arms of Charles V. who had this year taken the Duke of Saxony prisoner, and dispossessed him of his Electorate; several of the foreign Reformers, who had taken sanctuary in those parts, were forced to seek it elsewhere. Among these, Peter Martyr a Florentine, was invited by the Archbishop, in the King's name, into England, and had the Divinity Chair given him at Oxford; Bucer had the same at Cambridge; Ochinus and Fagius, two other learned foreigners, had either pensions or canonries with a dispensation of residence, and did good service in the Universities; but Fagius soon after died.

ForeignPro-
testant Di-
vines take
sanctuary in
England.

The common people were very much divided in their opinions about Religion; some being zealous for preserving the popish rites, and others no less averse to them. The country people were very tenacious of their old shews, as Processions, Wakes, carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, and Palms on Palm-Sundays, &c. while others looked upon them as heathenish rites, absolutely inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel. This was so effectually represented to the Council by Cranmer, that a Proclamation was published Feb. 6, forbidding the continuance of them. And for putting an end to all contests about images that had been abused to superstition, an Order was published Feb. 11th, that all Images whatsoever should be taken out of Churches; and the Bishops were commanded to execute it in their several Dioceses. Thus the Churches were emptied of all those Pictures and Statues, which had

1548.
Images tak-
en down
out of
churches,
and old rites
abolished.

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1548.

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Vol. I. p. 61.
All preach-
ing forbid.

had for divers ages been the objects of the peoples adoration.

The Clergy were no less divided than the Laity; the pulpits clashing one against the other, and tending to stir up sedition and rebellion: The King therefore, after the example of his father, and by advice of his Council, issued out a proclamation, Sept. 3. in the second year of his reign, to prohibit all preaching throughout all his Dominions: The words are these, "The King's highness mind-
"ing shortly to have one uniform Order throughout this
"realm, and to put an end to all controversies in Religion,
"so far as God shall give his grace; doth at this present,
"and till such time as the said Order shall be set forth, in-
"hibit all manner of persons whatsoever, to preach in o-
"pen audience in the pulpit or otherwise; to the intent
"that the whole Clergy, in the mean space, may apply
"themselves in prayer to Almighty God, for the better at-
"chieving the same most godly intent and purpose."

First Refor-
mation of
the Com-
munion.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
61.

At the same time a committee of Divines was appointed to examine and reform the offices of the Church: These were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Litchfield, Carlisle, Bristol, St. Davids, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester; with the Doctors Cox, May, Taylor, Heins, Robertson, and Redmayn. They began with the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in which they made but little alteration, leaving the Office of the Mass as it stood, only adding to it so much as changed it into a Communion in both kinds. Auricular Confession was left indifferent. The Priest having received the Sacrament himself, was to turn to the people and read the Exhortation; then followed a Denunciation, requiring such as had not repented to withdraw, lest the Devil should enter into them as he did into Judas. After a little pause to see if any would withdraw, followed a Confession of Sins and Absolution, the same now in use; after which the Sacrament was administer'd in both kinds without elevation. This Office was published with a Proclamation, declaring his Majesty's intentions to proceed to a further Reformation; and willing his subjects not to run before his direction, assuring them of his earnest zeal in their affair, and hoping they would quietly tarry for it.

And of o-
ther Offices.

In reforming the other Offices they examined and compared the Romish Missals of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor,

Bangor, and Lincoln; and out of them composed the Morning and Evening Service, almost in the same form it stands at present; only there was no Confession, nor Absolution. It would have obviated many objections if the Committee had thrown aside the Mass-Book, and composed an uniform Service in the Language of Scripture, without any regard to the Church of Rome; but this they were not aware of, or the times would not bear it. From the same materials, they compiled a Litany, consisting of many short petitions, interrupted by suffrages; 'tis the same with that which is now used, except the petition to be delivered "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and "all his detestable Enormities;" which in the review of the Liturgy in Queen Elizabeth's time was struck out.

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In the administration of Baptism a cross was to be made on the child's forehead and breast, and the devil was exorcised to go out, and enter no more into him. The child was to be dipped three times in the font, on the right and left side, and on the Breast, if not weak. A white vestment was to be put upon it in token of innocence; and it was to be anointed on the head, with a short prayer for the unction of the Holy Ghost.

Baptism.

In order to Confirmation, Those that came were to be catechised; then the Bishop was to sign them with the cross, and lay his hands upon them, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Confirmati-
on.

If sick persons desired to be Anointed, the Priest might do it upon the forehead and breast, only making the sign of the cross, with a short prayer for his recovery.

Anointing
the Sick.

In the office of Burial the soul of the departed person is recommended to the mercy of God; and the Minister is to pray, that the sins which he committed in this world may be forgiven him, and that he may be admitted into heaven, and his body raised at the last day.

Burial.

This was the first Service Book or Liturgy of King Edward VI. We have no certain account of the use of any Liturgies in the first ages of the Church; those of St. Mark, St. James, and that of Alexandria, being manifestly spurious. 'Tis not till the latter end of the fourth century that they are first mentioned; and then it was left to the care of every Bishop to draw up a form of prayer for his own Church. In St. Austin's time they began to consult about an agreement of prayers, that none should be used without common advice; but still there was no Uniformity.

Antiquity
of Liturgies

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ty. Nay, in the darkeſt times of Popery, there was a vaſt Variety of forms in different ſees, witneſs the Offices “ ſecundum Uſum Sarum, Bangor, York, &c.” But our Reformers ſplit upon this rock, ſacrificing the peace of the Church to a miſtaken neceſſity of an exact Uniformity of Doctrine and Worſhip, in which it was impoſſible for all men to agree. Had they drawn up divers forms, or left a diſcretionary latitude for tender conſciences, as to ſome particular phraſes, all men would have been eaſy, and the Church more firmly united than ever.

Of retaining
the Popiſh
Rites.
Hitt. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
72.

The like is to be obſerved as to Rites and Ceremonies of an indifferent nature. Nothing is more certain, than that the Church of Rome indulged a variety. Every Religious Order (ſays Biſhop Burnet) had their peculiar rites, with the Saints Days that belong'd to their Order, and Services for them : But our Reformers thought proper to inſiſt upon an exact uniformity of Habits and Ceremonies for all the Clergy ; though they knew many of them were exceptionable, having been abuſed to idolatry ; and were a yoke which ſome of the moſt reſolved Proteſtants could not bear. Nay, ſo great a ſtreſs was laid upon the ſquare cap and ſurplice, that rather than diſpenſe with the Uſe of them to ſome tender minds, the Biſhops were content to part with their beſt friends, and hazard the Reformation into the hands of the Papiſts. If there muſt be habits and ceremonies for decency and order, why did they not appoint new ones, rather than retain the old, which had been idolized by the Papiſts to ſuch a degree, as to be thought to have a magical virtue or a ſacramental efficacy ? Or if they meant this, Why did they not ſpeak out, and go on with the conſecration of them ?

Of the Ha-
bits.

The Council had it ſome time under conſideration, whether thoſe veſtments in which the Prieſts uſed to officiate ſhould be continued ? It was objected againſt them, by thoſe who had been Confeſſors for the Proteſtant Religion, and others, that “ The Habits were parts of the Train of
“ the Maſs ; that the people had ſuch a ſuperſtitious Opi-
“ nion of them, as to think they gave in efficacy to their
“ prayers, and that Divine Service ſaid without this Apparel
“ was inſignificant ; whereas at beſt they were but inven-
“ tions of Popery, and ought to be deſtroyed with that
“ idolatrous Religion.” But it was ſaid on the other hand, by thoſe Divines that had ſtay'd in England, and weather'd the ſtorm of King Henry's Tyranny by a politick compli-
ance,

ance, and concealment of their opinions, that “ Church habits and ceremonies were indifferent, and might be appointed by the Magistrates; that White was the colour of the Priests garments in the Mosaical Dispensation; and that it was a natural expression of the purity and decency that became Priests. That they ought to depart no further from the Church of Rome than she had departed from the practice of the primitive Church. Besides, the Clergy were then so poor, that they could scarce afford to buy themselves decent cloaths.” But did the Priests buy their own garments? Could not the Parish provide a gown, or some other decent apparel for the Priest to minister in sacred things, as well as a square cap, a surplice, a cope, or a tippet? Were these the habits of the primitive Clergy before the rise of the Papacy? But upon these slender reasons the garments were continued, which soon after divided the Reformers among themselves, and gave rise to the two parties of Conformists and Nonconformists; Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley being at the head of the former; and Bishop Hooper, Rogers, with the foreign Divines, being patrons of the latter.

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1548.

The Parliament after several prorogations, met the 24th of November, and on the 15th of January following, the act confirming the new Liturgy passed both Houses; the Bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, protesting. The Preamble sets forth, “ that the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned Bishops and Divines, having by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement, concluded upon an order of divine worship, agreeable to Scripture and the primitive Church, the Parliament having considered the book, gave the King their most humble thanks, and enacted, that from the feast of Whitsunday, 1549, all divine offices should be performed according to it; and that such of the Clergy as refused to do it, or officiated in any other manner, should upon the first conviction suffer six months imprisonment, and forfeit a year’s profit of his benefice; for the second offence forfeit all his Church preferments, and suffer a year’s imprisonment; and for the third imprisonment for life. Such as writ or printed against the book were to be fined 10 l. for the first offence; 20 l. for the second; and to forfeit all their goods, and be imprisoned for life for the third.” It ought to be observed, that this service book was not laid before the Convocation,

Parliament
confirms the
new Liturgy.

nor

King
2dw. VI.
1549.

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nor any representative body of the Clergy: And whereas it is said to be done by one uniform agreement, 'tis certain that four of the Bishops employed in drawing it up protested against it, viz. the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster. But if the Liturgy had been more perfect than it was, the penalties by which it was imposed were severe and unchristian, contrary to Scripture and primitive antiquity.

Bp. Gardiner
hardly used.

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P. 152.

As soon as the act took place, the Council appointed visitors to see that the new Liturgy was received all over England. Bonner, who resolved to comply in every thing, sent to the Dean and Residentiary of St. Paul's to use it; and all the Clergy were so pliable, that the visitors returned no complaints; only that the Lady Mary continued to have Mass said in her house, which upon the intercession of the Emperor was indulged her for a time. Gardiner Bishop of Winchester continued still a prisoner in the Tower, without being brought to a trial, for refusing to submit to the Council's Supremacy while the King was under age; and for some other complaints against him. His imprisonment was certainly illegal; it was unjustifiable to keep a man in prison two years upon a bare complaint; and then without producing any evidence in support of the charge, to sift him by articles and interrogatories: This looked too much like an inquisition; but the King being in the Pope's room (says Bishop Burnet) there were some things gathered from the Canon Law, and from the proceedings *ex Officio*, that rather excused than justified the hard measures he met with. When the Council sent Secretary Petre to the Bishop, to know whether he would subscribe to the use of the Service Book, he consented with some exceptions, which not being admitted, he was threatened with deprivation.

Rebellions
on behalf of
the old Religion.

But the new Liturgy did not fit well upon the minds of the country people, who were for going on in their old way, of Wakes, Processions, Church Ales, Holidays, censuring of Images, and other Theatrical Rites, which strike the minds of the vulgar: These being encouraged by the old Monks and Friars rose up in arms in several Counties, but were soon dispersed. The most formidable insurrections were those of Devonshire and Norfolk. In Devonshire they were 10000 strong, and sent the following articles or demands to the King;

2. " That

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1549.

1. " That the six Articles should be restored.
2. " That Mass should be said in Latin.
3. " That the Host should be elevated and adored.
4. " That the Sacrament should be given but in one kind.
5. " That images should be set up in Churches.
6. " That the souls in Purgatory should be prayed for.
7. " That the Bible should be called in, and prohibited.
8. " That the new Service Book should be laid aside, and the old Religion restored."

An answer was sent from Court to these demands; but nothing prevailed on the enraged multitude, whom the Priests inflamed with all the artifice they could devise, carrying the Host about the camp in a cart, that all might see and adore it. They besieged the City of Exeter and reduced it to the last extremity; but the Inhabitants defended it with uncommon bravery, till they were relieved by the Lord Russell, who with a very small force entered the town and dispersed the rebels. The insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Ket a Tanner, who assumed to himself the power of Judicature under an old oak, called from thence the Oak of Reformation. He did not pretend much of Religion, but to place new Counsellors about the King, in order to suppress the greatness of the Gentry, and advance the privileges of the Commons. The rebels were 20000 strong; but the Earl of Warwick with 6000 foot and 1500 horse, quickly dispersed them. Several of the leaders of both Rebellions were executed, and Ket was hanged in chains.

The hardships the Reformers underwent in the late Reign from the six Articles, should have made them tender of the lives of those who differed from the present standard. Cranmer himself had been a Papist, a Lutheran, and was now a Sacramentary; and in every change guilty of inexcusable severities: While he was a Lutheran he consented to the burning of John Lambert and Anne Askew, for those very doctrines for which he himself afterward suffered. He bore hard upon the Papists, stretching the Law to keep their most active leaders in prison; and this year he imbrued his hands in the blood of a poor frantick woman, Joan Bocher, more fit for Bedlam than a stake; which was owing not to any cruelty in the Archbishop's temper, but to those miserable persecuting principles by which he was governed.

Among

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1549.

Among others that fled out of Germany into England, from the Rutlick war, there were some that went by the name of Anabaptists, who, besides the principle of Adult Baptism, held several wild opinions about the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and the person of Christ. Complaint being made of them to the Council April 12th, a commission was ordered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester, Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester, and some other Divines, any three being a quorum, to examine and search after all Anabaptists, Hereticks, or Contemners of the Common Prayer, whom they were to endeavour to reclaim, and after penance to give them Absolution; but if they continued obstinate they were to excommunicate, imprison, and to deliver them over to the secular arm. This was little better than a Protestant Inquisition. People had generally thought that all the Statutes for burning Hereticks had been repealed; but it was now said, that Hereticks were to be burnt by the Common Law of England; and that the Statutes were only for directing the manner of conviction; so that the repealing them did not take away that which was grounded upon a writ at Common law. Several Tradesmen that were brought before the Commissioners abjured; but Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, obstinately maintained, that "Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could not partake of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward Man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." These were her words: A Scholastick Nicety, not capable of doing much mischief, and far from deserving so severe a punishment. The poor woman could not reconcile the spotless purity of Christ's human Nature, with his receiving flesh from a sinful creature; and for this she declared an obstinate Heretick, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt. When the compassionate young King could not prevail with himself to sign the warrant for her execution, Cranmer with his superior learning was employed to persuade him; he argued from the practice of the Jewish Church in stoning blasphemers, which rather silenced his Highness than satisfied him: For when at last he yielded to the Archbishop's importunity, he told him with tears in his eyes, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God. This struck the Archbishop with surprize, but yet he suffered the sentence to be executed.

Joan of
Kent.

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P. 112.

Nor

Nor did his Grace renounce his burning principles as long as he was in power; for about two years after, he went through the same bloody work again. One George Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of saying, that "God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God," was dealt with to abjure, but refusing he was condemned in the same manner with Joan of Kent, and on the 25th of April 1551, was burnt in Smithfield: He was a man of a strict and virtuous life, and very devout; he suffered with great constancy of mind, kissing the stake and faggots that were to burn him. No part of Archbishop Cranmer's life exposed him more than this: It was now said by the Papists, that they saw men of harmless lives might be put to death for heresy by the confession of the Reformers themselves. In all the books published in Queen Mary's days justifying her severities against Protestants, these instances were always produced; and when Cranmer himself was brought to the stake they called it a just retaliation. But neither this nor any other Arguments, could convince the Divines of this age, of the absurdity and wickedness of putting men to death for conscience sake.

King
Edw. VI.
1549.

George Van
Paris burnt.

Burnt.

Bonner Bishop of London being accused of remissness in not settling the new Service Book throughout his Diocese; and being suspected of disaffection to the Government, was enjoined to declare publicly in a Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, his belief of the King's authority while under age, and his approbation of his new Service Book, with some other articles; which he not performing to the Council's satisfaction, was cited before the Court of Delegates, and after several hearings, in which he behaved with great arrogance, sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him September the 23d. by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley Bishop of Rochester, Secretary Smith, and the Dean of St. Paul's. It was thought hard to proceed to such extremities with a man for a meer omission; for Bonner pleaded, that he forgot the article of the King's authority in his Sermon; and it was yet harder, to add imprisonment to his deprivation: But he lived to take a severe revenge upon his Judges in the next Reign. The vacant See was filled up with Dr. Ridley, who on the 24th of Feb. 1549, was declared Bishop of London and Westminster, the two Bishopricks being united in him; but his consecration was deferred to the next year.

Bonner de-
prived.

Succeeded
by Ridley.

King
Edw. VI.
1559.

Reformation
of the Eccle-
siastical
Laws.

L. of Cran.
P. 271.

Does not
take place.

Act for con-
secration of
Bishops, and
ordaining
Priests and
Deacons.
3 & 4.
Edw. 6th.
cap. 12.

The Parliament that met the 14th of November revived the act of the late King, impowering his Majesty to reform the Canon Law, by naming 32 Persons (viz.) 16 of the Spirituality, of whom four to be Bishops; and 16 of the Temporality, of whom four to be common Lawyers, who within three years should compile a body of ecclesiastical Laws, which not being contrary to the Statute Law, should be published by the King's Warrant under the Great Seal, and have the force of Laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts. This design was formed, and very far advanced in King Henry VIII's time, but the troubles that attended the last part of his Reign prevented the finishing it. It was now resumed, and in pursuance of this act a Commission was first given to eight persons, (viz.) two Bishops, two Divines, two Doctors of Law, and two common Lawyers, who were to prepare materials for the review of the 32; but the preface to the printed book says, that Cranmer did almost the whole himself. It was not finished till the month of February 155²/₃, when another commission was granted to 32 persons to revise it, of whom the former eight were a part (viz.) 8 Bishops, 8 Divines, 8 Civilians, and eight common Lawyers; they divided themselves into four classes, and the amendments of each Class were communicated to the whole. Thus the work was finished, being digested into fifty one titles. It was translated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir John Cheek; but before it received the Royal Confirmation the King died; nor was it ever revived in the succeeding Reigns. Archbishop Parker first published it in the year 1571, under the title of "Reformatio Legum Anglicarum, &c." and it was reprinted 1640. By this book Cranmer seems to have softened his burning principles; for though under the third title of Judgments for Heresy, he lays a very heavy load upon the back of an obstinate Heretick, as that he "shall be declared infamous, incapable of publick trust, or of being witness in any Court; or of having power to make a will; or of having the benefit of the Law; yet there is no mention of capital proceedings.

Another remarkable Act passed this Session, was for ordaining Ministers; it appoints, that such "forms of ordaining Ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six Prelates and six Divines, to be named by the King, and authorized under the Great Seal, should be used after April next, and no other." Here is no mention again of a Convocation or Synod of Divines; nor do

the

the Parliament reserve to themselves a Right of Judgment, but intrust every thing absolutely with the Crown. The Committee soon finished their Ordinal, which is almost the same with that now in use. They take no notice in their book of the lower orders in the Church of Rome, as Subdeacons, Readers, Acolytes, &c. but confine themselves to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and here it is observable, that "the form of ordaining a Priest and a Bishop" "is the same we yet use," there being no express mention in the words of ordination whether it be for the one or the other office: This has been altered of late years, since a distinction of the two orders has been so generally admitted; but that was not the received doctrine of these times. The Committee struck out most of the modern Rites of the Church of Rome, and contented themselves (says Bishop Burnet) with those mentioned in Scripture, (viz.) "Imposition of Hands and Prayer." The gloves, the sandals, the mitre, the ring and crozier, which had been used in consecrating Bishops, were laid aside. The anointing, the giving consecrated vestments, the delivering into the hands, vessels for consecrating the Eucharist with a power to offer sacrifice for the dead and living, which had been the custom in the ordination of a Priest, were also omitted. But when the Bishop ordained, he was to lay one hand on the Priest's head, and with his other to give him a Bible with a Chalice and Bread in it. The Chalice and Bread are now omitted; as is the Pastoral Staff in the consecration of a Bishop. By the rule of this ordinal a Deacon was not to be ordained before 21, a Priest before 24, nor a Bishop before he was 30 years of age.

King
Edw. VI.
1550.

The Council went on with pressing the new Liturgy upon the People, who were still inclined in many places to the old service; but to put it out of their power to continue it, it was ordered that all Clergymen should deliver up to such persons whom the King should appoint, all their old Antiphonals, Missals, Grayls, Processionals, Legends, Pies, Portuasscs, &c. and to see to the observing one uniform order in the Church; which the Parliament confirmed, requiring further, all that had any images in their houses, that had belonged to any Church, to deface them; and to dash out of their Primers all prayers to the Saints.

Miss Books
cal ed in.

King
Edw. VI.
1550.

Altars
changed into
Communion
Tables.

Ridley being now Bishop of London, resolved upon a visitation of his Diocese. His injunctions were as usual, to enquire into the doctrines and manners of the Clergy; but the Council sent him a letter in his Majesty's name, to see that all Altars were taken down, and to require the Church Wardens of every Parish to provide a Table decently covered, and to place it in such part of the Choir or Chancel as should be most meet, so that the Ministers and Communicants should be separated from the rest of the people. The same injunctions were given to the rest of the Bishops, as appears by the collection of Bishop Sparrow. Ridley began with his own Cathedral at St. Paul's, where he ordered the wall on the back-side of the Altar to be broken down, and a decent table to be placed in its room; and this was done in most Churches throughout the Province of Canterbury. The Reasons for this alteration were these:

Reasons for
it.

1. " Because our Saviour instituted the Sacrament at a Table, and not at an Altar.

2. " Because Christ is not to be sacrificed over again, but his Body and Blood to be spiritually eaten and drunk at the Holy Supper; for which a Table is more proper than an Altar.

3. " Because the Holy Ghost speaking of the Lord's Supper, calls it the Lord's Table, 1 Cor. x. 21. but no where an Altar.

4. " The Canons of the Council of Nice, as well as the Fathers St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, call it the Lord's Table; and though they sometimes call it an Altar, it is to be understood figuratively.

5. " An Altar has relation to a Sacrifice; so that if we retain the one we must admit the other; which would give great countenance to Mass-Priests.

6. " There are many passages in antient Writers, that shew that Communion Tables were of wood, that they were made like Tables; and that those who fled into Churches for sanctuary did hide themselves under them.

7. " The most learned foreign Divines have declared against Altars; as Bucer, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, P. Martyr, Joannes Alasco, Hedio, Capito, &c. and have removed them out of their several Churches: Only the Lutheran Churches retain them.

Ridley, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of the English Reformers, were unanimously of opinion, that the retain-

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Hist. Ref.
Vol. II.
p. 158.

Ibid.
Vol. III.
p. 187.

ing Altars would serve only to nourish in peoples minds the superstitious opinion of a propitiatory Mass, and would minister an occasion of offence and division among the godly; and the next age will shew they were not mistaken in their conjectures. But some of the Bishops refused to comply with the Council's order; as Day Bishop of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, insisting on the Apostle's words to the Hebrews, "We have an Altar;" and rather than comply they suffered themselves to be deprived of their Bishopricks for contumacy, Octob. 1551. Preachers were sent into the countries to rectify the peoples prejudices, which had a very good effect; and if they had taken the same methods with respect to the "habits, and "other relicks of Popery;" these would hardly have kept their ground, and the Reformers would have acted a more consistent and prudent part.

King
Edw. VI.
1550.

The sad consequences of retaining the Popish Garments in the service of the Church, began to appear this year: A debate, one would think, of small consequence; but at this time apprehended of great importance to the Reformation. The people having been bred up in a superstitious veneration for the Priest's garments, were taught that they were sacred; that without them no administrations were valid; that there was a sort of virtue conveyed into them by consecration; and in a word, that they were of the same importance to a Christian Clergyman, as the Priest's garments of old were in the Ministrations; it was time therefore to disabuse them. The debate began upon occasion of Dr. Hooper's nomination to the Bishoprick of Gloucester, in the room of Dr. Wakeman, who died in December last.

Rise of the
controversy
about the
habits.

Dr. Hooper was a zealous, pious, and learned man: He went out of England in the latter end of King Henry's reign, and lived at Zurich at a time when all Germany was in a flame on account of the Interim; which was a form of worship contrived to keep up the exterior face of Popery, with the softnings of some other senses put upon things. Upon this arose a great and important question among the Germans, concerning the use of things indifferent. It was said, "If things were indifferent in themselves they were lawful; and that it was the subjects duty to obey when commanded." So the old popish rites were kept up, on purpose to draw the people more easily back to Popery. Out of this another question arose,

Bishop
Hooper's
character.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 199.

King.
Edw. VI.
1550.

“ Whether it was lawful to obey in things indifferent, when it was certain they were enjoined with an ill design ?” To which it was replied, That the designs of Legislators were not to be inquired into. This created a vast distraction in the Country : Some conformed to the Interim ; but the major part were firm to their principles, and were turned out of their livings for disobedience. Those who complied were for the most part Lutherans, and carried the name of Adiaphorists, from the Greek word that signifies, things indifferent. But the rest of the reformed were for shaking off all the reliicks of Popery, with the hazard of all that was dear to them in the world ; particularly at Zurich, where Hooper was, they were zealous against any compliance with the Interim, or the use of the old rites prescribed by it.

With these principles Hooper came over to England, and applied himself to preaching and explaining the Scriptures to the people ; he was in the pulpit almost every day in the week, and his Sermons were so popular, that all the Churches were crowded where he preached. His fame soon reached the Court, where Dr. Poynt and he were appointed to preach all the Lent Sermons. He was also sent to preach throughout the counties of Kent and Essex, in order to reconcile the people to the Reformation. At length, in the month of July 1550. he was appointed Bishop of Gloucester by Letters Patents from the King, but declined it for two reasons.

1. Because of the form of the oath, which he calls foul and impious. And,

2. By reason of the Aaronical habits.

By the oath is meant the oath of Supremacy, which was in this form, “ By God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Ghost ;” which Hooper thought impious, because God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, for as much as he only knows the thoughts of men. The young King being convinced of this, struck out the words with his own pen.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. VIII.
p. 203.

He refuses
the habits.

But the scruple about the habits was not so easily got over. The King and Council were inclined to dispense with them ; but Ridley and the rest of the Bishops that had wore the habits were of another mind, saying, “ the thing was indifferent, and therefore the law ought to be obeyed.” This had such an influence upon the Council, that all Hooper’s objections were afterwards heard with great prejudice. It discovered but an ill spirit in the

Refor-

Reformers, not to suffer Hooper to decline his Bishoprick, nor yet to dispense with those habits which he thought unlawful. Hooper was as much for the Clergy's wearing a decent and distinct habit from the Laity, as Ridley, but prayed to be excused from the old symbolizing popish garments.

King
Edw. VI.
1550.

1. Because they had no countenance in Scripture or primitive antiquity. His reasons

2. Because they were the inventions of Antichrist, and were introduced into the Church in the corruptest ages of Christianity.

3. Because they had been abused to superstition and idolatry; particularly in the pompous celebration of the Mass; and therefore were not indifferent.

4. To continue the use of these garments, was in his opinion, to symbolize with Antichrist, to mislead the people, and was inconsistent with the simplicity of the Christian religion.

Cranmer was inclined to yield to these reasons; but Ridley and Goodrick insisted strongly on obedience to the laws, affirming, that "in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was a good argument for the continuance of those that had been long used." But this argument seemed to go too far, because it might be used for the retaining all those other rites and ceremonies of Popery which had been long used in the Church, but were now abolished by these Reformers themselves.

Hooper not willing to rely upon his own judgment, writ to Bucer at Cambridge, and to Peter Martyr at Oxford, who gave their opinions against the habits, as inventions of Antichrist, and wished them removed out of the Church; as will appear more fully in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but were of opinion, since the Bishops were so resolute, that he might acquiesce in the use of them "for a time till they were taken away by law." And the rather, because the Reformation was in its infancy, and it would give occasion of triumph to the common enemy to see the Reformers at variance among themselves. The divines of Switzerland and Geneva were of the same mind, being unwilling that a Clergyman of so much learning and piety, and so zealous for the Reformation as Hooper was, should be silenced; they therefore advised him to comply for the present, that he might be the more capable by his authority and influence in the Church, to get them laid aside. But these reasons

Judgment
of foreign
Divines.

King
Edw. VI.
1550.

Hooper
hardly used.

not satisfying Hooper's conscience, he continued to refuse for above nine months.

The governing Prelates being provoked with his stiffness, resolved not to suffer such a precedent of disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws to go unpunished. Hooper must be a Bishop, and must be consecrated in the manner others had been, and wear the habits the law appointed; and to force him to comply he was served with an order of Council, first to silence him, and then to confine him to his house. The Doctor thought this usage very severe; To miss his promotion was no disappointment, but to be persecuted about cloaths, by men of the same faith with himself, and to lose his liberty because he would not be a Bishop, and in the fashion, this (says Mr. Collier) was possibly more than he well understood. After some time Hooper was committed to the custody of Cranmer, who not being able to bring him to conformity, complained to the Council, who thereupon ordered him into the Fleet, where he continued some months, to the reproach of the Reformers. At length he laid his case before the Earl of Warwick, who by the King's own motion writ to the Archbishop to dispense with the habits at his Consecration: But Cranmer alledged the danger of a Præmunire; upon which a letter was sent from the King and Council to the Archbishop, and other Bishops to be concerned in the Consecration, warranting them to dispense with the garments, and discharging them of all manner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures they might incur any manner of way by omitting the same: But though this letter was dated August the 5th, yet such was the reluctance of Cranmer and Ridley, that Hooper was not consecrated till March following; in which time, says Bishop Burnet, the matter was in some sort compromised; Hooper consenting to be robed in his habits at his Consecration, and once at Court; but to be dispensed with at other times. Accordingly being appointed to preach once before the King, he came forth (says Mr. Fox) like a new player on the stage: His upper garment was a long scarlet Chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen Rochet that covered all his shoulders, and a four square cap upon his head; but he took it patiently for the publick profit of the Church. After this Hooper retired to his Diocese, and preached sometimes two or three times a day, to crouds of people that hungred for the word of life: He was impartial and zealous in the faithful discharge of every branch
of

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 157.

The difference com-
promised.

Fulles.

of his episcopal character, even beyond his strength, and was himself a pattern of what he taught to others.

King
Edw. VI.
1550.

In the King's letter to the Archbishop, Hooper is said to be a Divine of great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study both in the Scriptures and prophane learning; as also, a person of good discretion, ready utterance, and of an honest life: But all these qualifications must be buried in silence and a prison, at a time when there was a famine of the Word, rather than the above-mentioned uniformity in dress be dispensed with.

Most of the reforming Clergy were with Hooper in this controversy: Several that had submitted to the habits in the late reign, laid them aside in this; as the Bishops Latimer and Coverdale; Dr Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and others, who laid down their lives for the Protestant Faith. In some Ordinations Cranmer and Ridley dispensed with the habits; for Mr. Tho. Sampson, Parson of Breadstreet London, afterwards one of the heads of the Puritants, and successively Dean of Chichester and Christ Church, in a letter to the Secretary Cecil writes, "That at his Ordination by Cranmer and Ridley, he excepted against the apparel, and was nevertheless permitted and admitted." If they had not done so on some occasions, there would not have been Clergymen to support the Reformation. Bishop Burnet says, they saw their error, and designed to procure an Act to abolish the popish garments; but whether this were so or not, 'tis certain that in the next reign they repented their conduct; for when Ridley was in prison he writ a letter to Hooper, in which he calls him his dear brother and fellow elder in Christ; and desires a mutual forgiveness and reconciliation. And when he and Cranmer came to be degraded, they smiled at the ridiculous attire with which they were cloathed, and declared they had long since laid aside all regards to that pageantry.

Sentiments
of the re-
forming
Clergy about
the habits.

Life of Cran-
mer, p. 192.

Ridley and
Cranmer re-
lax their o-
pinion of the
habits.

This behaviour of the Bishops towards the King's natural born subjects was the more extraordinary, because a latitude was allowed to foreign Protestants to worship God "after the manner of their country, without any regard to the popish vestments:" For this year a Church of German Refugees was established at St. Austin's in London, and erected into a corporation under the direction of John a Lasco, superintendent of all the foreign Churches in London, with whom were joined four other ministers; and as a mark of Favour 380 of the Congregation were made Denizens of England. The preamble to the patent sets forth,
That

German
Church
established.

King's
Edw. VI.
1550.

Burnet's
Hist. Ref.
in Records.

That the German Church made profession of pure and uncorrupted religion; and was instructed in truly christian and apostolical opinions and rites. In the patent which incorporates them there is the following clause: Item, "We command, and peremptorily enjoin our Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Magistrates of the city of London, and their Successors, with all Archbishops, Bishops, Justices of the Peace, and all Officers and Ministers whatsoever, That they permit the said Superintendent and Ministers to enjoy and exercise their own proper rites and ceremonies, and their own proper and peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, though differing from the rites and ceremonies used in our Kingdom, without impediment, let, or disturbance; any law, proclamation, or injunction heretofore published to the contrary notwithstanding." John a Lasco was a Poland of noble birth; and according to the words of the patent, a man very famous for learning, and for integrity of life and manners. He was in high esteem with the great Erasmus, who says, that he, though an old man, had profited much by his conversation. And Peter Martyr calls him his most learned Patron. But he did not please the Court Prelates because he took part with Hooper, and writ against the Popish Garments, and for the posture of sitting rather than kneeling at the Lord's Supper.

L. of Cran.
P. 238.

Gardiner
deprived.

1551.

Upon the translation of Ridley to the See of London, Dr. Poynt was declared Bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale Coadjutor to Veysey Bishop of Exeter. The See of Winchester had been two years as good as vacant by the long imprisonment of Gardiner, who had been confined all this time without being brought to a trial: The Bishop complained of this to the Council, who thereupon issued out a Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, with Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, two Civilians, and two Masters in Chancery, to proceed against him for contempt. It was objected to him, that he refused to preach concerning the King's power while under age; that he had been negligent in obeying the King's injunctions, and was so obstinate that he would not ask the King mercy. It was the declared opinion of the Popish Clergy at this time that the King's laws were to be obeyed, but not the orders of his Council; and therefore that all things should remain as the late King left them, till the present King, now a child, came to age. This the rebels in Devon pleaded,

pleaded, as well as the Lady Mary and others. For the same opinion Gardiner was deprived of his Bishoprick April 18th, upon which he appealed to the King when at age; and so his process ended, and he was sent back to the Tower, where he lay till Queen Mary discharg'd him. Nothing can be said in vindication of this severity but this, that both he and Bonner had taken out commissions, with the rest of the Bishops, to hold their Bishopricks only during the King's pleasure; which gave the regents a right to displace them whensoever they pleased. Dr. Poynt was translated from Rochester to Winchester; Dr. Story was made Bishop of Rochester; and Veysey resigning, Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter in his room: so that now the bench of Bishops had a majority for the Reformation.

King
Edw. VI.
1551.
L. of Cran.
p. 192.

It was therefore resolved in Council to reform the Doctrine of the Church. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley were appointed to this work, who framed 42 articles upon the chief points of the Christian Faith; copies of which were sent to the other Bishops and learned divines, for their corrections and amendments; after which the Archbishop reviewed them a second time, and having given them his last hand presented them to the Council, where they received the royal sanction. This was another high Act of the Supremacy; for the articles were not brought into Parliament, nor agreed upon in Convocation, as they ought to have been, and as the title seems to express: when this was afterwards objected to Cranmer as a fraud in the next Reign, he owned the charge, but said, he was ignorant of the title, and complained of it to the Council, who told him, the book was so entitled, because it was published in the time of the Convocation; which was no better than a collusion. It is entitled, "articles agreed upon by the Bishops, and other learned men in the Convocation held at London in the year 1552. for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and establishing consent touching true Religion. Publish'd by the King's Authority." These articles are for substance the same with those now in use, being reduced to the number of thirty nine in the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, where the reader will meet with the corrections and alterations. The controverted clause of the twentieth article, that "the Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith, is not in King Edward's articles;" nor does it appear how

Doctrines of
the Church
reformed

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
210.

King
Edw. VI.
1551.

Remarks.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. II.
p. 169.

Ibid. Vol.
III. p. 214.

Common
Prayer Book
revised a se-
cond time.

1552.

L. of Cran.
p. 290.

it came into Queen Elizabeth's. 'Tis evident by the title of the articles, that they were design'd as articles of truth, and not of peace, as some have since imagin'd, who subscribed them rather as a compromise, not to teach any doctrine contrary to them, than as a declaration that they believed according to them. This was a notion the imposers never thought of, nor does there appear any reason for this conceit. So that (says Bishop Burnet) those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate.

With the book of articles was printed a short Catechism, with a preface prefix'd in the King's name. 'Tis supposed to be drawn up by Bishop Poynt, but revised by the rest of the Bishops and other learned Men. 'Tis dated May 7th, about seven weeks before the King's Death.

The next work the Reformers were employed in, was a second correction of the Common Prayer Book. Some things they added, and others that had been retained through the necessity of times were struck out. The most considerable amendments were these. The daily service began with a short confession of sins, and of absolution to such as should repent. The Communion began with a rehearsal of the ten Commandments, the Congregation being on their knees; and a pause was made between the rehearsal of every Commandment, for the people's devotions. A Rubrick was also added, concerning the posture of kneeling, which declares that there was no adoration intended thereby to the Bread and Wine, which was gross Idolatry; nor did they think the very Flesh and Blood of Christ there present. This clause was struck out by Queen Elizabeth, to give a latitude to Papists and Lutherans; but was inserted again at the Restoration of King Charles II. at the request of the Puritans. Besides these amendments, sundry old Rites and Ceremonies, which had been retained in the former book, were discontinued; as the use of oil in confirmation and extream unction; prayer for the dead in the office of burial, and in the Communion service auricular confession; the use of the cross in the Eucharist, and in confirmation. In short, the whole Liturgy was in a manner reduced to the form in which it appears at present, excepting some small variations that have since been made for the clearing some ambiguities. By this book of common prayer, says Mr. Strype, all copes and vestments were forbidden throughout England: the Prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the Bishops their crosses, &c. as by Act of Parliament is more at large set forth.

When

When the Parliament met Jan. 23d, the new common prayer book was brought into the house, with an Ordinal or form of ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons ; both which passed the Houses without any considerable opposition. The Act requires “ all persons after the Feast of “ Alhallows next, to come to Common Prayer every Sun- “ day and holy day, under pain of the censures of the “ Church. All Archbishops, and Bishops are required to “ endeavour the due execution of this Act ; and whereas “ divers doubts have been raised about the service book, “ ’tis said, the King and Parliament had now caused it to “ be perused, explained, and made more perfect.” The new service book was to take place in all Churches after the Feast of All Saints, under the same penalties that had been enacted to the former book three years before.

King
Edw. VI.
1552.

Established
by Parlia-
ment.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
190.

By another Act of this Session the marriages of the Clergy, if performed according to the service book, were declared good and valid, and their children inheritable according to law ; and by another the Bishoprick of Westminster was suppressed, and reunited to the See of London. Dr. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were both deprived this year, with Tonstal Bishop of Durham, whose Bishoprick was designed to be divided into two ; but the Act never took effect.

Marriages of
the Clergy
legitimated.

One of the last things the King set his hand to was a Royal Visitation, in order to examine what plate, jewels, and other furniture, were in the Churches. The Visitors were to leave in every Church one or two Chalices of silver, with linen for the Communion Table and for Surplices, but to bring in the best of the Church-furniture into the King’s Treasury ; and to sell the linen copes, altar cloths, &c. and give the money to the poor. The pretence was, the calling in the superfluous plate that lay in Churches more for pomp than use. Some have called this by no better a name than Sacrilege, or Church Theft ; and it was really no better. But it ought to be remember’d, the young King was now languishing under a consumption, and near his end.

It must however be confess’d, that in the course of this, as well as the last Reign, there was a very great alienation of Church Lands : the Chauntry lands were sold among the laity, some of whom held five or six Prebendaries or Canonries, while the Clergy themselves were in want. Bishop Latimer complains in one of his sermons, “ That “ the revenues of the Church were seized by the rich “ Laity,

Blemishes of
the Reformation.

Alienation
of Church-
Lands.

King
Edw. VI.
1553.

“ Laity, and that the incumbent was only a Proprietor in
“ Title. That many benefices were let out to farm by
“ secular men, or given to their servants, as a consideration
“ on for keeping their hounds, hawks and horses; and
“ that the poor Clergy were reduced to such short allow-
“ ance that they were forced to go to service; to turn
“ clerks of the kitchen, surveyors, receivers, &c.” And
Camden complains, “ that avarice and sacrilege had
“ strangely the ascendant at this time: that estates for-
“ merly settled for the support of Religion and the Poor,
“ were ridicul’d as superstitious endowments; first miscal-
“ led and then plunder’d.” The Bishops were too easy in
parting with the lands and manors belonging to their Bi-
shopricks, and the courtiers were too eager in grasping at
every thing they could lay their hands upon. If the reve-
nues of the Church had been abused to superstition, they
might have been converted to other religious uses; or if
too great a proportion of the riches of the Kingdom was
in the hands of the Church, they should have made an
ample provision for the maintenance of the Clergy, and the
endowment of smaller livings, before they had enriched their
friends and Families.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
218.
L. of Cran.
p. 290.

Some of a
licentious
Life.

Nor were the lives of many who were zealous for the
Reformation free from scandal: the courtiers and great
men indulg’d themselves in a dissolute and licentious life;
and the Clergy were not without blemish. Some that em-
braced the Reformation were far from adorning their pro-
fession, but rather disposed the people to return to their old
superstitions: nevertheless there were many great and shi-
ning lights among them, who preached and prayed fer-
vently against the corruptions of the times, and were an
example to their Flocks, by the strictness and severity of
their lives and manners; but their numbers were small in
comparison to the many that were otherwise, turning the
doctrines of Grace into Lasciviousness.

Reformation
left imper-
fect.

We have not seen the length of King Edward’s Refor-
mation. It was an adventurous undertaking for a few Bi-
shops and Privy Counsellors, to change the Religion of a
Nation only by the advantage of the supremacy of a Minor,
without the consent of the people in Parliament or Convo-
cation, and under the eye of a presumptive Heir, who was
a declared enemy of all their proceedings; as was the case
in the former part of this Reign. We have taken notice
of the mistaken principles of the Reformers, in making use
of

of the civil power to force men to conformity; and of their stretching the laws to reach at those whom they could not fairly come at any other way. But notwithstanding these and some other blemishes, they were great and good men, and valiant in the cause of truth; as appears by their sealing it with their blood. They made as quick advances perhaps in restoring religion towards its primitive simplicity, as the circumstances of the times would admit; but 'tis evident they designed to go further, and not make this the purest standard of Reformation. Indeed Queen Elizabeth thought her Brother had gone too far, by stripping religion of too many ornaments; and therefore when she came to the Crown, she was hardly persuaded to restore it to the condition in which he left it. King James I. King Charles I. Archbishop Laud, and all their admirers, instead of removing further from the superstitious pomps of the Church of Rome, have been for returning back to them, and have appealed to the Settlement of Queen Elizabeth as the purest standard.

King
Edw. VI.
1553.

But the Reformers themselves were of another mind, as appears by the Sermons of Latimer, Hooper, Bradford, and others; by the Letters of Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and John a Lasco, who in his Book "de Ordinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia," dedicated to Sigismund King of Poland, 1555. says, "That King Edward desired that the Rites and Ceremonies used under popery should be purged out by degrees; that it was his pleasure that strangers should have Churches to perform all things according to Apostolical Observation only, that by this means the English Churches might be excited to embrace apostolical purity with the unanimous consent of the States of the Kingdom." He adds, "That the King was at the head of this project, and that Cranmer promoted it, but that some great persons stood in the way." As a further evidence of this, a passage was left in the preface of one of their Service Books to this purpose; "that they had gone as far as they could in reforming the Church, considering the times they lived in, and hoped they that came after them would, as they might, do more." King Edward in his diary laments, that he could not restore the primitive discipline according to his heart's desire, because several of the Bishops, some for age, some for ignorance, some for their ill name, and some out of love to popery, were unwilling to it. And the Church herself, in one of her publick offices, laments the want of a godly discipline to this day.

Further
progress in-
tended.

Voet. Eccl.
Pol. lib. 2.
cap. 6. Part I.
p. 421.

K. Edw.
Remains,
Numb. 2.

Martin

King
Edw. VI.
1553.

Bucer's Sen-
timents
Hist. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
156.

Martin Bucer, a German Divine, and professor of Divinity in Cambridge, a person in high esteem with the young King, drew up a plan, and presented it to his Majesty, in which he writes largely of ecclesiastical discipline. The King having read it, set himself to write a general discourse about reformation, but did not live to finish it. Bucer proposed, that there might be a strict discipline, to exclude scandalous livers from the Sacrament; that the old popish habits might be laid aside. He did not like the half office of Communion, or second service, to be said at the Altar when there was no Sacrament. He approved not of Godfathers answering in the Child's name so well as in their own. He presses much the sanctification of the Lord's Day; and that there might be many fastings, but was against the observation of Lent. He would have the pastoral Function restored to what it ought to be; that Bishops throwing off all secular cares, should give themselves to their spiritual employments. He advises that Coadjutors might be given to some, and a Council of Presbyters appointed for them all. He would have rural Bishops set over twenty or thirty Parishes, who should gather their Clergy often together, and inspect them closely; and that a provincial Synod should meet twice a year, when a secular man in the King's name, should be appointed to observe their proceedings.

And Cran-
mer's.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
214.

Original of
English
Convocati-
ons.

Lt. of Cran-
mer p. 266.

Cranmer was of the same mind. He disliked the present way of governing the Church by Convocations as they are now formed; in which Deans, Archdeacons, and Cathedrals, have an interest far superior in number to those elected to represent the Clergy. These (says Bishop Burnet) can in no sort pretend to be more than a part of our civil Constitution. They have no foundation in Scripture, nor any warrant from the first ages of the Church; but did arise from the model set forth by Charles the Great, and formed according to the Feudal Law, by which a right of giving Subsidies was vested in all who were possessed of such tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the support of the State. Nor was Cranmer satisfied with the Liturgy, though it had been twice reformed, if we may give credit to the learned Bullinger, who told the Exiles at Frankfort, "that the Archbishop had drawn up a Book of Prayers an hundred times more perfect than that which was then in being; but the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked Clergy and Convocation, and other Enemies."

The

The King was of the same Sentiments; but his untimely death, which happen'd in the 16th year of his age, and 7th of his Reign, put an end to all his noble designs for perfecting the Reformation. He was indeed an incomparable Prince, of most promising expectations; and in the judgment of the most impartial persons, the very Phœnix of his age. It was more than whispered that he was poison'd. But it is very surprizing that a Protestant Divine [Heylin] in his History of the Reformation should say, "that he was ill principled; that his Reign was unfortunate; and that his death was not an infelicity to the Church," only because he was apprehensive he would have reduced the Hierarchy to a more primitive Standard. With good King Edward died all further advances of the Reformation; for the alterations that were made afterwards by Queen Elizabeth hardly came up to his Standard.

King
Edw. VI.
1553.

King's
Death and
Character.

Pref. p. 4.
Part VII. p.
141.

We may observe from the History of this Reign,

1. That in matters of Faith the first Reformers followed the doctrine of St. AUSTIN, in the controverted points of original Sin, Predestination, justification by Faith alone, effectual Grace, and good Works.

Remarks.

2. That they were not satisfied with the present discipline of the Church, though they thought they might submit to it, till it should be amended by the authority of the Legislature.

3. That they believed but two orders of Church-men in holy Scripture (viz.) Bishops and Deacons; and consequently, that Bishops and Priests were but different ranks or degrees of the same order.

4. That they gave the right-hand of fellowship to foreign Churches, and Ministers that had not been ordained by Bishops; there being no dispute about Re-ordination in order to any Church preferment, till the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's Reign.

In all which points most of our modern Church-men have departed from them.

C H A P. III.

The Reign of Queen MARY.

Q. Mary,
1553.

IT will appear in the course of this Reign, that an absolute supremacy over the consciences of men, lodged with a single person, may as well be prejudicial as serviceable to true religion: For if King Henry VIII. and his son King Edward VI. reformed some abuses by their supremacy against the inclinations of the majority of the people, we shall find Queen Mary making use of the same power to turn things back into their old channel, 'till she had restored the grossest and most idolatrous part of Popery. This was begun by proclamations and orders of council, 'till her Majesty could procure a Parliament that would repeal King Edward's laws for Religion, which she quickly found means to accomplish. 'Tis strange indeed, that when there was but seven or eight Peers that opposed the laws made in favour of the Reformation under King Edward, the same House of Lords should almost all turn Papists in the Reign of Queen Mary; but as to the Commons 'tis less wonderful, because they are changeable, and the Court took care to new model the magistrates in the cities and corporations before the elections came on, so that not one almost was left that was not a Roman Catholick. Bribery and menaces were made use of in all places; and where they could not carry elections by reason of the superiority of the Reformed, the Sheriffs made double returns. 'Tis sad when the religion of a nation is under such a direction! But so it will be when the management of religion falls into the hands of a bigotted Prince or Ministry.

Queen Mary was a sad example of the truth of this observation, whose reign was no better than one continued scene of calamity. 'Tis the genuine picture of Popery, and should be remember'd by all true Protestants with abhorrence; the principles of that Religion being such as no man can receive, till he has abjured his senses, renounced his understanding and reason, and put off all the tender compassions of human nature.

King Edw.
last Will.

Kind Edward VI. being far gone in a consumption, from a concern for preserving the Reformation, was persuaded to set aside the succession of his Sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the Queen of Scots, the first and last being Papists, and

Rapin, p.
143.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
252.

and Elizabeth's blood being tainted by Act of Parliament ; Q. Mary,
1553.
and to settle the crown by Will upon the Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, a lady of extraordinary qualities, zealous for the Reformation, and next in blood, after the Princeesses abovementioned. One may guess the sad apprehensions the council were under for the Protestant Religion, when they put the King, who was a minor, and not capable of making a Will, upon this expedient, and set their hands to the validity of it. The King Q. Jane
proclaimed being dead, Queen Jane was proclaimed with the usual solemnities, and an army rais'd to support her title ; but the Princess Mary, then at Norfolk, being informed of her brother's death, sent a letter to the Council in which she claims the Crown, and charges them upon their allegiance to proclaim her in the city of London, and elsewhere. The Council in return insisted upon her laying aside her claim, and submitting as a good subject to her new Sovereign. But Mary, by the encouragement of her friends in the North, resolved to maintain her right ; and to make her way more easy, she promised the Suffolk men to " make no Alterations in Religion." This gained her an army, with which she marched towards London ; but before she came thither, both the council and citizens of London declared for her : And on the third of August she made her publick entry without the loss of a drop of blood, four weeks after the death of her brother.

Upon Queen Mary's entrance into the Tower she releas'd Bonner, Gardiner, and others whom she called her Prisoners. August 12. her Majesty declared in Council, Q. Mary
enters London.
" That though her conscience was settled in matters of
" Religion, yet she was resolved not to compel others, but
" by the preaching of the Word." This was different Her declaration
about
Religion.
from her promise to the Suffolk men : She assured them that Religion should be left upon the same foot she found it at the death of King Edward, but now she insinuates, that the old Religion is to be restored, but without compulsion. Next day there was a tumult at St. Paul's, occasioned by Dr. Bourne, one of the Canons of that Church, preaching against the late Reformation : He spoke in commendation of Bonner, and was going on with severe reflections upon the late King Edward, when the whole audience was in an uproar ; some calling to pull down the preacher, others throwing stones, and one a dagger, which stuck in the timber of the pulpit. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bradford, two popular preachers for the Reformation, ha-

Q. Mary,
1553.

zarded their lives to save the Doctor, and conveyed him in safety to a neighbouring house; for which act of charity they were soon after imprisoned, and then burnt for Heresy.

To prevent the like tumults for the future the Queen published an Inhibition, Aug. 18th, forbidding all preaching without special license; declaring further, that she would not compel her subjects to be of her Religion, 'till publick order should be taken in it by common assent. Here was another intimation of an approaching storm: "The Subjects were not to be compelled till publick Order should be taken for it." And to prevent further tumults a proclamation was published, for masters of families to oblige their apprentices and servants to frequent their own parish churches on sundays and holidays, and to keep them at home at other times.

Suffo'k men
punished.

The shutting up all the Protestant pulpits at once awaken'd the Suffolk men, who presuming upon their merits and the Queen's promise, sent a deputation to court to represent their grievances; but the Queen check'd them for their insolence: And one of their number happening to mention her promise, was put in the pillory three days together, and had his ears cut off for defamation. On the 22d of August, Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Tonsal of Durham, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were restored to their Bishopricks.

Reformers
imprison'd.

Some of the Reformers continuing to preach after the Inhibition were sent for into custody, among whom were Hooper Bishop of Gloucester, Coverdale of Exeter, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Rogers the Proto-Martyr, and several others. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, Sept. 1. no regard being had to his active zeal in asserting the Queen's right in his sermon against the title of the Lady Jane; but so sincerely did this good man follow the light of his conscience, when he could not but see what sad consequences it was like to have. Coverdale of Exeter being a foreigner, was ordered to keep his house till further order. Burnet says he was a Dane, and had afterwards leave to retire. But according to Fuller he was born in Yorkshire. Archbishop Cranmer was so silent at Lambeth that it was thought he would have returned to the old Religion; but he was preparing a protestation against it, which taking air, he was examined, and confessing the fact, he was sent to the Tower, with Bishop Latimer, about the 13th of September. The beginning of next month Holgate Arch-

bishop

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
221, 239.
Fuller's
Worthies,
B. III. p.
258.

bishop of York was committed to the Tower, and Horn Q. Mary, Dean of Durham was summoned before the Council, but he fled beyond sea. 1553.

The storm gathering so thick upon the Reformers, above eight hundred of them retired into foreign parts; among whom were five Bishops (viz.) Poynt of Winchester, who died in exile; Barlow of Bath and Wells, who was superintendent of the congregation at Embden; Scory of Chichester; Coverdale of Exon; and Bale of Ossory: Five Deans, viz. Dr. Cox, Haddon, Horn, Turner and Sampson; four Archdeacons, and above fifty Doctors of Divinity and eminent preachers, among whom were Grindal, Jewel, Sandys, Reynolds, Pilkington, Whitehead, Lever, Nowel, Knox, Rough, Fox, Wittingham, Parkhurst, and others, famous in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: Besides of Noblemen, Merchants, Tradesmen, Artificers, and Plebeians, many hundreds. Some fled in disguise, or went over as the servants of foreign Protestants, who having come hither for shelter in King Edward's time, were now required to leave the kingdom; among these were Peter Martyr and John a Lasco, with his congregation of Germans. But to prevent too many of the English embarking with them, an Order of Council was sent to all the ports, that none should be suffered to leave the kingdom without proper passports. The Roman Catholick party, out of their abundant zeal for their Religion, out-run the laws, and celebrated Mass in divers Churches before it was restored by authority; while the people that favoured the Reformation continued their publick devotions with great seriousness and fervency, as foreseeing what was coming upon them; but the rude multitude came into the Churches, insulted their Ministers, and ridicul'd their worship. The court not only wink'd at these things, but fined Judge Hales (who alone refused to sign the Act which transferred the Crown to Jane Grey) a thousand pounds sterling, because in his circuit he ordered the Justices of Kent to conform themselves to the laws of King Edward, not yet repealed; upon which that gentleman grew melancholy and drowned himself.

The Queen was crowned Octob. 1. by Gardiner, attended by ten other Bishops, all in their Mitres, Copes and Crofiers; and a Parliament was summoned to meet the 10th. What methods were used in the elections has been related. On the 31st of October a bill was sent down to the Commons for repealing King Edward's laws about

Foreigners commanded to leave the Kingdom.

L. of Cran. p. 314.

Hist. Ref. Vol. III. p. 223.

Papery restored by Parliament.

Q. Mary,
1553.

Rapin, p.
246.

Religion, which was argued six days, and at length carried. It repeals in general all the late Statutes relating to Religion, and enacts, "That after the 20th of December next, there should be no other form of Divine Service but what had been used in the last year of King Henry VIII." Severe Punishments were decreed against such as should interrupt the publick Service; as should abuse the Holy Sacrament, or break down Altars, Crucifixes, or Crosses. It was made felony for any number of persons above twelve, to assemble together with an intention to alter the religion established by law. Nov. 3d Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Guilford, Lady Jane, and two other sons of the Duke of Northumberland, were brought to their trials for high treason, in levying war against the Queen, and conspiring to set up another in her room. They all confessed their indictments, but Cranmer appealed to his judges, how unwillingly he had set his hand to the exclusion of the Queen: These judgments were confirmed by Parliament, after which the Queen's intended marriage with Philip of Spain being discovered, the Commons sent their Speaker, and twenty of their members, humbly to entreat her Majesty, not to marry a stranger; with which she was so displeased, that upon the 6th of December she dissolved the Parliament.

Proceedings
of Convo-
cation.

The Convocation that sat with the Parliament was equally devoted to the court. Care had been taken about their elections. In the collection of publick Acts there are found about 150 presentations to livings before the choice of representatives; so that the lower house of convocation was of a piece with the upper, from whence almost all the Protestant Bishops were excluded by imprisonment, deprivation, or otherwise. Bonner presided as the first Bishop of the province of Canterbury. Harpsfield his chaplain preached the sermon, on Acts xx. 28. "Feed the Flock;" and Weston Dean of Westminster was chosen Prolocutor. On the 20th of October it was proposed to the members to subscribe to the doctrine of Transubstantiation; which all complied with but the following six divines, who by their Places had a right to sit in convocation; Philpot Archdeacon of Winchester; Philips Dean of Rochester; Haddon Dean of Exeter; Cheney Archdeacon of Hereford; Aylmer Archdeacon of Stow; and Young Chaunter of St. David's: These disputed upon the Argument for three days, but the disputation was managed according to the fashion of the times, with reproaches and menaces on the

Hist. Ref.
Vol. II.
p. 257.

the stronger side; and the prolocutor ended with saying, Q. Mary,
1554
“ You have the Word but we have the Sword.”

This year began with Wyat's rebellion, occasioned by a general dislike of the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain: 1554-
Wyat's Re-
bellion.
It was a raw, unadvised attempt, and occasioned great mischiefs to the Protestants, though Religion had no share in the conspiracy, Wyat himself being a Papist: This gentleman got together 4000 men, with whom he marched directly to London; but coming into Southwark, Feb. 2. he found the bridge so well fortified, that he could not force it without cannon; so he marched about, and having crossed the Thames at Kingston, he came by Charing Cross to Ludgate next morning, in hopes the citizens would have opened their gates; but being disappointed he yielded himself a prisoner at Temple Bar, and was afterwards executed; as were the Lady Jane Grey, Lord Guilford her husband, and others; the Lady Elizabeth herself hardly escaping, Wyat upon his tryal accused her, in hopes of saving his life; upon which she was ordered into custody; but when Wyat saw he must die, he acquitted her on the scaffold; and upon the Queen's marriage this summer she obtained her pardon.

As soon as the nation was a little settled, her Majesty, by A Visitation.
virtue of her supremacy, gave instructions to her Bishops to visit the Clergy. The injunctions were drawn up by Gardiner, and contain an angry recital of all the innovations introduced into the Church in the reign of King Edward; and a charge to the Bishops, “ To execute all the ecclesiastical laws that had been in force in King Henry the VIIIth's reign; but not to proceed in their Courts in the Queen's name. She enjoins them not to exact the Oath of Supremacy any more, but to punish Hereticks and Heresies, and to remove all married Clergymen from their Wives; but for those that wou'd renounce their Wives they might put them into some other cures—All the Ceremonies, Holidays and Fasts, used in King Henry's time were to be revived. Those Clergymen who had been ordained by the late Service Book, were to be re-ordained, or have the defects of their Ordination supplied; that is, the Anointing, the giving the priestly Vestments, with other rites of the Roman Pontifical. And lastly, It was declared Hist. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
290.
“ that all people should be compelled to come to Church.” The Archbishop of York, the Bishop of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, were deprived for being married; and the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, were deprived by the Royal Pleasure, as holding their Bishoprick by

Q. Mary,
1554.

such a patent. It was very arbitrary to turn out the married Bishops, while there was a law subsisting to legitimate their marriages; and to deprive the other Bishops without any manner of process, merely for the Royal Pleasure. This was acting up to the height of the Supremacy, which though the Queen believed to be an unlawful power, yet she claimed and used it for the service of the Romish Church. The vacant Bishopricks were filled up the latter end of March, with men after the Queen's Heart, to the number of sixteen in the room of so many deprived or dead.

Numbers of
the Clergy
rejected.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
226.

The new Bishops in their visitation, and particularly Bishop Bonner, executed the Queen's injunctions with rigour. The Mass was set up in all places, and the old popish Rites and ceremonies revived. The Carvers and makers of Statues had a quick trade for Roods and other Images that were to be set up again in Churches. The most eminent Preachers in London were under confinement; and all the married Clergy throughout the Kingdom were deprived. Dr. Parker reckons, that of sixteen thousand Clergymen, twelve thousand were turned out; which is not probable, for if we compute by the diocese of Norwich, which is almost an eighth part of England, and in which there were but 335 deprived, the whole Number will fall short of 3000. Some were turned out without conviction, upon common fame: Some were never cited, and yet turned out for not appearing. Those that quitted their wives, and did penance, were nevertheless deprived; which was grounded on the vow that (as was pretended) they had made. Such was the deplorable condition of the Reformed this summer, and such the cruelty of their adversaries.

Queen's 2d
Parliament
and Marriage.

The Queen's second Parliament met April 2d. The Court had taken care of the elections by large promises of money from Spain: Their design was to persuade the Parliament to approve of the Spanish match, which they accomplish'd, with this provisoe, "That the Queen alone should have the government of the kingdom;" after which the houses were presently dissolved. King Philip arrived in England, July 20th, and was married to the Queen on the 27th, at Winchester, he being then in the 27th year of his age, and the Queen in her 38th. He brought with him a vast mass of Wealth; 27 chests of bullion, every chest being above a yard long; and ninety nine horse loads, and two cart loads of coined silver and gold.

Disputation
at Oxford.

The Reformers complaining of their usage in the late dispute held in Convocation, the Court resolved to give them a fresh

a fresh mortification, by appointing another at Oxford in presence of the whole university; and because Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley and Latimer, were the most celebrated Divines of the Reformation, they were by warrant from the Queen removed from the Tower to Oxford, to manage the dispute. The Convocation sent their Prolocutor and several of their members, who arriving on the 13th of April, being Friday, sent for the Bishops on Saturday, and appointed them Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, every one his day, to defend their Doctrine. The questions were, “upon Transubstantiation and the propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass.” The particulars of the dispute are in Mr. Fox’s Book of Martyrs. The Bishops behaved with great modesty and presence of mind; but their adversaries insulted and triumphed in a most barbarous manner. Bishop Ridley writes, “That there were perpetual shoutings, tauntings, reproaches, noise and confusion.” Cranmer and old Latimer were his’d and laugh’d at; and Ridley was born down with noise and clamour; “In all my life (says Life of Cranmer, p. 338. he) I never saw any thing carried more vainly and tumultuously; I could not have thought that there could have been found any Englishman honoured with degrees in learning, that could allow of such thraasonical ostentations, more fit for the stage than the schools.” On the 28th of April they were summoned again to St. Mary’s, and required by Weston the Proculator to subscribe, as having been vanquished in disputation; but they all refusing, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and no longer Members of the Catholick Church.

It was designed to expose the Reformers by another Disputation at Cambridge; but the prisoners in London hearing of it published a paper, declaring, “That they would not dispute but in writing, except it were before the Queen and Council, or before either House of Parliament, because of the misreports and unfair usage they had every where met with.” At the same time they printed a summary of their Faith, for which they were ready to offer up their lives to the halter or the fire, as God should appoint. Hist. Ref. Vol. II. p. 285.

And here they declared, “That they believed the Scriptures to be the true Word of God, and the Judge of all Controversies in Matters of Religion; and that the Church is to be obeyed as long as she followed this Word.” Reformers declaration of Faith.

“That

Q. Mary,
1554.

" That they adhered to the Apostle's Creed ; and those
" Creeds set out by the Councils of Nice, Constantino-
" ple, Ephesus, and Calcedon ; and by the first and fourth
" Councils of Toledo ; and the Symbols of Athanasius,
" Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damascus.

" They believed Justification by Faith alone ; which
" Faith was not only an opinion, but a certain persuasion
" wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illuminate the
" mind, and supple the heart to submit itself unfeignedly
" to God.

" They acknowledged the necessity of an inherent Righteousness ; but that justification and pardon of sins came
" only by Christ's Righteousness imputed to them.

" They affirmed, that the Worship of God ought to be
" performed in a tongue understood by the people.

" That Christ only, and not the Saints, were to be
" prayed to.

" That immediately after death departed souls pass either
" into the state of the blessed, or of the damned, without
" any Purgatory between.

" That Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the Sacra-
" ments of Christ, which ought to be administered ac-
" cording to his Institutions ; and therefore they condemn-
" ed the denying the cup to the people, Transubstantiation,
" the Adoration or Sacrifice of the Mass : And asserted
" the lawfulness of marriage to all ranks and orders of
" men."

These truths they declare themselves ready to defend, as before ; and in conclusion they charged all people to enter into no rebellion against the Queen, but to obey her in all points, except where her commands are contrary to the Law of God. This put an end to all former triumphs of the Popish Party for the present, and was a noble testimony to the chief and distinguishing doctrines of the Protestant Faith. But since the Reformers were not to be run down by noise and clamour, therefore their steadfastness must undergo the fiery trial.

The Queen's third Parliament met November 11. In the Writs of Summons the " Title of supreme Head of
" the Church was omitted," though it was still by law vested in the Crown. The money brought from Spain had procured a House of Commons devoted to the Court. The first bill passed in the House was the repeal of Cardinal Pool's attainder. It had the Royal Assent November 22d. and the Cardinal himself arrived in England two days after
in

Cardinal
Pool arrives
from the
Pope.

in'quality of the Pope's Legate, with a Commission to receive the Kingdom of England into the bosom of the Catholick Church under the Pope as their supreme Pastor. On the 27th he made a Speech in Parliament, inviting them to a reconciliation with the Apostolick See. Two Days after a Committee of Lords and Commons was appointed to draw up a Supplication to the King and Queen, to intercede with the Legate for a Reconciliation; with a promise to repeal all Acts made against the Pope's authority. This being presented by both Houses on their knees to the King and Queen, they made intercession with the Cardinal, who thereupon made a long Speech in the House, at the close of which he enjoined them for penance to repeal the Laws abovementioned, and so in the Pope's name he granted them a full absolution, which they received on their knees; and then absolved the Realm from all censures.

Q. Mary.
1554.

The King-
dom recon-
ciled to
Rome.

The Act of Repeal was not ready till the beginning of January, when it passed both Houses, and received the Royal Assent. It enumerates and reverses all Acts since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the Holy See; but then it contains the following Restrictions, which they pray, through the Cardinal's intercession, may be established by the Pope's authority.

Laws against
the Pope re-
pealed.

1. " That all Bishopricks, Cathedrals or Colleges, now established, may be confirmed for ever.
2. " That marriages within such degrees as are not contrary to the Law of God, may be confirmed, and their issue legitimated.
3. " That Institutions into Benefices may be confirmed.
4. " That all judicial Processes may be confirmed.
5. " That all the Settlements of the Lands of any Bishopricks, Monasteries, or other religious houses, may continue as they were, without any trouble from the Ecclesiastical Courts."

The Cardinal admitted of these Requests, but ended with a heave denunciation of the Judgments of God upon those who had the goods of the Church in their hands, and did not restore them. And to make the Clergy more easy the Statutes of Mortmain were repealed for 20 years to come. But after all, the Pope refused to confirm the restrictions, alledging, That the Legate had exceeded his powers; so that the possessors of Church Lands had but a precarious title to their estates under this Reign; for even before the Reconciliation was fully concluded, the Pope published a

Rapin,
P. 173.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. II.
P. 399.

Bull,

Q. Mary,
1555.

Queen re-
stores the
Church
Lands.

Bull, by which he excommunicates all those persons who were in possession of the goods of the Church or Monasteries, and did not restore them. This alarmed the superstitious Queen, who apprehending herself near her time of Child-Birth, sent for her Ministers of State, and surrendered up all the Lands of the Church that remained in the Crown, to be disposed of as the Pope or his Legate should think fit. But when a proposal of this kind was made to the Commons in Parliament, some of them boldly laid their hands on their swords, and said, "They well knew how to defend their own properties." But the Queen went on with acts of devotion to the Church; she repaired several old Monasteries and erected new ones; she ordered a strict enquiry to be made after those who had pillaged the Churches and Monasteries, and had been employed in the visitations of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. She commanded Bishop Bonner to raze out of the publick Records all that had been done against the Monks; and particularly the accounts of the visitations of Monasteries; which has rendered the Ecclesiastical History of this time defective.

Laws against
Hereticks
revived.

The next Act brought into the House, was for reviving the Statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV. and V. for burning Hereticks; which passed both Houses in six Days, to the unspeakable joy of the Popish Clergy. The Houses having been informed of some heretical Preachers, who had prayed in their Conventicles, That God would turn the Queen's heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, or else shorten her days; they passed an Act, "That all that prayed after this manner should be adjudged traitors." After which, on the 16th of January the Parliament was dissolved.

1555.
Protestants
burnt.

The Kingdom being now reconciled to the Church of Rome, and the penal Laws against Hereticks revived, a Council was held about the manner of dealing with the Reformed. It is said that Cardinal Pool was for the gentler methods of Instruction and Persuasion, which is very doubtful; but Gardiner was certainly for rigor, imagining that a few examples of severity upon the heads of the Party, would terrify the rest into a Compliance. The Queen was of his mind, and commanded Gardiner, by a Commission to himself and some other Bishops, to make the Experiment. He began with Mr. Rogers, Mr. Cardmaker, and Bishop Hooper, who had been kept in prison 18 months

months without law. These upon examination were asked, whether they would abjure their heretical opinions about the Sacrament, and submit to the Church as then established; which they refusing were declared obstinate Hereticks, and delivered over to the secular Power. Mr. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield, February 4, a pardon being offered him at the Stake, which he refused, though he had a wife and ten small children unprovided for. Bishop Hooper was burnt at Gloucester, Feb. 9. He was not suffered to speak to the people; and was used so barbarously in the fire, that his legs and thighs were roasted, and one of his hands dropt off before he expired: His last words were, "Lord Jesus receive my Spirit." While he was in prison he writ several excellent letters, full of devotion and piety, to the foreign Divines. In one to Bullinger, dated Dec. 11, 1554, about two months before his martyrdom, are these expressions,—"With us the wound which Antichrist had received is healed, and he is declared head of the Church, who is not a member of it. We are still in the utmost peril, as we have been for a year and half: We are kept afunder in prison, and treated with all kinds of inhumanity and scorn. They threaten us every day with death, which we do not value. We resolutely despise fire and sword for the cause of Christ. We know in whom we have believed, and are sure we have committed our souls to him by well-doing. In the mean time, help us with your prayers, That he that has begun the good work in us would perform it to the end. We are the Lord's, let him do with us as seemeth good in his sight."

Q. Mary,
1555.

Mr. Rogers.

Bp. Hooper.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
in Records,
Numb. 38.

About the same time Mr. Saunders, another Minister was burnt in Coventry. When he came to the stake he said, "Welcome the Cross of Christ; Welcome everlasting life." Dr. Taylor Parson of Hadley, suffered next: Gardiner used him very roughly, and after condemning and degrading him, sent him to his own parsonage to be burnt; which he underwent with great courage, Feb. 9, though he had barbarous usage in the fire, his brains being beat out with one of the halberts.

Mr. Saunders and Dr. Taylor.

Gardiner seeing himself disappointed, medled no further, but committed the persecution of the bloody work to Bonner Bishop of London. This Clergyman behaved more like a cannibal than a Christian; he condemned without mercy all

Bonner's
Cruelty.

Q. Mary, 1555. all that came before him ; ordering them to be kept in the most cruel durance till they were delivered over to the civil Magistrate. He tore off the beard of Tomkins a Weaver in Shoreditch, and held his hand in the flame of a candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst, and the blood spurted out in Harpsfield's face, who was standing by. He put others in dungeons, and in the stocks, and fed them with bread and water ; and when they were brought before him insulted over their misery in a most brutish manner.

In the month of March were burnt, Bishop Ferrars at St. Davids ; Mr. Lawrence a Priest at Colchester ; Mr. Tomkins a Weaver in Smithfield ; Mr. Hunter an apprentice of 19 years of age, at Brentwood ; Mr. Caulton and Mr. Higden, Gentlemen of good estates in Essex ; Mr. William Pigot at Braintree ; Mr. Stephen Knight at Malden ; Mr. Rawlins White a poor Fisherman at Cardiffe. In the next month, Mr. March a Priest at Chester ; and one Flower a young man in St. Margaret's Church-yard, Westminster.

Petition
from beyond
Sea in behalf
of the Mar-
tyrs.

These burnings were disliked by the nation, which began to be astonished at the courage and constancy of the Martyrs ; and to be startled at the unrelenting severity of the Bishops, who being reproached with their cruelties, threw the odium upon the King and Queen. At the same time a petition was printed by the Exiles beyond sea, and addressed to the Queen, putting her in mind, " That the Turks
" tolerated Christians, and the Christians in most places to-
" lerated Jews. That no Papist had been put to death for
" religion in King Edward's time. And then they beseech
" the nobility and common people, to interceed with
" her Majesty, to put a stop to this issue of blood,
" and at least grant her subjects the same liberty she allow-
" ed Strangers, of transporting themselves into foreign
" parts." But it had no effect. King Philip being informed of the artifices of the Bishops, caused his Confessor Alphonfus to preach against these severities, which he did in the face of the whole Court ; Bonner himself pretended to be sick of them ; but after some little recess he went on. And though Philip pretended to be for milder measures, yet on the 24th of May he and the Queen signed a letter to Bonnor, to quicken him to his pastoral duty ; whereupon he redoubled his fury, and in the month of June condemned nine Protestants at once to the stake in Essex ; and the Council writ to the Sheriffs, to gather the gentry together to countenance the burnings with their presence.

Rapin, p.
184, 188.

In

In the month of July Mr. John Bradford late Prebendary of St. Paul's, and a most celebrated preacher in King Edward's days suffered Martyrdom. He was a most pious Christian, and is said to do as much service to the Reformation by his letters from prison, as by his preaching in the pulpit. Endeavours were used to turn him, but to no purpose. He was brought to the stake with one John Leafe, an apprentice of 19 years old; he kissed the stake and the faggots; but being forbid to speak to the people, he only prayed with his fellow-sufferer, and quietly submitted to the Fire. His last words were, " Strait is the Gate, and narrow the Way, that leadeth unto eternal Life, and few there be that find it." From Smithfield the persecution spread all over the country; in the months of June and July eight men and one woman were burnt in several parts of Kent; and in the months of August and September twenty five more in Suffolk, Essex, and Surry.

Q. Mary,
1555.
Mr. Brad-
ford burnt.

But the greatest sacrifice to popish cruelty was yet to come: For on the 16th of October the Bishops Ridley and Latimer, were burnt at one stake in Oxford. Latimer died presently; but Ridley was a long time in exquisite torments, his lower parts being burnt before the fire reached his body. His last words to his fellow-sufferer were, " Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or enable us to abide it." Latimer replied, " Be of good comfort, for we shall this day light such a candle in England, as I trust by God's Grace shall never be put out." The very same day Gardiner their great persecutor, was struck with the illness of which he died; it was a suppression of urine, which held him in great agonies till the 12th of November, when he expired. He would not sit down to dinner till he had received the news from Oxford of the burning of the two Bishops, which was not till four of the clock in the afternoon; and while he was at dinner he was seized with the distemper that put an end to his life. When Bishop Day spoke to him of justification through the blood of Christ, he said, " If you open that Gap to the people, than farewell all again." He confessed he had sinned with Peter, but had not repented with him.

Bp. Ridley
and Lati-
mer.

Bp. Gardi-
ner's death.

On the 18th of December Mr Archdeacon Philpot was burnt, and behaved at the stake with the courage and resolution of the primitive Martyrs.

On

Q. Mary,
1555.

Abp. Cran-
mer burnt.

On the 21st of March following Archbishop Cranmer suffered. He had been degraded by the Bishops Thirlby and Bonner on Feb. 14th. Bonner insulted him in an indecent manner, but Thirlby melted into tears. After this by much persuasion, and in hope of life, he set his hand to a paper, in which he renounced the errors of Luther and Zuingle, and acknowledged his belief of the Corporal Presence, the Pope's Supremacy, Purgatory, and Invocation of Saints; &c. This was quickly published to the world with great triumph among the Papists; and grief to the Reformers. But the unmerciful Queen was still resolved to have his life, accordingly sent down a Writ for his execution: She could never forgive the share he had in her Mother's divorce, and in driving the Pope's authority out of England. Cranmer suspecting the design prepared a true Confession of his Faith, and carried it in his bosom to St. Mary's Church on the day of his Martyrdom, where he was raised on an eminence, that he might be seen by the people, and hear his own funeral Sermon. Never was a more awful and melancholy spectacle; an Archbishop, once the second man in the Kingdom, now clothed in rags, and a gazing stock to the world! Cole the preacher magnified his conversion as the immediate hand of God, and assured him of a great many Masses to be said for his Soul. After Sermon he desired Cranmer to declare his own Faith, which he did with tears, declaring his belief in the Holy Scriptures, and the Apostles Creed; and then came to that, which he said troubled his conscience more than any thing he had done in his life, and that was his subscribing the above-mentioned paper out of fear of death and love of life; and therefore when he came to the fire he was resolved, that hand that signed it should burn first. The assembly was all in confusion at this disappointment; and the broken-hearted Archbishop shedding abundance of tears was led immediately to the stake; and being tied to it, he stretched out his right hand to the flame, never moving it but once to wipe his face, till it dropt off. He then cried out, That unworthy Hand! which was consumed before the fire reached his Body. His last words were, "Lord Jesus receive my Spirit." He died in the 67th year of his age, and 23d of his Archbishoprick, and was succeeded by Cardinal Pool.

It is not within the compass of my design to write a Martyrology of these times; nor to follow Bishop Bonner and

and his Brethren through the rivers of Protestant blood which they spilt. The whole year 1556 was one continued persecution, in which Popery triumphed in all its false and bloody colours. Bonner not content to burn Hereticks singly, sent them by companies to the flames. Such as were suspected of heresy were examined upon the articles of the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, Auricular Confession, and the Mass; and if they did not make satisfactory answers, they were without any farther proofs condemned to the fire. Women were not spared, nor infants in the womb. In the Isle of Guernsey a woman with child being ordered to the fire, was delivered in the flames, and the infant being taken from her, was ordered by the Magistrates to be thrown back into the fire. At length the butcherly work growing too much for the hands that were employed in it, the Queen erected an extraordinary Tribunal for trying of heresy, like the Spanish Inquisition, consisting of 31 Commissioners, most of them Laymen; and in the month of June 1555. she issued out a proclamation, That such as received heretical Books should be immediately put to death by martial Law. She forbid prayers to be made for the Sufferers, or even to say, God bless them: So far did her fiery zeal transport her. Upon the whole, the number of them that suffered death for the reformed religion in this reign, were no less than 277 persons, of whom were 5 Bishops, 21 Clergymen, 8 Gentlemen, 84 Tradesmen, 100 Husbandmen, Labourers and Servants, 55 Women, and 4 Children. Besides these, there were 54 more under prosecution, 7 of whom were whipt, and 16 perished in prison; the rest who were making themselves ready for the fire, were delivered by the merciful interposure of Divine Providence in the Queen's death.

Q. Mary,
1555.
Further
cruelties.

Clark's Mar-
tyr. p. 506.

The num-
bers that
were burnt
in this
Reign.

In a book corrected, if not writ by Lord Burleigh, in Queen Elizabeth's time, entitled "The Executions for Treason," it is said 400 persons suffered publicly in Queen Mary's Reign, besides those who were secretly murdered in prison; of these, 20 were Bishops and dignified Clergymen; 60 were women, of whom some were big with child; and one was delivered of a child in the fire, which was burnt; and above 40 men-children. I might add, these merciless Papists carried their fury against the Reformed beyond the grave; for they caused the bones of Fagius and Bucer, to be dug out of their graves, and having ridiculously cited them by their Commissioners to appear, and give an account of their Faith, they caused

Hist. Ref.
Vol. iiii.
p. 264.

Q. Mary,
1555.

them to be burnt for non-appearance. Is it possible after such a relation of things, for any Protestant to be in love with High Commissions, with Oaths *ex officio*, and Laws to deprive men of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, for matters of meer conscience? And yet these very Reformers, when the Power returned into their hands were too much inclined to these engines of cruelty.

Rise of the
Controversy
about Pre-
destination.

The controversy about Predestination and Free-Will appeared first among the Reformers at this time. Some that were in the King's Bench prison for the Profession of the Gospel denied the Doctrines of absolute Predestination and Original Sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but warm to their opinions, and unquiet in their behaviour. Mr. Bradford had frequent conference with them, and gained over some to his own perswasion. The names of their teachers were Harry Hart, Trew, and Abingdon; they ran their notions as high as the modern Arminians, or as Pelagius himself, despising learning, and utterly rejecting the authorities of the Fathers. Bradford was apprehensive that they would do a great deal of mischief in the Church, and therefore in concert with Bishop Ferrar, Taylor and Philpot, he writ to Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, at Oxford, to take some cognizance of the matter, and consult together about remedying it. Upon this occasion Ridley writ back a letter "of God's Election and Predestinati-
" on," and Bradford writ another upon the same subject. But the Free-Willers treated him rudely; " They told
" him, he was a great slander to the word of God in re-
" spect of his Doctrine, because he believed and affirmed
" the Salvation of God's People to be so certain, that they
" should assuredly enjoy the same. They said, it hanged
" partly upon our perseverance to the end, but Bradford
" said it hung upon God's Grace in Christ, and not upon
" our perseverance in any point, otherwise Grace was no
" Grace." When this holy Martyr saw he could not con-
vince them, he desired they might pray one for another.
" I love you (says he) my dear Hearts, though you have
" taken it otherwise without cause: I am going before
" you to my God and your God; to my Father and your
" Father; to my Christ and your Christ; to my Home and
" your Home."

Mr. Careless, another eminent Martyr, had much conference with these men in the King's Bench prison, of whose contentiousness he complained in a letter to Philpot. In answer to which Philpot writes, " That he was sorry
" to

“ to hear of the contentions that these Schismaticks raised,
“ but that he should not cease to do his endeavours in defence of the truth, against these arrogant, self-willed,
“ and blinded scatterers : that these Sects were necessary
“ for the trial of our Faith. He advises Mr. Careless to be
“ modest and humble; that others seeing his grave conversation among those contentious bablers might glorify
“ God in the truth. He then beseeches the brethren in
“ the bowels of Christ, to keep the bond of peace, and
“ not to let any root of bitterness spring up among them.

Q. Mary,
1555.

But this contention could not be laid asleep for some time, notwithstanding their common sufferings for the cause of Religion. They writ one against another in prison, and dispersed their writings abroad in the world. Mr. Careless writ a Confession of his Faith ; one article of which was for Predestination, and against Free-will. This confession he sent to the Protestant Prisoners in Newgate; whereunto they generally subscribed, and particularly twelve that were under sentence of condemnation to be burnt. Hart having got a copy of Careless's confession, writ his own in opposition to it on the back-side ; and would have persuaded the prisoners in Newgate to subscribe it, but could not prevail. I don't find any of these Free-Willers at the Stake (says my Author) or if any of them suffered, they made no mention of their distinguishing opinions when they came to die. But these unhappy divisions among men that were under the Cross, gave great advantage to the Papists, who took occasion from hence to scoff at the professors of the Gospel, as disagreeing among themselves. They blazed abroad their infirmities, and said, “ they were suffering for they knew not what. Dr. Martin, a great Papist, exposed their weaknesses ; but when Martin came to visit the prisoners, Careless took the opportunity to protest openly against Hart's Doctrines, saying, “ he had “ deceived many simple Souls with his Pelagian opinions.

Besides these Free-Willers, it seems there were some few
in prison for the Gospel that were Arians, and disbelieved
the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of them lay in the
King's-Bench, and raised such unseemly and quarrelsome
disputes, that the Marshal was forced to separate the prisoners from one another ; and in the year 1556. the noise of
their contentions reached the ears of the Council, who sent
Dr. Martin to the King's-Bench to examine into the affair.

Arians,

L. of Cran.
p. 232.

I mention these disputes, to shew the frailty and corruption of human nature, even under the Cross, and to point

Q. Mary,
I 55.

the Reader to the first beginnings of those debates which afterwards occasioned unspeakable mischiefs to the Church ; for though the Pelagian doctrine was espoused but by a very few of the English Reformers, and was buried in that prison where it began for almost 50 years, it revived in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, under the name of Arminianism, and within the compass of a few years supplanted the received doctrine of the Reformation.

Some re-
cant.

Many of the Clergy that were zealous professors of the Gospel under King Edward VI. through fear of death recanted and subscribed ; some out of weakness, who as soon as they were out of danger, revoked their subscriptions, and openly confessed their fall : of this sort were Scory and Barlow Bishops, the famous Mr. Jewel and others. Among the common people some went to Mass to preserve their lives, and yet frequented the assemblies of the Gospellers, holding it not unlawful to be present with their bodies at the service of the Mass, as long as their spirits did not consent. Bradford and others writ with great warmth against these Temporizers, and advised their brethren not to trust, or consort with them. They also published a treatise upon this argument, entituled, " The Mischief and " Hurt of the Mass ;" and recommended the reading it to all that had defiled themselves with that idolatrous service.

L. of Cran.
p. 362.

Private Con-
gregations
of Protest-
ants.

But though many complied with the times, and some concealed themselves in friends houses, shifting from one place to another, others resolved with the hazard of their lives to join together and worship God, according to the service book of King Edward. There were several of these congregations up and down the Country, which met together in the night, and in secret places, to cover themselves from the notice of their persecutors. Great numbers in Suffolk and Essex constantly frequented the private assemblies of the Gospellers, and came not at all to the publick service ; but the most considerable congregation was in and about London. It was formed soon after Queen Mary's accession, and consisted of above 200 Members. They had divers preachers, as Mr. Scambler afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Rough a Scots Man, who was burnt ; Mr. Bernher, and Mr. Bentham who survived the persecution, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign was made Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry : Mr. Cuthbert Simpson was Deacon of the Church, and kept a book with the Names of all that belonged to it : they met sometimes about Aldgate, sometimes in Blackfriars, some-
times

times in Thames-street, and sometimes on board of ships, when they had a master for their purpose : sometimes they assembled in the villages about London, to cover themselves from the Bishop's Officers and Spies ; and especially at Islington ; but here, by the treachery of a false brother, the congregation was at length discovered and broke up : Mr. Rough their Minister, and Mr. Simpson their Deacon, were apprehended and burnt, with many others. Indeed the whole Church was in the utmost danger ; for whereas Simpson the Deacon used to carry the book wherein the names of the congregation were contained, to their private assemblies, he happen'd that day, through the good providence of God, to leave it with Mrs. Rough the Minister's wife. When he was in the Tower the Recorder of London examined him strictly, and because he would neither discover the book nor the names, he was put upon the rack three times in one day. He was then sent to Bonner, who said to the Spectators, " You see what a personable
" man this is ; and for his patience, if he was not an He-
" retick, I should much commend him, for he has been
" thrice rack'd in one day, and in my house has endured
" some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience moved." But notwithstanding this, Bonner condemned him, and ordered him first into the stocks in his coal-house, and from thence to Smithfield, where with Mr. Fox and Davenish, two others of the Church taken at Islington, he ended his life in the flames.

Q. Mary,
1555.
Their Sufferings.

Clarke's
Martyr. p.
497.

Many escaped the fury of the persecution, by withdrawing from the storm, and flying into foreign Countries. Some went into France and Flanders, some to Geneva, and others into those parts of Germany and Switzerland where the Reformation had taken place ; as Basil, Francfort, Embden, Strasburgh, Doesburgh, Arrow, and Zurich, where the Magistrates received them with great humanity, and allowed them places for publick worship. But the uncharitableness of the Lutherans on this occasion was very remarkable ; they hated the Exiles because they were Sacramentarians, and when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled them their Cities ; so that they found little hospitality in Saxony and other places of Germany where Lutheranism was professed. Philip Melancthon interceded with the Senate on their behalf, but the Clergy were so zealous for their Consubstantiation, that they irritated the Magistrates every where against them. The number of the Refugees are computed at above eight hun-

Many go in-
to a volun-
tary Exile.

Q. Mary,
1556.

L. of Cran.
P. 354

1556.
Rite of the
Puritans.

Their Man-
ner of Wor-
ship.

Hist. of the
Troubles of
Frankfort,
printed
1575.

dred ; the most considerable of whom have been mentioned, as the Bishops of Winchester, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Exeter, and Ossory ; the Deans of Christ-Church, Exeter, Durham, Wells, and Chichester ; the Archdeacons of Canterbury, Stow, and Lincoln ; with a great many other very learned Divines. The Laity of distinction were the Dutcheffs of Suffolk with her husband, Sir Tho. Wroth, Sir Rich. Morison, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir John Cheeke, and others.

The Exiles were most numerous at Frankfort, where that contest and division began which gave rise to the Puritans, and to that separation from the Church of England which continues to this day. It will therefore be necessary to trace it from its original. On the 27th of June 1554. Mr. Whittingham, Williams, Sutton and Wood, with their families and friends, came to settle at the City of Frankfort ; and upon application to the Magistrates were admitted to a partnership in the French Church for a place of worship ; the two congregations being to meet at different hours, as they should agree among themselves, but with this proviso, " That before they enter'd they should " subscribe the French Confession of Faith, and not quarrel " about ceremonies," to which the English agreed ; and after consultation among themselves they concluded, by universal consent of all present, " Not to answer aloud after the Minister, nor to use the Litany and Surplice ;" but that the publick service should begin with a general confession of sins, then the people to sing a Psalm in Metre in a plain tune, after which the Minister to pray for the assistance of God's holy Spirit, and so proceed to the sermon ; after sermon, a general prayer for all estates, and particularly for England, at the end of which was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearsal of the articles of belief ; then the people were to sing another Psalm, and the Minister to dismiss them with a blessing. They took possession of their Church July 29th, 1554. and having chosen a Minister and Deacons to serve for the present, they sent to their brethren that were dispersed, to invite them to come to Frankfort, where they might hear God's word truly preached, the Sacrament rightly minister'd, and Scripture discipline used, which in their own Country could not be obtained.

The more learned Clergymen, and some younger Divines, settled at Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basil, for the benefit of the libraries of those places, and of the learned conversati-

versation of the professors, as well as in hopes of some little employment in the way of Printing. The congregation at Francfort sent letters to these places of the 2d of August 1554. beseeching the English Divines to send some of their number, whom they might choose, to take the oversight of them. In their letter they commend their new settlement, as nearer the policy and order of Scripture than the service book of King Edward. The Strasburgh Divines demurring upon the affair, the congregation at Francfort sent for Mr. Knox from Geneva, Mr. Haddon from Strasburgh, and Mr. Lever from Zurich, whom they elected for their Ministers. At length the Students of Zurich sent them word, that unless they might be assured, that they would use the same order of service concerning religion, as was set forth by King Edward, they would not come to them, for they were fully determined to admit and use no other. To this the Francfort Congregation replied, that they would use the Service Book, as far as God's word commanded it; but as for the unprofitable ceremonies, tho' some of them were tolerable, yet being in a strange Country they could not be suffered to use them; and indeed they thought it better that they should never be practised, "If any (say they) think that the not using the book in all points should weaken our godly Fathers and Brethrens hands, or be a disgrace to the worthy laws of King Edward, let them consider, that they themselves have upon consideration and circumstances altered many things in it heretofore; and if God had not in these wicked days otherwise determined, would hereafter have altered more; and in our case we doubt not but they would have done as we do". So they made use of part of the book, but omitted the Litany and Responses.

But this not giving satisfaction, Mr. Chambers and Mr. Grindal came with a letter from the learned men of Strasburgh, subscribed with sixteen hands, in which they exhort them in most pressing language to a full conformity. They say they make no question but the Magistrates of Francfort will consent to the use of the English service, and therefore they cannot doubt of the congregation's good will, and ready endeavours to reduce their Church to the exact pattern of King Edward's book, as far as possible can be obtained; "Should they deviate from it at this time, they apprehend they should seem to condemn those who were now sealing it with their blood, and give occasion to their adversaries to charge them with inconstancy." The

Q. Mary,
1556.

Disputes
about Cere-
monies and
the Service
Book.

Q. Mary,
1556.

Francfort Congregation in their letter of December 2d. reply, that " They had omitted as few ceremonies as possible, so that there was no danger of their being charged with inconstancy. They apprehended that the Martyrs in England were not dying in defence of ceremonies, which they allow may be alter'd ; and as for doctrine there is no difference ; therefore if the learned Divines of Strasburgh should come to Francfort with no other views, but to reduce the congregation to King Edward's Form, and to establish the popish ceremonies, they give them to understand that they had better stay away." This was signed by John Knox, now come from Geneva, John Bale, John Fox [the Martyrologist, and 14 more.

They appeal to Calvin.

Things being in this uncertain posture at Francfort ; King Edward's book being used in part, but not wholly ; and there being no prospect of an accommodation with their brethren at Strasburgh, they resolved to ask the advice of the famous Mr. Calvin Pastor of the Church at Geneva ; who having perused the English Liturgy, took notice " That there were many tolerable weakneses in it, which because at first they could not be amended were to be suffered ; but that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christ to enterprize farther, and to set up something more filed from rust, and purer. If Religion (says he) had flourished till this day in England, many of these things should have been corrected. But since the Reformation is overthrown, and a Church is to be set up in another place, where you are at liberty to establish what order is most for edification, I cannot tell what they mean, who are so fond of the leavings of popish dregs." Upon this letter the Francfort Congregation agreed not to submit to the Strasburgh Divines, but to make use of so much of the service book as they had done, till the end of April, 1555 ; and if any new contention arose among them in the mean time, the matter was to be referred to Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger and Vyret.

Dr. Cox restores the Use of the Service Book.

But upon the 13th of March, Dr. Cox, who had been Tutor to King Edward VI. a man of an high spirit, but of great credit with his Countrymen, coming to Francfort with some of his friends, broke through the agreement, and interrupted the publick service " by answering aloud after the Minister ;" and the Sunday following one of his company, without the consent of the Congregation, ascended the Pulpit and read the whole Litany. Upon this Mr. Knox their Minister, taxed the authors of this disorder

order in his sermon with a breach of their agreement; ^{Q. Mary, 1556.} and further affirmed, that some things in the service book were superstitious and impure. The zealous Dr. Cox reproved him for his censoriousness; and being admitted with his company to vote in the Congregation, got the majority to forbid Mr. Knox to preach any more. But Knox's friends applied to the magistrate, who commanded them to unite with the French Church both in discipline and ceremonies, according to their first agreement. Dr. ^{Mr. Knox} Cox and his friends finding Knox's interest among the magistrates too strong, had recourse to an unchristian method to get rid of him. This Divine some years before, when he was in England, had published an English book, called "An admonition to Christians; in which he had said, "That the Emperor was no less an enemy to Christ than Nero." For which, and some other expressions in the book, these gentlemen accused him of high treason against the Emperor. The Senate being tender of the Emperor's honour, and not willing to embroil themselves in a controversy of this nature, desired Mr. Knox, in a respectful manner, to depart the city, which he did accordingly, March 25, 1556. ^{banish'd.}

After this Cox's party being strengthened by the addition of several english Divines from other places, sixteen of them (viz) 3 Doctors of divinity, and 13 Batchelors, petitioned the magistrates for the free use of King Edward's Service book, which they were pleased to grant. Thus the old Congregation was broke up by Doctor Cox and his friends, who now carried all before them. They chose new Church-officers, taking no notice of the old ones, and set up the service book of King Edward without interruption. Knox's friends would have left the matter to the arbitration of Divines, which the others refused, but writ to Mr. Calvin to countenance their proceedings, which that great Divine could not do; but after a modest excuse for intermeddling in their affairs, told them, that "In his opinion they were too much addicted to the English ceremonies; nor could he see to what purpose it was to burden the Church with such hurtful and offensive things, when there was liberty to have a simple and more pure order. He blamed their conduct to Mr. Knox, which he said was neither godly nor brotherly; and concludes, with beseeching them to prevent divisions among themselves." This pacifick letter having no effect, the old Congregation left their countrymen in possession of their Church

Q. Mary,
1556.

Congregati-
on divides.
Part go to
Geneva.

Church and departed the city. Mr. Fox the Martyrologist with a few more went to Basil; and the rest to Geneva; where they were received with great humanity, and having a Church appointed them, they chose Mr. Knox and Goodman their Pastors. Here they set up the Geneva discipline, which they published in English under the title of "The service, discipline, and form of common Prayers and administration of Sacraments used in the English Church at Geneva." With a dedication to their brethren in England and elsewhere. Dated from Geneva, Feb. 10th, 1556. The liturgy is too long to be inserted in this place, but is agreeable to that of the French Churches. In their dedication they say, "That their discipline is limited within the compass of God's word, which is sufficient to govern all our actions. That the dilatory proceedings of the Bishops in reforming Church discipline, and removing offensive ceremonies, is one cause of the heavy judgments of God upon the land. That the late service book of King Edward being now set aside by Parliament according to law, it was in no sense the established worship of the Church of England, and consequently they were under no obligation to use it, any further than it was consonant to the word of God. Being therefore at liberty, and in a strange land, they had set up such an order as in the judgment of Mr. Calvin and other learned Divines, was most agreeable to Scripture, and the best reformed Churches." Their reasons for laying aside the late Rites and Ceremonies were these; "Because being invented by men, though upon a good occasion, yet they had since been abused to superstition, and made a necessary part of divine worship. Thus Hezekiah was commended for breaking in pieces the brazen serpent, after it had been erected 800 years, and the high places that had been abused to idolatry were commanded to be destroyed. In the New Testament, the washing the Disciples feet, which was practised in the primitive Church, was for wise reasons laid aside, as well as their love-feasts. Besides, these Rites and Ceremonies have occasioned great contentions in the Church in every age. The Galatian Christians objected to St. Paul, that he did not observe the Jewish ceremonies as the other Apostles did; and yet he observed them while there was any hopes of gaining over weak brethren; for this reason he circumcised Timothy; but when he perceived that men would

" retain

“ retain them as necessary things in the Church, he
 “ called that which before he made indifferent, wicked
 “ and impious, saying that Whosoever was circumcised,
 “ Christ could nothing profit him. The like conten-
 “ tions have been between the Greek and Latin
 “ Church in later ages. For which, and other rea-
 “ sons, they have thought fit to lay aside these human
 “ inventions which have done so much mischief; and
 “ have contented themselves with that wisdom that is
 “ contained in God’s book; which directs them to
 “ preach the word of God purely; to minister the Sa-
 “ craments sincerely; and use prayers and other orders
 “ thereby approved, to the edification of the Church,
 “ and encrease of God’s glory.”

Q. Mary,
 1556.

The reader has now seen the first breach or schism Remarks.
 between the English exiles, on the account of the ser-
 vice book of King Edward; which made way for the
 distinction, by which the two parties were afterwards
 known, of Puritans and Conformists. 'Tis evident that
 Dr. Cox and his friends were the aggressors, by breaking
 in upon the agreement of the Congregation of Frankfort,
 which was in peace, and had consented to go in their way
 of worship for a limited time, which time was not then
 expired. He artfully ejected Mr. Knox from his Ministry
 among them, and brought in the service book with a high
 hand; by which those who had been in possession of the
 Church almost two years, were obliged to depart the city,
 and set up their worship in another place. The Doctor
 and his friends discovered an ill spirit in this affair.
 They might have used their own forms without impos-
 ing them upon others, and breaking a Congregation to
 pieces that had settled upon a different foundation with
 the leave of the Government under which they lived.
 But they insisted, that because the Congregation of Franc-
 fort was made up of English-men, they ought to have the
 form of an English Church; and that many of them had
 subscribed to the use of the service book; and that the de-
 parting from it at this time was pouring contempt on the
 Martyrs who were sealing it with their blood. But the
 others replied, that the Laws of their Country relating to
 the service book were repealed; and as for their Sub-
 scription, it could not bind them from making nearer
 approaches to the purity and simplicity of the Christian
 worship, especially when there was no established Protest-
 ant Church of England, and they were in a strange Coun-
 try

Q. Mary,
1557.

try, where the vestments and ceremonies gave offence. Besides it was allowed on all hands that the book itself was imperfect; and it was credibly reported, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had drawn up a form of common prayer much more perfect, but that he could not make it take place, because of the corruption of the Clergy. As for discipline, it was out of the question that it was imperfect, for the service book itself laments the want of it; and therefore they apprehend, that if the Martyrs themselves were in their circumstances they would practise with the same latitude, and reform those imperfections in the English service book, which they attempted, but could not obtain in their own Country.

1557.
Congregation at Frankfort divided a second time.

To return to Dr. Cox's Congregation at Frankfort: The Doctor having settled Mr. Horn in the Pastoral office in the room of Mr. Whitehead who resigned, after some time left the place. But within six months a new division happened among them, occasioned by a private dispute between Mr. Horn the Minister, and Mr. Ashby, one of the principal members. Mr. Horn summoned Ashby to appear at the Vestry before the Elders and Officers of the Church; Ashby appealed from them as parties, to the whole Church, who appointed the cause to be brought before them; but Mr. Horn and the Officers protested against it, and chose rather to lay down their Ministry and Service in the Church, than submit to a popular decision. The Congregation being assembled on this occasion gave it as their opinion, that in all controversies among themselves, and especially in cases of appeals, the "dernier Resort" should be in the Church. It is hardly credible what Heats and divisions, factions and parties, these personal quarrels occasioned among a handful of strangers, to the scandal of religion and their own reproach with the people among whom they lived. At length the Magistrate interposed, and advised them to bury all past offences in oblivion, and to chuse new Church-officers in the room of them that had laid down; and since their discipline was defective as to the points of controversy that had been before them, they commanded them to appoint certain persons of their number to draw up a new form of discipline, or correct and amend the old one; and to do this before they chose their ecclesiastical officers, that being all private Persons they might agree upon that which was most reasonable in itself, without respect of persons or parties. This precept was delivered in writing, March 1st, 1557.

The Magistrate's advice to them.

Their new book of discipline.

and

and signed by Mr. John Glauburge. Hereupon fifteen Persons were appointed to the work, which after some time was finished; and having been subscribed by the Church, to the number of 57, was confirmed by the magistrate; and on the 21st of December 28 more were added to the Church and subscribed; but Mr. Horn and his party to the number of 12 dissented, and appealed to the magistrates, who had the patience to hear their objections, and the others reply. But Mr. Horn and his friends not prevailing, left the congregation to their new discipline and departed the city; from which time they continued in peace till the death of Queen Mary.

During these troubles died Dr. Poynt, late Bishop of Winchester, born in Kent, and educated in Queen's Coll. Oxon, a very learned and pious Divine, who was in such favour with King Edward for his practical preaching, that he prefer'd him first to the Bishoprick of Rochester, and then to Winchester. Upon the accession of Queen Mary he fled to Straßburgh, where he died, Aug. 2. 1556. before he was full 40 years old, and was buried with great lamentations of his countrymen.

To return to England; both the Universities were visited this year. At Cambridge they burnt the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, with their books and heretical writings. At Oxford the Visitors went through all the Colleges, and burnt all the English Bibles, and such heretical Books as they could find. They took up the body of Peter Martyr's wife out of one of the Churches and buried it in a dunghill because having been once a Nun, she had broke her vow; but her body was afterwards taken up again in Queen Elizabeth's time, and mixed with the bones of St. Fridiswide, that they might never more be disturbed by Papists. The persecution of the Reformed was carried on with all imaginable fury; and a design was set on foot to introduce the Inquisition, by giving commissions to certain laymen to search for persons suspected of Heresy, and present them to their Ordinaries, as has been related. Cardinal Pool being thought too favourable to Hereticks, because he had released several that were brought before him upon their giving ambiguous answers, had his Legantine Power taken from him, and was recalled; but upon his submission he was forgiven, and continued here till his death, but had little influence afterwards either in the courts of Rome or England, being a clergyman of too much temper for the times he lived in.

Princess

Q Mary,
1557.

Death of
Bp. Poynt.

Fuller's
Worthies,
B. II. p. 27.

A visitation
of the Uni-
versities.

Q. Mary,
1558.

Princess Elizabeth's sufferings.

Princess Elizabeth was in constant danger of her life throughout the whole course of this reign. Upon the breaking out of Wyat's conspiracy she was sent to the Tower, and led in by the Traitors Gate ; her own servants being put from her, and no person allowed to have access to her : The governor used her hardly, not suffering her to walk in the gallery or upon the leads. Wyat and his confederates were examined about her, and some of them put to the rack ; but they all cleared her except Wyat, who once accused her, in hopes to save his life, but declared upon the scaffold to all the people, that he only did it with that view. After some time she was sent to Woodstock in custody of Sir Henry Benefield, who used her so ill, that she apprehended they designed to put her privately to death. Here she was under close confinement, being seldom allowed to walk in the gardens. The politick bishop Gardiner often moved the Queen to think of putting her out of the way, saying, It was to no purpose to lop off the branches while the tree was left standing. But King Philip was her friend ; who sent for her to court, where she fell upon her knees before the Queen, and protested her innocence, as to all conspiracies and treasons against her Majesty ; but the Queen still hated her ; However after that, her guards were discharged, and she was suffered to retire into the country, where she gave herself wholly to study, meddling in no sort of business, for she was always apprehensive of spies about her. The Princess complied outwardly with her sister's Religion, avoiding as much as she could all discourses with the Bishops, who suspected her of an inclination to Heresy from her education. The Queen herself was apprehensive of the danger of the popish Religion if she died without issue ; and was often urged by her Clergy, especially when her health was visibly declining, to secure the Roman Catholick Religion, by delivering the kingdom from such a presumptive Heir. Her Majesty had no scruple of conscience about spilling human blood in the cause of Religion ; the preservation of the Princess was therefore little less than a miracle of Divine Providence, and was owing under God, to the protection of King Philip, who despairing of issue from his Queen, was not without expectations from the Princess.

1558.
Calamities
of the Nation.

But the hand of God was against Queen Mary and her Government, which was hardly attended with one prosperous event ; for instead of having issue by her Marriage, she had only a false Conception, so that there was little or no hopes
after-

afterwards of a child. This encreased the sowerness of her temper; and her husband being much younger than she, grew weary of her, slighted her company, and then left her to look to his hereditary dominions, after he had lived with her about 15 months. There being a war between Spain and France, the Queen was obliged to take part with her husband; this exhausted the treasure of the nation, and was the occasion of the loss of all the English dominions upon the continent. In the beginning of this year the strong town of Calais was taken, after it had been in the possession of the English above 210 years: Afterwards the French took Guines, and the rest of that territory; nothing being left but the isles of Jersey and Guernsey. The English (says a learned writer) had lost their hearts; the Government at home being so unacceptable that they were not much concerned to support it, for they began to think Heaven itself was against it.

Q. Mary,
1558.

Indeed there were strange and unusual accidents in the Heavens. Great mischief was done in many places by thunder and lightnings; by deluges; by excessive rains; and by stormy winds. There was a contagious distemper like the plague, that swept away great numbers of people; so that in many places there were not Priests to bury the dead, nor men enough to reap the harvest. Many Bishops died, which made way for Protestant ones in the next reign. The Parliament was dissatisfied with King Philip's demands of men and money for the recovery of Calais; and the Queen herself grew melancholy upon the loss of that place and the other misfortunes of the year. She had been declining in health ever since her pretended miscarriage, which was vastly encreased by the absence of her Husband, her despair of issue, and the cross accidents that attended her Government. Her spirits were now decayed, and a dropsy coming violently upon her, put an end to her unhappy reign, Nov. 17, 1558. in the 43d year of her age, and 6th of her reign; Cardinal Pool Archbishop of Canterbury dying the same day.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
366.

Q. Mary's
death and
character.

Queen Mary was a Princess of severe principles, constant at her prayers, and very little given to diversions. She did not mind any of her affairs so much as the Church, being entirely at the disposal of her clergy, and forward to give a sanction to all their cruelties. She had deep resentments of her own ill usage in her father's and brother's times, which easily induced her to take revenge, though she coloured

Q. Mary,
1558.

coloured it over with a zeal against Heresy. She was perfectly blind in matters of Religion, her Conscience being absolutely directed by the Pope and her Confessor, who encouraged her in all the cruelties that were exercised against the Protestants, assuring her, that she was doing God and his Church good service. There is but one instance of a pardon of any condemned for Heresy in her whole Reign. Her natural temper was melancholy; and her infirmities together with the misfortunes of her government, made her so peevish, that her death was lamented by none but her Popish Clergy. Her Reign was in every respect calamitous to the nation, and ought to be transmitted down to Posterity in Characters of blood.

C H A P. IV.

From the beginning of Queen ELIZABETH's Reign,
to the Separation of the Protestant Non-Conformists.

Queen
Elizabeth.
1558.

State of the
Nation.

QUEEN Elizabeth's accession to the Crown gave new life to the Reformation; As soon as it was known beyond Sea most of the Exiles returned home; and those who had hid themselves in the houses of their friends began to appear; but the publick Religion continued for a time in the same posture the Queen found it: The popish Priests kept their Livings, and went on celebrating their Mass. None of the Protestant Clergy that had been ejected in the last Reign were restored; but orders were given against all innovations without publick Authority. Though the Queen had complied with all the changes in her Sister's Reign, it was well known she was a favourer of the Reformation; but her Majesty proceeded with great caution, for fear of raising disturbances in her infant Government. No Prince ever came to the Crown under greater disadvantages. The Pope had pronounced her illegitimate; upon which the Queen of Scots put in her claim to the Crown. All the Bishops and Clergy of the present establishment were her enemies. The Nation was at war with France, and the Treasury exhausted; the Queen therefore by the advice of her Privy Council, resolved to make peace with her neighbours as soon as possible, that she might be more at leisure to proceed in her intended alterations of Religion, which though very considerable, were not so entire as the best and most

most learned Protestants of these times desired. The Queen had the spirit of her Father, and affected a great deal of magnificence in her devotions, as well as in her court. She was fond of many of the old Rites and Ceremonies in which she had been educated. She thought her Brother had stript Religion too much of its ornaments; and made the Doctrines of the Church too narrow in some Points. It was therefore with difficulty that she was prevailed with to go the length of King Edward's Reformation.

Queen
Elizabeth.
1558.

The only thing her Majesty did before the meeting of the Parliament, was to prevent Pulpit Disputes; for some of the Reformed that had been Preachers in King Edward's time, began to make use of his Service Book without authority or licence from their Superiors; this alarm'd the Popish Clergy, and gave occasion to a Proclamation, dated Dec. 27. by which all preaching of ministers, or others, was prohibited; and the people were charged to hear no other Doctrine or Preaching, but the Epistle and Gospel for the Day, and the ten Commandments in English, without any exposition or paraphrase whatsoever. The Proclamation admits of the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed in English; but no publick Prayers were to be read in the Church, but such as were appointed by Law, till the meeting of the Parliament, which was to be upon the 23d of January.

Preaching
forbid.

While the Exiles were preparing to return home, conciliatory letters past between them: Those of Geneva desired a mutual forgiveness, and prayed their Brethren of Arrow, Basil, Francfort, Straßbourg, and Worms, to unite with them in preaching God's Word, and in endeavouring to obtain such a Form of Worship as they had seen practised in the best Reformed Churches. The others replied, that it would not be in their power to appoint what Ceremonies should be observed; but they were determined to submit in things indifferent, and hoped those of Geneva would do so too; however, they would join with them in petitioning the Queen, that nothing burthenesome might be imposed. Both parties congratulated her Majesty's accession, in poems, addressees, and dedications of books; but they were reduced to the utmost poverty and distress. They came threadbare home, bringing nothing with them (says Mr. Strype) but much experience, as well as learning. Those that could comply with the Queen's establishment were quickly prefer'd, but the rest were neglected, and tho' suffered to

Return of
the Exiles.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1558.

Advice of
foreign Di-
vines about
the Refor-
mation.

preach in the Churches for some time, they were afterwards suspended, and reduced to as great Poverty as before.

It had been happy, if their sufferings had taught them a little more charity and mutual forbearance ; or that they had followed the advice of their learned friends and patrons beyond sea, who advised them to go through with the Reformation, and clear the Church of all the Relicks of Popery and Superstition at once. This was the advice of Gualter, one of the chief Divines of Zurich, who in his letter to Dr. Masters, the Queen's Physician, Jan. 16, 1558, wishes, " That the Reformers among us would not " hearken to the counsels of those men, who when they " saw that Popery could not be honestly defended, nor en- " tirely retained, would use all artifices to have the out- " ward face of Religion to remain mixed, uncertain and " doubtful ; so that while an evangelical Reformation is " pretended, those things should be obtruded on the " Church, which will make the returning back to Popery, " Superstition and Idolatry very easy.——We have had " the experience of this (says he) for some years in Germa- " ny, and know what influence such persons may have : " Their counsels seem to a carnal judgment, to be full of " modesty, and well fitted for carrying on an universal a- " greement ; and we may well believe the common ene- " my of our salvation will find out proper instruments, by " whose means the seeds of Popery may still remain among " you.—— I apprehend, that in the first beginnings, " while men may study to avoid the giving some small " offence, many things may be suffered under this colour, " that they will be continued but for a little while, and yet " afterwards it will scarce be possible by all the endeavours " that can be used to get them removed, at least not with- " out great struglings." The Letter seems to be writ with a prophetick Spirit ; Masters laid it before the Queen, who read it all over, but without effect. Letters of the same strain were writ by the learned Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Weidner, to the Earl of Bedford, who had been some time at Zurich ; and to Jewel, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Grindal, and the rest of the late Exiles, pressing them vehemently to act with zeal and courage, and to take care in the first beginnings to have all things settled upon sure and found foundations.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 273.

Resolution
of the Ex-
iles.

The Exiles in their answers seem resolved to follow their advices, and make a bold stand for a thorough Reforma-
tion ;

tion ; and if they had done so, they might have obtained it. Jewel in his letter of May 22. thanks Bullinger for quickening their zeal and courage ; and adds, “ They were doing what they could ; and that all things were coming into a better state.” In another of April 10. He laments the want of zeal and industry in promoting the Reformation ; and that things were managed in so slow and cautious a manner, as if the Word of God was not to be received on his own Authority.” In another of Nov. 16. “ He complains of the Queen’s keeping a Crucifix in her Chapel, with lighted candles ; that there was worldly policy in this, which he did not like : That all things were so loose and uncertain with them, that he did not know whether he should not be obliged to return back to Zurich. He complains of the Popish Vestments, which he calls the Relicks of the Amorites, and wishes they were extirpated to the deepest roots.” The like complaints were made by Cox, Grindal, Horn, Pilkington, and others ; but they had no courage : For had they united counsels and stood by one another, they might at this juncture have obtained the removal of those Grievances which afterwards occasioned the Separation.

Queen Elizabeth,
1558.

Ibid. p. 289.

To return to the Parliament. The Court took such measures about Elections as seldom fail of success ; the Magistrates of the Counties and Corporations were changed, and the people who were weary of the late Persecutions were assisted, and encouraged to exert themselves in favour of such representatives as might make them easy ; so that when the Houses met, the majority were on the side of the Reformation. The temper of the House was first tried by a Bill to restore to the Crowns the “ First Fruits and Tenth, which Queen Mary had returned to the Church.” It passed the Commons without much opposition, Feb. 4th. but in the House of Lords all the Bishops voted against it. By another Act they repealed some of the penal Laws, and enacted, That no Person should be punished for exercising the Religion used in the last year of King Edward. They appointed the publick Service to be performed in the vulgar Tongue. They empowered the Queen to nominate Bishops to the vacant Bishoprics by Conge d’ Elire, as at present. They suppressed the Religious Houses founded by Queen Mary, and annexed them to the Crown ; but the two principal Acts passed this Session were the Acts of Supremacy, and of Uniformity of Common Prayer.

Proceedings
of Parli-
ment.

Strype, p.
67.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1558.

The Act of
Supremacy.

The former is entitled, "An Act for restoring to the Crown the antient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual; and for abolishing foreign Power." It is the same for substance with the 25th of Henry VIII. already mentioned, but the Commons incorporated several other Bills into it; for besides the title of "Supreme Governor in all causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal," which is restored to the Queen, the Act revives those Laws of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. which had been repealed in the late Reign. It forbids all appeals to Rome, and exonerates the subjects from all exactions and impositions heretofore paid to that Court; and as it revives King Edward's Laws, it repeals a severe Act made in the late Reign for punishing Heresy; and three other old Statutes mentioned in the said Act. "Moreover, all persons in any publick Employs, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical, are obliged to take an oath in recognition of the Queen's Right to the Crown, and of her Supremacy in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, on penalty of forfeiting all their Promotions in the Church, and of being declared incapable of holding any publick Office." In short, by this single Act of the Supremacy, all that had been done by Queen Mary was in a manner vacated, and the external policy of the Church was put upon the same foot as it stood at the death of King Edward VI.

Further, "The Act forbids all writing, printing, teaching, or preaching, and all other deeds or acts whereby any foreign jurisdiction over these Realms is defended, upon pain that they and their abettors being thereof convicted, shall for the first offence forfeit their goods and chattels; and if they are not worth 20 l. suffer a year's imprisonment; Spiritual persons shall lose their Benefices, and all Ecclesiastical Preferments; for the second offence they shall incur the penalties of a Premunire; and the third offence shall be deemed High Treason."

Original of
the Court of
High Commission.
Styke, p.
69.

Rapin, F.
287.

There is a remarkable Clause in this Act, which gave rise to a new Court, called the Court of High Commission. The words are these, "The Queen and her Successors shall have power, by their Letters Patents under the Great Seal, to assign, name, and authorise, as often as they shall think meet, and for as long time as they shall please, persons being natural born subjects, to use, occupy, and exercise under her and them, all manner of Jurisdiction, Privileges, and Pre-eminences, touching any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within the

"Realms

“ Realms of England and Ireland, &c. to visit, reform,
 “ redress, order, correct and amend all errors, heresies,
 “ schisms, abuses, contempts, offences and enormities
 “ whatsoever. Provided, that they have no power to de-
 “ termine any thing to be heresy, but what has been ad-
 “ judged to be so by the authority of the canonical Scrip-
 “ ture, or by the first four general Councils, or any of
 “ them; or by any other general Council, wherein the
 “ same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of
 “ canonical Scripture; or such as shall hereafter be declar-
 “ ed to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the
 “ assent of the Clergy in Convocation.”

Queen
Elizabeth,
158.

Upon the authority of this clause the Queen appointed a Remarks.
 certain number of Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes,
 who exercised the same power that had been in the hands of
 one Vicegerent in the Reign of King Henry VIII. and
 how sadly they abused their power in this and the two next
 Reigns will appear in the sequel of this History. They did
 not trouble themselves much with the express words of Scrip-
 ture, or the four first general Councils, but entangled their
 prisoners with oaths *ex Officio*, and the inextricable mazes
 of the popish canon law; and though all Ecclesiastical
 Courts ought to be subject to a prohibition from the Courts
 of Westminster, this privilege was seldom allowed by the
 Commissioners. The Act makes no mention of an arbi-
 trary jurisdiction of fining, imprisoning, or inflicting cor-
 poral punishments on the subjects, and therefore can be
 constructed to extend no further than to suspension or de-
 privation; and in all criminal cases must refer to the laws
 of the land; but notwithstanding this, these Commis-
 sioners sported themselves in all the wanton acts of tyranny
 and oppression, till their very name became odious to the
 whole nation; insomuch that their proceedings were condem-
 ned by the united voice of the people, and the Court dis-
 solved by Act of Parliament, with a clause, that “ No
 “ such jurisdiction should be revived for the future in any
 “ Court whatsoever.”

Bishop Burnet says, that the Supremacy granted by this
 Act is short of the authority that King Henry had; nor
 is it the whole that the Queen claimed, who sometimes
 stretched her prerogative beyond it. But since it was the
 basis of the Reformation, and the spring of all its future
 movements, it will be proper to enquire what powers were
 thought to be yielded the Crown by this Act of Supremacy,
 and some others made in support of it. King Henry

Hist. Ref.
Vol. II.
p. 386.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1558.

Powers ve-
sted in the
Crown by
the Act of
Supremacy.

VIII. in his letter to the Convocation of York assures them, that "He claimed nothing more by the Supremacy, than what Christian Princes in the primitive times assumed to themselves in their own Dominions." But it is capable of demonstration, that the first Christian Emperors did not claim all that jurisdiction over the Church in spirituals, that King Henry did, who by the Act of the 31st of his Reign, was made absolute Lord over the consciences of his subjects, it being therein enacted, that "Whatsoever his Majesty should enjoin in matters of religion, should be obeyed by all his subjects."

'Tis very certain that the Kings and Queens of England never pretended to the character of Spiritual Persons, or to discharge any part of the ecclesiastical Function in their own persons; they neither preached nor administered the Sacraments, or Censures of the Church; nor did they ever consecrate to the Episcopal Office, though the right of nomination is in them: These things were done by Spiritual Persons, or by proper officers in the spiritual Courts, deriving their powers from the Crown. When the Adversaries of the Supremacy objected the absurdity of a Lay Person's being head of a Spiritual Body, the Queen endeavoured to remove the difficulty, by declaring in her injunctions to her visitors, "That she did not, nor would she ever challenge authority and power to minister divine service in the Church; nor would she ever challenge any other authority, than her Predecessors King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. used."

But abating this point, it appears very probable, that all the jurisdiction and authority claimed by the Pope as Head of the Church in the times preceding the Reformation, was transferred to the King by the Act of Supremacy, and annexed to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, as far as was consistent with the laws of the land then in being, though since it has undergone some abatements. The words of the learned Mr. Hooker are very express: "If the whole Ecclesiastical State should stand in need of being visited and reformed: Or when any part of the Church is infested with errors, schisms, heresies, &c. whatsoever spiritual powers the legates had from the See of Rome, and exercised in right of the Pope for remedying of evils, without violating the Laws of God or Nature; as much in every degree have our laws fully granted to the King for ever, whether he thinks fit to do it by Ecclesiastical Synods, or otherwise according to law."

The

Eccles. Pol.
P. VIII.
§. 8.

The truth of this remark will appear, by considering the powers claimed by the Crown in this and the following Reigns.

Queen.
Elizabeth,
1558.

1. "The Kings and Queens of England claimed authority in matters of faith, and to be the ultimate Judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the Word of God." The Act of Supremacy says expressly, "That the King has power to redress and amend all errors and heresies; he might enjoin what Doctrines he would to be preached, not repugnant to the laws of the land: And if any should preach contrary, he was for the third offence to be judged an Heretick and suffer death; his Majesty claimed a right to forbid all preaching for a time, as King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Elizabeth did; or to limit the Clergy's preaching to certain of the thirty nine Articles established by law, as King Charles I. did." All the forementioned Kings and Queens published instructions or injunctions concerning matters of faith, without consent of the Clergy in Convocation assembled, and enforced them upon the Clergy under the penalties of a Præmunire; which made it a little difficult to understand that clause of the 20th Article of the Church, which says, "the Church has authority in matters of Faith."

With regard
to doctrine.

2. With regard to discipline the Kings of England seem to have had the keys at their girdle; for though the old Canon Law be in force, as far as is consistent with the laws of the land and the prerogative of the Crown, yet the King is the supreme and ultimate Judge in the Spiritual Courts by his Delegates. His Majesty might appoint a single person of the Laity to be his Vicar General in all causes ecclesiastical to reform what was amiss, as King Henry VIII. and Charles I. did, which very much resembled the Pope's Legate in the times before the Reformation. By authority of Parliament the Crown was empowered to appoint 32 Commissioners, some of the Laity, and some of the Clergy, to reform the Canons or ecclesiastical Laws; and though the design was not executed, the power was certainly in the King, who might have ratified the new canons, and given them the force of a law, without consent of the Clergy in Convocation, or of the Parliament; and therefore at the Coronation of King Charles I. the Bishop was directed to pray, "That God would give the King Peter's Key of Discipline, and Paul's Doctrine."

Discipline.

Queen
Elizabeth,
15-8.

Ceremonies
1 Eliz.
cap. 1.

3. As to rites and ceremonies the Act of Uniformity says expressly, "That the Queen's Majesty, by advice of her ecclesiastical Commissioners, or of her Metropolitan, may ordain and publish such ceremonies and rites, as may be most for the advancement of God's Glory, and the edifying of the Church." Accordingly her Majesty published her injunctions, without sending them into Convocation or Parliament, and erected a Court of High Commission for ecclesiastical causes, consisting of Commissioners of her own nomination to see them put in execution. Nay, so jealous was Queen Elizabeth of this branch of her Prerogative that she would not suffer her high Court of Parliament to pass any Bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the Church, it being (as she said) an invasion of her Prerogative.

Nomination
of Bishops.

4. "The Kings of England claimed the sole power of the nomination of Bishops; and the Deans and Chapters were obliged to choose those whom their Majesties named, under penalty of a Præmunire; and after they were chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by Commission from the Crown." They held their very Bishopricks for some time durante bene placito; and by the Statute of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. chap. 1. it was enacted, "That Archbishops and Bishops shall punish by Censures of the Church all persons that offend, &c." Which plainly implies, that without such a licence or authority they might not do it.

Convoca-
tions.
Stat. 25 H.
8. & Stat.
Præmun.

5. "No Convocations or Synods of the Clergy can assemble but by a writ or precept from the Crown; and when assembled, they can do no business without the King's Letters Patents, appointing them the particular subjects they are to debate upon;" and after all, their canons are of no force without the Royal Sanction.

37 Hen. 8.
cap. 17.
1 Eliz. c. 1.

Upon the whole it is evident, by the express words of several Statutes, That all jurisdiction ecclesiastical as well as civil, was given to the King, and taken away from the Bishops except by delegation from him. The King was chief in the determination of all causes in the Church; he had authority to make laws, ceremonies and constitutions, and without him no such Laws, Ceremonies or Constitutions, are or ought to be of force. And, lastly, All appeals which before were made to Rome, are for ever hereafter to be made to his Majesty's Chancery, to be ended and determined, as the manner now is, by Delegates.

I am

I am sensible, that the constitution of the Church has been altered in some things since that time: But let the reader judge, by what has been recited from Acts of Parliament, of the high Powers that were then intrusted with the Crown; and how far they were agreeable with the natural or religious rights of mankind. The whole body of the Papists refused the Oath of Supremacy, as inconsistent with their allegiance to the Pope; but the Puritans took it under all these disadvantages, with the Queen's explication in her injunctions; that is, that no more was intended, than "That her Majesty, under God, had the sovereignty and rule over all persons born in her Realms, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so as no foreign power had, or ought to have authority over them." They apprehended this to be the natural right of all Sovereign Princes in their Dominions, though there had been no Statute Law for it; but as they did not admit the Government of the Church to be monarchical, they were of opinion, that no single person, whether Layman or Ecclesiastick, ought to assume the title of Supreme head of the Church on earth, in the sense of the Acts abovementioned. This appears from the writings of the famous Mr. Cartwright, in his admonition to the Parliament.

Queen Elizabeth, 1558.

Sentiments of the Puritans.

"The Christian Sovereign (says he) ought not to be called Head under Christ of the particular and visible Churches within his Dominions: 'Tis a title not fit for any mortal man; for when the Apostle says that Christ is κεφαλὴ, the Head, it is as much as if he had said, Christ and no other is Head of the Church. No civil Magistrate in Councils or Assemblies for Church matters, can either be chief Moderator, Over-ruler, Judge, or Determiner; nor has he such authority as that without his consent, it should not be lawful for ecclesiastical persons to make any Church orders or ceremonies.—Church matters ought ordinarily to be handled by Church officers.—The principal direction of them, is by God's Ordinance, committed to the Ministers of the Church, and to the ecclesiastical governors: As these meddle not with the making civil laws, so the civil Magistrate ought not to ordain ceremonies, or determine controversies in the Church, as long as they do not intrench upon his temporal authority.—Nevertheless, our meaning is not to exclude the Magistrate from our Church Assemblies: He may call a Council of his Clergy, and appoint both time and place; he may be there by himself or his deputy, but

Admonition to Parliament. Lib. II. p. 4, 11.

"not

Queen
Elizabeth,
1558.

“ not as Moderator, Determiner or Judge ; he may have
“ his Voice in the Assembly, but the Orders and Decrees
“ of Councils are not made by his Authority ; for in anti-
“ ent times the Canons of the Councils were not called the
“ Decrees of the Emperors but of the Bishops.—’Tis
“ the Prince’s province to protect and defend the Councils
“ of his Clergy, to keep the Peace, to see their Decrees
“ executed, and to punish the contemners of them, but
“ to exercise no spiritual Jurisdiction.”

We shall meet with a fuller Declaration of the Puritans upon this head hereafter ; in the mean time it may be observed, that the just Boundaries of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers were not well understood and stated in this Age.

Remarks.

The powers of the Civil Magistrate seem chiefly to regard the civil welfare of his subjects ; He is to protect them in their properties, and in the peaceable enjoyment of their Civil and Religious Rights ; but there is no passage in the New Testament that gives him a Commission to be Lord of the Consciences of his Subjects, or to have Dominion over their Faith. Nor is this agreeable to reason, for Religion ought to be the effect of a free and deliberate choice. Why must we believe as the King believes, any more than as the Church or Pope ? If every man could believe as he would ; or if all men’s understandings were exactly of a size ; or if God would accept of a meer outward Devotion “ when commanded by Law,” then it would be reasonable there should be but one Religion, and one uniform manner of Worship : But to make Ecclesiastical Laws, obliging mens practice under severe penalties, without or against the light of their consciences, looks like an invasion of the kingly office of Christ, and must be subversive of all sincerity and virtue.

On the other hand, the “ Jurisdiction of the Church ” is purely spiritual. No Man ought to be compelled by rewards or punishments to become a member of any Christian Society, or to continue of it any longer than he apprehends it to be his duty. All the Ordinances of the Church are spiritual, and so are her Weapons and Censures. The Weapons of the Church are Scripture and Reason, accompanied with prayers and tears. These are her pillars and the walls of her defence. The Censures of the Church are Admonitions, Reproofs, or declarations of persons unfitsness for her Communion, commonly called Excommunications, which are of a spiritual nature, and ought not to affect men’s lives, liberties or estates. No man ought to be
cut

cut off from the rights and privileges of a Subject, meerly because he is disqualified for Christian Communion. Nor has any Church upon earth authority from Christ to inflict corporal punishments upon those whom she may justly expel her society: These are the weapons of Civil Magistrates, who may punish the breakers of the laws of their Countries, with corporal pains and penalties, as guardians of the civil rights of their subjects; but “ Christ’s Kingdom is “ not of this World.”

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

If these Principles had obtained at the Reformation, there would have been no room for the disturbance of any, whose religious principles were not inconsistent with the safety of the Government. Truth and Charity would have prevailed; the Civil Powers would have protected the Church in her spiritual Rights; and the Church, by instructing the people in their duty to their superiors, would have supported the State. But the Reformers, as well Puritans as others, had different notions. They were for One Religion, One uniform Mode of Worship, One Form of Discipline or Church Government for the whole Nation, with which all must comply outwardly, whatever were their inward Sentiments; it was therefore resolved to have an Act of Parliament to establish an Uniformity of publick Worship, without any relaxation to tender Consciences: Neither Party had the Wisdom or Courage to oppose such a Law, but both endeavoured to be included in it.

To make way for this, the Papists who were in possession of the Churches were first to be vanquish’d; the Queen therefore appointed a publick disputation in Westminster Abbey, before her Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament, March 31st, between nine of the Bishops and the like number of Protestant Divines, upon these three points.

Dispute be-
tween Pa-
pists and
Protestants.
1559.

1. “ Whether it was not against Scripture and the Custom of the antient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in the Common Prayers and Sacraments ?
2. “ Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so the same were done to edifying ?
3. “ Whether it could be proved by the Word of God, that in the Mass there was a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and Living ?

The Disputation was to be in writing; but the Papists finding the populace against them, broke it off after the first Day, under pretence that the Catholick Cause ought not

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

not to be submitted to such an arbitration, though they had not these scruples in the Reign of Queen Mary, when the issue of the conference was known before-hand. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln said, "The Doctrine of the Catholick Church was already established, and that it was too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to admit them to discourse against the faith before an unlearned multitude." They added, "That the Queen had deserved to be excommunicated; and talked of thundering out their Anathema's against the Privy Council," for which they were both sent to the Tower. The Reformed had a great advantage by their adversaries quitting the field in this manner, for it was concluded from hence, that their cause would not bear the light, which prepared the People for further changes.

K. Edw.
Liturgy re-
viewed.

The Papists being vanquished, the next point was to unite the Reformed among themselves, and get such an establishment as might make them all easy; for though the troubles at Francofort were hushed, and letters of forgiveness had passed between the contending parties; and though all the Reformers were of one faith, yet they were far from agreeing about discipline and ceremonies, each party being for settling the Church according to their own model; some were for the late service and discipline of the English at Geneva; others were for the service Book of King Edward VI. and for withdrawing no farther from the Church of Rome than was necessary to recover purity of faith, and the independency of the Church upon a foreign Power. Rites and Ceremonies were (in their opinion) indifferent; and those of the Church of Rome preferable to others, because they were venerable and pompous, and because the people had been used to them: These were the sentiments of the Queen, who therefore appointed a Committee of Divines to review King Edward's Liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was fit to be changed; their names were Dr. Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir Tho. Smith, Doctor of the civil law. Their instructions were, to strike out all offensive passages against the Pope, and to make people easy about the belief of the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; but not a word in favour of the stricter Protestants.

Her Majesty was afraid of reforming too far; she was desirous to retain images in Churches, crucifixes and crosses, vocal and instrumental musick, with all the old popish garments; 'tis not therefore to be wondered, that in reviewing the Liturgy

turgy of King Edward, no alterations were made in favour of those who now began to be called Puritans, from their attempting a purer form of worship and discipline than had yet been established. The Queen was more concerned for the Papists, and therefore, in the Litany this passage was struck out, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." The Rubrick that declared, that "by kneeling at the Sacrament no adoration was intended to any corporal presence of Christ, was expunged. The Committee of Divines left it at the People's liberty to receive the Sacrament kneeling or standing, but the Queen and Parliament restrained it to kneeling; so that the enforcing this ceremony was purely an act of the State. The old Festivals with their Eves, and the popish habits, were continued, as they were in the 2d year of King Edward VI. till the Queen should please to take them away; for the words of the Statute are, "They shall be retained till other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of the Commissioners authorized under the Great Seal of England for Causes Ecclesiastical." Some of the collects were a little altered; and thus the Book was presented to the two Houses and passed into a law, being hardly equal to that which was set out by King Edward, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth year of his Reign. For whereas in that Liturgy all the garments were laid aside but the surplice, the Queen now returned to King Edward's first Book, wherein copes and other garments were ordered to be used.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

Strype's
Ann. p. 83.

The title of the Act is, "An Act for the uniformity of Common Prayer, and service in the Church, and administration of the Sacraments." It was brought into the House of Commons April 18. and was read a third time April 20. It passed the House of Lords April 28. and took place from the 24th of June 1559. Heath Archbishop of York made an elegant Speech against it, in which among other things he observes very justly, That an act of this consequence ought to have had the consent of the Clergy in Convocation before it passed into a law, "Not only the orthodox, but even the Arian Emperors (says he) ordered that points of faith should be examined in Councils; and Galio by the light of nature knew that a civil Judge ought not to meddle with matters of Religion." But he was overruled, the act of supremacy having already vested this power in the Crown. This Statute lying open to common view at the beginning.

Act of uniformity.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

beginning of the Common Prayer Book, 'tis not worth while to transcribe it in this place. I shall only take notice of one clause, by which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was again delivered up to the Crown; "The Queen is hereby empowered with the advice of her Commissioners or Metropolitan, to ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as may be for the advancement of God's glory, and edifying his Church, and the reverence of Christ's holy Mysteries and Sacraments." And had it not been for this clause of a reserve of power to make what alterations her Majesty thought fit, she told Archbishop Parker, that she would not have passed the Act.

Remarks.

Upon this fatal rock of uniformity in things meerly indifferent (in the opinion of the imposers) was the peace of the Church of England split. The pretence was decency and order; but it seems a little odd that uniformity should be so necessary to the decent worship of God, when in most other things there is a greater beauty in variety. 'Tis not necessary to a decent dress that mens clothes should be always of the same colour and fashion; nor would there be any indecency or disorder, if in one congregation the Sacrament was administred kneeling, in another sitting, and in a third standing; or if in one and the same congregation the Minister was at liberty to read prayers in a black gown or a surplice, supposing the garments were indifferent, which the makers of this law admitted, tho' the Puritans denied. The rigorous pressing of this Act was the occasion of all the mischiefs that betel the Church for above eighty years. What good end could it answer to press mens bodies into the publick service, without convincing their minds beforehand? if there must be one established form of worship, there should certainly have been an indulgence for tender consciences. When there was a difference in the Church of the Romans about eating flesh, and observing festivals, the Apostle did not pinch them with an Act of uniformity, but allowed a Latitude, Rom. xiv. 5. "Let not him that eateth judge him that eateth not; but let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.—" "Why dost thou judge thy brother? or, why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we must all stand before the Judgment Seat of Christ." Had our Reformers followed this apostolical direction, the Church of England would have made a more glorious figure in the Protestant World, than it did by this compulsive Act of Uniformity.

Sad

Sad were the consequences of these two laws, both to the Papists and Puritans. The Papists in Convocation made a stand for the old Religion ; and in their 6th Session agreed upon the following articles, to be presented to the Parliament for disburdening their consciences.

Queen Elizabeth, 1559.

Proceedings of Convocation,

1. " That in the Sacrament of the Altar the natural body of Christ is really present, by virtue of the words of consecration pronounced by the Priest.

2. " That after the consecration there remains not the substance of Bread and Wine, nor any other substance but God-Man.

3. " That in the Mass the true Body of Christ is offered as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead.

4. " That the supreme Power of feeding and ruling the Church is in St. Peter and his Successors.

5. " That the Authority of determining Matters of Faith and Discipline belongs only to the Pastors of the Church, and not to Laymen."

These articles or resolutions were presented to the Lord Keeper by their Prolocutor Dr. Harpsfield, but his Lordship gave them no answer ; nor did the Convocation move any further in matters of Religion, it being apparent that they were against the Reformation.

As soon as the Sessions was over, the oath of Supremacy was tender'd to the Bishops, who all refused it, except Dr. Kitchen Bishop of Landaff, to the number of fourteen ; the rest of the Sees being vacant. Of the deprived Bishops three retired beyond sea, (viz.) Dr. Pate Bishop of Worcester, Scot of Chester, and Goldwell of St. Asaph ; Heath Archbishop of York, was suffered to live in his own House, where the Queen went sometimes to visit him ; Tonsal and Thirleby Bishops of Durham and Ely, lived at Lambeth in the house of Archbishop Parker with freedom and ease ; the rest were suffered to go at large upon their parole ; only Bonner Bishop of London, White of Winchester, and Watson of Lincoln, whose hands had been deeply stained with the blood of the Protestants in the late Reign, were made close prisoners ; but they had a sufficient maintenance from the Queen. Most of the Monks returned to a secular life ; but the Nuns went beyond sea, as did all others who had a mind to live where they might have the free exercise of their Religion.

Popish Bishops deprived.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

Some of the Reformed Exiles were offered Bishopricks, but refused them, on the account of the habits and ceremonies, &c. as Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Bernard Gilpin, old Father Miles Coverdale, Mr. Knox, Mr. Tho. Sampson, and others. Many that accepted, did it with trembling; from the necessity of the times, and in hopes by their interest with the Queen to obtain an amendment in the constitution of the Church; among these were Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys, Pilkington, and others.

Consecration of Abp. Parker.

L. of Parker, p. 38, 60, 61.

The Sees were left vacant for some time, to see if any of the old Bishops would conform; but neither time, nor any thing else could move them; at length after twelve Months, Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, by some of the Bishops that had been deprived in the late Reign, for not one of the present Bishops would be concerned. This, with some other accidents, gave rise to the story of his being consecrated at the Nags-Head-Tavern in Cheapside, a Fable that has been sufficiently confuted by our Church Historians; the persons concerned in the Consecration were Barlow and Scory Bishops elect of Chichester and Hereford; Miles Coverdale the deprived Bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkins Suffragan of Bedford; the two former appeared in their Chimere and Surplice, but the two latter wore long gowns open at the arms, with a falling cape on the shoulders; the ceremony was performed in a plain manner without gloves or sandals, ring or slippers, mitre or pall, or even without any of the Aaronical Garments, only by imposition of hands and prayer. Strange; that the Archbishop should be satisfied with this, and yet be so zealous to impose the popish garments upon others.

But still it has been doubted, whether Parker's consecration was perfectly canonical.

1. Because the persons concerned in it had been legally deprived in the late Reign, and were not yet restored. To which it was answered, that having been once consecrated, the episcopal character remained, and therefore they might convey it; though Coverdale and Hodgkins never exercised it after this time.

2. Because the consecration ought by law to have been directed according to the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII. and not according to the form of King Edward's ordinal for ordaining and consecrating Bishops, forasmuch as that

book

book had been set aside in the late Reign, and was not yet restored by Parliament.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

These objections being frequently thrown in the way of the new Bishops by the Papists, made them uneasy; they began to doubt of the validity of their consecrations, or at least of their legal title to their Bishopricks. The affair was at length brought into Parliament, and to silence all future clamours Parker's consecration, and those of his brethren, were confirmed by the two houses, about seven years after they had filled their chairs.

The Archbishop was installed December 17. 1559. soon after which he consecrated several of his brethren, whom the Queen had appointed to the vacant sees, as Grindal to the Bishoprick of London, Horn to Winchester, and Pilkington to Durham, &c. Thus the Reformation was restored, and the Church of England settled on its present basis. The new Bishops being poor, made but a mean figure in comparison of their predecessors: they were unacquainted with Courts and equipages, and numerous attendants, but as they grew rich, they quickly raised their deportment, and assumed a lordly superiority over their brethren.

The Hierarchy being now at its Standard, it will not be improper to set before the reader in one view the principles upon which it stands; with the different sentiments of the Puritans, by which he will discover the reasons why the Reformation proceeded no further.

I. The Court Reformers apprehended, "That every Prince had authority to correct all abuses of doctrine and worship, within his own territories." From this principle the Parliament submitted the Consciences and Religion of the whole Nation to the disposal of the King; and in case of a minority to his Council; so that the King was sole Reformer, and might by commissioners of his own appointment remove all manner of errors, heresies, &c. and model the doctrine and discipline of the Church into what shape he pleased, provided his injunctions did not expressly contradict the Statute Law of the Land.

Principles of
the Reformers
with the opposite
Sentiments
of the Puritans.

Thus the Reformation took place in sundry material points in the Reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, before it had the sanction of Parliament or Convocation: and though Queen Mary disallowed of the Supremacy, she made use of it to restore the old Religion, before the laws which had abolished it were repealed.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

Hence also they indulged the foreign Protestants with the liberty of their separate Discipline, which they denied to their own Countrymen.

The Puritans disowned all foreign Authority and Jurisdiction over the Church as much as their Brethren, but could not admit of that extensive Power which the Crown claimed by the Supremacy, apprehending it unreasonable, that the Religion of a whole Nation should be at the disposal of a single Lay-Person; for let the Apostle's rule, "That all things be done decently and in order," mean what it will, it was not directed to the Prince or Civil Magistrate. However they took the oath with the Queen's Explication in her Injunctions, as restoring her Majesty only to the antient and natural Rights of Sovereign Princes over their Subjects.

2. It was admitted by the Court of Reformers, "that the Church of Rome was a true Church, though corrupt in some points of Doctrine and Government; that all her Ministrations were valid, and that the Pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not of the Universal Church." It was thought necessary to maintain this, for the support of the character of our Bishops, who could not otherwise derive their Succession from the Apostles.

But the Puritans affirmed the Pope to be Antichrist, the Church of Rome to be no true Church, and all her Ministrations to be superstitious and idolatrous; they renounced her Communion, and durst not hang the Validity of their Ordinations upon an uninterrupted Line of Succession from the Apostles through their hands.

3. It was agreed by all, that the Holy Scriptures were a perfect Rule of Faith; but "the Bishops and Court Reformers did not allow them a Standard of Discipline or Church Government, but affirmed that our Saviour and his Apostles left it to the discretion of the Civil Magistrate, in those places where Christianity should obtain, to accommodate the Government of the Church to the Policy of the State."

But the Puritans apprehended the Holy Scriptures to be a Standard of Church Discipline, as well as Doctrine; at least that nothing should be imposed as necessary but what was expressly contained in, or derived from them by necessary Consequence. But if it should be proved, that all things necessary to the well Government of the Church, could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, they maintained that the discretionary Power was not lodged with the

the Civil Magistrate, but with the Spiritual Officers of the Church.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

4. The Court Reformers maintained, that “ the Practice of the Primitive Church for the first four or five Centuries was a proper Standard of Church Government and Discipline, and in some respects a better than that of the Apostles, which (according to them) was only accommodated to the infant State of the Church while it was under Persecution, whereas theirs was suited to the grandeur of a national Establishment.” Therefore they only pared off the later Corruptions of the Papacy, from the Time the Pope usurped the Title of universal Bishop, and left those standing which they could trace a little higher, such as Archbishops, Metropolitans, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Rural Deans, &c. which were not known in the Apostolic Age, or those immediately following.

Whereas the Puritans were for keeping close to the Bible in the main Principles of Church Government; and for admitting no Church-Officers or Ordinances, but such as are mentioned therein. They apprehended that the Form of Government appointed by the Apostles was Aristocratical, according to the Constitution of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and was designed as a Pattern for the Churches in after ages, not to be departed from in any of its main Principles; and therefore they paid no regard to the Customs of the Papacy, or the Practice of the earlier ages of Christianity, any farther than they correspond with the Bible.

5. Our Reformers maintained, “ That Things indifferent in their own Nature, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the Holy Scriptures, such as Rites, Ceremonies, Habits, &c. might be settled, determined, and made necessary by the Command of the Civil Magistrate; and that in such cases it was the indispensable Duty of all Subjects to observe them.

But the Puritans insisted, that those Things which Christ had left indifferent ought not to be made necessary by any human Laws, but that we are to “ stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ has made us free:” And further, that such Rites and Ceremonies as had been abused to Idolatry, and had a manifest tendency to lead Men back to Popery and Superstition, were no longer indifferent, but to be rejected as unlawful.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

6. Both Parties agreed too well in asserting the necessity of an uniformity of publick Worship, and of calling in the Sword of the Magistrate for the support and defence of their several Principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns, as they could grasp the Power into their hands. The Standard of Uniformity, according to the Bishops, was, "the Queen's Supremacy and the Laws of the Land;" according to the Puritans "the Decrees of Provincial and National Synods," allowed and enforced by the Civil Magistrate: but neither Party were for admitting that Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom of Profession, which is every Man's Right, as far as is consistent with the Peace of the Government he lives under.

The Principle upon which the Bishops justified their Severities against the Puritans, in this and the following Reigns, was the "Subjects Obligation to obey the Laws of their Country in all Things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the Laws of God." And the excellent Archbishop Tillotson in one of his Sermons, represents the Dissenters as an humorous and perverse set of People, for not complying with the Service and Ceremonies of the Church, for no other reason (says he) but because their Superiors require them. But if this were true, 'tis a justifiable reason for their Dissent, supposing the Magistrate has exceeded his Power by requiring that which is not within the bounds of his Commission. Christ (say the Non-Conformists) is the sole Law-giver of his Church, and has enjoined all Things necessary to be observed in it to the End of the World; therefore where he has indulged a Liberty to his Followers, it is as much their duty to "stand fast in it," as to observe any other of his Precepts. If the Civil Magistrate should stretch his Prerogative by dispensing with the Laws of his Country, or by making new ones, according to his Sovereign Will and Pleasure, without consent of Parliament, would it deserve the brand of Humour or Perverseness to refuse Obedience, if it were "for no other Reason, but because we will not submit to an arbitrary, dispensing Power?" Besides, if the Magistrate has a Power to impose Things indifferent, and make them necessary to the Service of God; he may dress up Religion in any shape, and instead of one Ceremony may load it with a Hundred.

To

To return to the History. The Reformation being thus settled, the Queen gave out Commissions for a general Visitation, and set forth a Body of Injunctions, consisting of 53 Articles, commanding her loving Subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep them, according to their Offices, Degrees and States. They are almost the same with those of King Edward. I shall therefore only give the Reader an abstract of such as we may have occasion to refer to hereafter.

Queen Elizabeth,
1559.

Artic. 1. " All Ecclesiastical Persons shall see that the Act of Supremacy be duly observed, and shall preach four times a year against yielding Obedience to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Queen's Injunctions.

Artic. 2. " They shall not set forth or extol the Dignity of any Images, Relicks or Miracles, but shall declare the Abuses of the same, and that all Grace is from God."

Artic. 3. " Parsons shall preach once every Month upon Works of Faith, Mercy and Charity, commanded by God; and shall inform the People, that Works of Man's devising, such as Pilgrimages, setting up Candles, praying upon Beads, &c. are offensive to God.

Artic. 4. " Parsons having Cure of Souls shall preach in Person once a Quarter at least, or else read one of the Homilies prescribed by the Queen to be read every Sunday in the Churches where there is no Sermon.

Sparrow's Collection.

Artic. 5. " Every holy Day, when there is no Sermon, they shall recite from the Pulpit the Pater-Noster, Creed, and Ten Commandments.

Artic. 6. " Within three Months every Parish shall provide a Bible, and within twelve Months Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the Gospel in English, and set them up in their several Churches.

Artic. 7. " The Clergy shall not haunt Ale-houses or Taverns, or spend their Time idly at Dice, Cards, Tables, or any other unlawful Game.

Artic. 8. " None shall be admitted to preach in Churches without Licence from the Queen, or her Visitors; or from the Archbishop or Bishop of the Diocese.

Artic. 16. " All Persons under the Degree of M. A. shall buy for their own Use the New Testament in Latin and English, with Paraphrases, within three Months after this Visitation.

Artic. 17. " They shall learn out of the Scriptures some comfortable Sentences for the Sick.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

Artic. 18. " There shall be no Popish Processions ; nor shall any persons walk about the Church, or depart out of it, while the Priest is reading the Scriptures.

Artic. 19. " Nevertheless the Perambulation of Parishes or Processions with the Curates shall continue, who shall make a suitable exhortation.

Artic. 20. " Holy Days shall be strictly observed, except in Harvest Time, after Divine Service.

Artic. 21. " Curates may not admit to the Holy Communion, Persons that live openly in Sin without Repentance ; or, that are at Variance with their Neighbours, till they are reconciled.

Artic. 22. " Curates, &c. shall teach the people not obstinately to violate the laudable Ceremonies of the Church.

Artic. 23. " Also, They shall take away, utterly extinguish, and destroy all Shrines, Coverings of Shrines ; all Tables, Candlesticks, Trindals, and Rolls of Wax, Pictures, Paintings, and all other Monuments of feigned Miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatry and Superstition, so that there remain no Memory of the same in Walls, Glass Windows, or elsewhere within their Churches and Houses ; preserving nevertheless, or repairing both the Walls and Glass Windows ; and they shall exhort all their Parishioners to do the like in their several Houses.

Artic. 28. " Due Reverence shall be paid to the Ministers of the Gospel,

Artic. 29. " No Priest or Deacon shall marry without Allowance of the Bishop of his Diocese, and two Justices of the Peace, nor without Consent of the Parents of the Woman (if she have any) or others that are nearest of Kin, upon Penalty of being incapable of holding any Ecclesiastical Promotion, or ministering in the Word and Sacraments. Nor shall Bishops marry without Allowance of their Metropolitan, and such Commissioners as the Queen shall appoint.

Artic. 30. " All Archbishops and Bishops, and all that preach or administer the Sacraments, or that shall be admitted into any Ecclesiastical Vocation, or into either of the Universities, shall wear such Garments and square Caps, as were worn in the Reign of King Edward VI.

Artic. 33. " No Person shall absent from his Parish Church, and resort to another, but upon an extraordinary occasion.

Artic. 34.

Artic. 34. " No Inn-holders or publick Houses, shall sell
" Meat or Drink in Time of Divine Service.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1569.

Artic. 35. " None shall keep in their Houses any abused
" Images, Tables, Pictures, Paintings, and other Monu-
" ments of feigned Miracles.

Artic. 36. " No Man shall disturb the Minister in his
" Sermon ; nor mock or make a Jest of him.

Artic. 37. " No Man, Woman or Child, shall be other-
" ways busied in Time of Divine Service, but shall give
" due attendance to what is read and preached.

Artic. 40. " No Person shall teach School but such as
" are allowed by the Ordinary.

Artic. 41. " School-Masters shall exhort their Children,
" to love and reverence the true Religion now allowed by
" Authority.

Artic. 42. " They shall teach their Scholars certain Sen-
" tences of Scriptures tending to Godliness.

Artic. 43. " None shall be admitted to any Spiritual
" Cure that are utterly unlearned.

Artic. 44. " The Parson or Curate of the Parish shall
" instruct the Children of his Parish for half an Hour be-
" fore Evening Prayer on every Holy Day, and second
" Sunday in the Year, in the Catechism, and shall teach
" them the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Command-
" ments.

Artic. 45. " All the Ordinaries shall exhibit to the Visi-
" tors a Copy of the Book containing the Causes, why any
" have been imprisoned, famished, or put to death for
" Religion in the late Reign.

Artic. 46. " Overseers in every Parish shall see, that
" all the Parishioners duly resort to Church ; and shall pre-
" sent Defaulters to the Ordinary.

Artic. 47. " Church Wardens shall deliver to the
" Queen's Visitors an Inventory of all their Church Fur-
" niture, as Vestments, Copes, Plate, Books, and espec-
" ially of Grayles, Couchers, Legends, Processionals, Ma-
" nuals, Hymnals, Portueffes, and such like, appertaining
" to the Church.

Artic. 48. " The Litany and Prayers shall be read week-
" ly on Wednesdays and Fridays.

Artic. 49. " Singing men shall be continued and main-
" tained in Collegiate Churches, and there shall be a mo-
" dest and distinct Song so used in all parts of the Common
" Prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly
" understood as if it were read without singing ; and yet
" nevertheless,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1559.

“ nevertheless, for the comforting such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or end of the Common Prayer, there may be sung an Hymn, or such like Song, in the best sort of melody and musick, that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymn may be understood and perceived.

Artic. 50. “ There shall be no vain and contentious Disputes in Matters of Religion ; nor the Use of approbrious Words, as Papist, Papistical Heretick, Schismatick or Sacramentary. Offenders to be remitted to the Ordinary.

Artic. 51. “ No Book or Pamphlet shall be printed or made publick without Licence from the Queen, or six of her Privy Council, or her Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of both Universities ; the Bishop being Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place, where any such Book shall be printed, or two of them, whereof the Ordinary to be always one : the Names of the Licensers to be printed at the end. Antient and prophane Authors are excepted.

Artic. 52. “ In Time of reading the Litany, and all other Collects and Common Prayer, all the People shall devoutly kneel ; and when the Name of Jesus shall be in any Lesson, Sermon, or otherways pronounced in the Church, due Reverence shall be made of all Persons with lowness of courtesy, and uncovering the Heads of the Menkind, as has been heretofore accustomed.”

These Injunctions were to be read in the Churches once every quarter of a year.

An appendix was added, containing the form of Bidding Prayer ; and an order relating to Tables in Churches, which enjoins, “ That no Altar be taken down but by oversight of the Curate and Church Wardens, or one of them at least, wherein no riotous or disorderly manner shall be used ; and that the holy Table in every Church be decently made, and set in the place where the Altar stood, and there to stand covered, saving when the Sacrament is to be administered ; at which time it shall be so placed within the Chancel, as whereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the Communicants, and the Communicants also more conveniently, and in more Numbers communicate with the said Minister ; and after
“ the

“ the Communion done the Holy Table shall be placed where it stood before.”

Queen Elizabeth,
1559.

The Penalties for disobeying these Injunctions, were Suspension, Deprivation, Sequestration of Fruits and Benefices, Excommunication, and such other corrections as to those who have Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction under her Majesty shall seem meet.

The major part of the Visitors were laymen, any two of whom were empowered to examine into the true state of all Churches; to suspend or deprive such Clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into their places; to proceed against the obstinate by imprisonment, Church censures, or any other legal methods. They were to reserve pensions for such as quitted their Benefices by Resignation: to examine into the Condition of all that were imprisoned on the account of Religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their Benefices as had been unlawfully deprived in the late times.

Proceedings
of the Visitors.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. II. p.
400.

This was the first High Commission, that was given out about Midsummer, 1559. It gave offence to many that the Queen should give Lay-Visitors authority to proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures; but this was no more than is frequently done by Lay-Chancellors in the Ecclesiastical Courts. It was much more unjustifiable for the Commissioners to go beyond the Censures of the Church, by Fines, Imprisonments, and inquisitory Oaths to the Ruin of some hundreds of families, without the authority of that Statute that gave them Being, or any other.

Mr. Strype assures us, that the Visitors took effectual Care to have all the instruments and utensils of Idolatry and Superstition demolished and destroyed, out of the Churches where God's pure Service was to be set up; such as Roods, i. e. Images of Christ upon the Cross, with Mary and John standing by; also Images of tutelary Saints of the Churches that were dedicated to them, Popish Books, Altars, and the like. But it does not appear that either the 2d or 23d Articles of Injunctions impowered them absolutely to remove all Images out of Churches; the Queen herself was as yet undetermined in this matter. Bishop Jewel in his letter to Peter Martyr, Feb. 4. 1560. says, there was to be a Conference about the lawfulness of Images in Churches the day following, between Parker and Cox, who were for them, and himself and Grindal, who were against them; and if they prevailed, (says he) I will be no longer a Bishop. However it is certain, that the Visitors commanded

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
290.

Queen
Eliz. beth,
1559.
Strype's
Ann. p. 175.

ed the Prebendaries and Archdeacon of London to see that the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's be purged and freed from all and singular Images, Idols and Altars; and in the place of the Altars to provide a decent Table for the ordinary celebration of the Lord's Supper; and accordingly the Roods and High Altar were taken down.

The populace was on the side of the Reformation, having been provoked with the cruelties of the late Times: Great numbers attended the Commissioners, and brought into Cheapside, Paul's Church-yard, and Smithfield, the Roods and Crucifixes that were taken down, and in some places the Vestments of the Priests, Copes, Surplices, Altar Cloths, Books, Banners, Sepulchres, and burnt them to Ashes, as it were, to make atonement for the Martyrs that had been burnt there. Nay, they went further, and in their furious zeal broke the painted Glass Windows, rased out some antient inscriptions, and spoiled those monuments of the Dead that had any marks of Popery upon them. "The Divines of this time (says Mr. Strype) could have been content to have been without all Relicks, and Ceremonies of the Roman Church, that there might not be the least compliance with Popish Devotions." And it had not been the worse for the Church of England if their Successors had been of the same mind.

Dislik'd by
the Queen.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
291.

But the Queen dislik'd these proceedings; she had a Crucifix with the Blessed Virgin and St. John, still in her Chapel; and when Sandys Bishop of Worcester spoke to her against it, she threaten'd to deprive him; and issued out a Proclamation, dated Sept. 19th. in the second year of her Reign, prohibiting "The defacing or breaking any Parcel of any Monument, Tomb or Grave, or other Inscription, in memory of any person deceased, or breaking any Images of Kings, Princes, or Nobles, &c. set up only in memory of them to posterity, and not for any Religious Honour; or the defacing or breaking any Images in glass windows in any Churches, without consent of the Ordinary." It was with great difficulty, and not without a sort of protestation from the Bishops, that her Majesty consented to have so many monuments of Idolatry as are mentioned in her 23d Injunction, removed out of Churches; but she would not part with her Altar, nor her Crucifix, nor with lighted Candles out of her own Chapel. The Gentlemen and singing Children appeared there in their Surplices, and the Priests in their Copes; the Altar was furnish'd

nished with rich plate, with two gilt candlesticks, with lighted candles, and a maily Crucifix of silver in the midst: The Service was sung not only with Organs but with the artificial musick of Cornets, Sackbuts, &c. on solemn Festivals. The ceremonies observed by the Knights of the Garter in their adoration towards the Altar, which had been abolished by King Edward, and revived by Queen Mary, were retained. In short, the service performed in the Queen's Chapel, and in sundry Cathedrals, was so splendid and showy, that Foreigners could not distinguish it from the Roman, except that it was performed in the English Tongue. By this method most of the popish Laity were deceived into Conformity, and came regularly to Church for nine or ten years, till the Pope being out of all hopes of an accommodation forbid them, by excommunicating the Queen, and laying the whole Kingdom under an Interdict.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

When the Visitors had gone through the Kingdom, and made their report of the obedience given to her Majesty's laws and injunctions, it appeared that not above 243 Clergymen had quitted their livings, (viz.) 14 Bishops, and 3 Bishops elect; one Abbot, 4 Priors, 1 Abbess, 12 Deans, 14 Archdeacons, 60 Canons or Prebendaries, 100 beneficed Clergy, 15 Heads of Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge; to which may be added about 20 Doctors in several Faculties. In one of the Volumes in the Cotton Library the number is 192; D'Ewe's Journal mentions but 177; Bishop Burnet 199; but Cambden and Cardinal Allen reckon as above. Most of the inferior beneficed Clergy kept their Places, as they had done through all the changes of the three last Reigns; and without all question, if the Queen had died, and the old Religion had been restored, they would have turned again; but the Bishops and some of the dignified Clergy having sworn to the Supremacy under King Henry, and renounced it again under Queen Mary, they thought it might reflect a dishonour upon their Character to turn again, and therefore they resolved to hold together, and by their Weight endeavour to distress the Reformation. But upon so great an alteration of Religion the number of Recusants out of 9400 parochial Benefices was inconsiderable; and yet it was impossible to find Protestants of a tolerable capacity to supply the vacancies, because many of the stricter sort that had been Exiles for Religion could not come up to the Terms of Conformity, and the Queen's Injunctions.

Numbers of
Popish Clergy
depriv'd.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

No Reformation of doctrine as yet.

It may seem strange, that amidst all this concern for the new form of worship, no notice should be taken of the doctrinal articles which King Edward had published for avoiding diversities of opinions in the Church, though her Majesty might have enjoined them, by virtue of her Supremacy under the Great Seal, as well as her Brother; but the Bishops durst not venture them into Convocation, because the majority was for the old Religion, and the Queen was not very fond of her Brother's Doctrines. To supply this defect for the present, the Bishops drew up the following declaration of their Faith, which all Churchmen were obliged to read publicly at their entrance upon their cures. 'Tis entitled,

Reformers
Declaration
of Faith,
printed by
Jugge the
Queen's
Printer,
Cum Priv.
Reg. Maj.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, set out by order of both Archbishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars and Curates; as well in testification of their common consent in the said Doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the Ministers of the Church for diversity of judgment, and as necessary for the instruction of their People; to be read by the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, at their possession taking, or first entry into their Cures: And also, after that yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sunday next following Easter Day, and St. Michael the Archangel, or on some other Sunday within one month after those Feasts, immediately after the Gospel.

“ **F**Orasmuch as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the Ministers and Pastors of the Church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their Faith, when they shall be thereunto required; I, for my part, now appointed your Parson, Vicar or Curate, having before mine eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same.

1. “ That there is but one living and true God, of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things; and that in Unity of the Godhead, there be Three Persons of one Substance, of equal Power and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2. “ I

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

2. " I believe also whatsoever is contained in the Holy
" Canonical Scriptures ; in the which Scriptures are con-
" tained all things necessary to Salvation ; by the which
" also, all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reprov'd
" and convicted ; and all Doctrines and Articles necessary
" to Salvation are established. I do also most firmly be-
" lieve and confess all the Articles contained in the three
" creeds ; the Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and our
" common Creed, called the Apostles Creed ; for these do
" briefly contain the principal Articles of our faith, which
" are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

3. " I do acknowledge also that Church to be the Spouse
" of Christ, wherein the Word of God is truly taught,
" the Sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's
" institution, and the authority of the Keys duly used : And
" that every such particular Church hath authority to in-
" stitute, to change, and clean to put away ceremonies,
" and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous or a-
" bused ; and to constitute others, making more to seemli-
" nesses, to order, or edification.

4. " Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any
" man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ec-
" clesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully there-
" unto called, by the high authorities, according to the
" ordinances of the Realm.

5. " Furthermore, I do acknowledge the Queen's Ma-
" jesty's prerogative, and superiority of Government of all
" Estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as tempo-
" ral within this Realm and other her Dominions and Coun-
" tries, to be agreeable to God's Word, and of right to
" appertain to her Highness in such sort, as is in the late Act
" of Parliament expressed, and thence by her Majesty's
" injunctions declared and expounded.

6. " Moreover, touching the Bishop of Rome I do ac-
" knowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures and Word
" of God, he hath no more authority than other Bishops
" have in their provinces and dioceses ; and therefore the
" power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the su-
" preme Head of the universal Church of Christ, and so
" to be above all Emperors, Kings and Princes, is an
" usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of
" God, and contrary to the example of the Primitive
" Church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away
" and abolished in this Realm.

7. " Fur-

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

7. "Furthermore, I do grant and confesse that the Book
" of Common Prayer and Administration of the Holy
" Sacraments, set forth by the authority of Parliament, is
" agreeable to the Scriptures; and that it is Catholick and
" Apostolick, and most for the advancing of God's Glory,
" and the edifying of God's People; both for that it is in a
" tongue that may be understood of the People, and also for
" the doctrine and form of Administration contained in the
" same.

8. " And although in the Administration of Baptism
" there is neither Exorcism, Oil, Salt, Spittle, or hallow-
" ing of the Water now used; and for that they were of
" late years abused and esteemed necessary, whereas they
" pertain not to the substance and necessity of the Sacra-
" ment, and therefore be reasonably abolished; yet is the
" Sacrament full and perfectly ministered, to all intents and
" purposes, agreeable to the Institution of our Saviour
" Christ.

9. " Moreover, I do not only acknowledge that private
" Masses were never used amongst the Fathers of the
" Primitive Church, I mean publick Ministration and re-
" ceiving of the Sacrament by the Priest alone, without
" a just number of communicants, according to Christ's
" saying, Take ye, and eat ye, &c. But also that the
" Doctrine that maintaineth the Mass to be a propitiatory
" Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a Mean to
" deliver Souls out of Purgatory, is neither agreeable to
" Christ's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apost-
" tolick, but contrariways most ungodly, and most injuri-
" ous to the precious Redemption of our Saviour Christ,
" and his only sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever upon
" the altar of the Cross.

10. " I am of that mind also, that the Holy Com-
" munion or Sacrament of the Body and Blood of
" Christ, for the due obedience to Christ's Institution,
" and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be
" ministered unto the People under both kinds: And
" that it is avouched by certain Fathers of the Church
" to be a plain sacrilege to rob them of the mystical
" cup, for whom Christ has shed his most precious Blood,
" seeing he himself hath said, 'Drink ye all of this;
" considering also, that in the time of the antient Doctors
" of the Church, as Cyprian, Hierom, Augustine, Gelasius,
" and others, six hundred years after Christ and more,
" both

“ both the parts of the Sacrament were ministred to the
“ People.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

Last of all, “ As I do utterly disallow the extolling of
“ Images, Relicks, and feigned Miracles; and also all
“ kind of expressing God invisable, in the form of an
“ old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove;
“ and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by mens
“ fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures; as wan-
“ dering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying up-
“ on beads, and such like superstition; which kind of
“ works have no promise of reward in Scripture, but con-
“ trariwise threatnings and maledictions: So I do exhort
“ all men to the obedience of God’s law, and to the
“ works of Faith, as Charity, Mercy, Piety, Alms, de-
“ vout and fervent Prayer, with the Affection of the
“ Heart, and not with the mouth only; godly Absti-
“ nence and Fasting, Chastity, Obedience to the Rulers
“ and superior Powers, with such like Works, and God-
“ lines of Life commanded by God in his Word; which,
“ as St. Paul saith, “ Hath the promise both of this
“ Life, and of the Life to come; and are works only ac-
“ ceptable in God’s sight.

“ These things above rehearsed, though they be ap-
“ pointed by common order, yet do I, without all com-
“ pulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the
“ bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuation,
“ acknowledge to be true, and agreeable to God’s Word.
“ And therefore I exhort you all of whom I have Cure,
“ heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the
“ same; that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith
“ and charity, may also at length be joined together in
“ the Kingdom of God, and through the merits and death
“ of our Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father,
“ and the Holy Ghost, be all Glory and Empire, now and
“ for ever. Amen.

These were the terms of ministerial conformity at this time; the Oath of Supremacy, compliance with the Act of Uniformity, and this Declaration of Faith. There was no dispute among the Reformers about the first and last of these qualifications, but they differed upon the second; many of the learned Exiles and others, refusing to accept of Livings in the Church according to the Act of Uniformity, and the Queen’s Injunctions. If the Popish Habits and Ceremonies had been left in-
different,

Terms of
conformity
not approv-
ed by many.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

M. S. p.
886.

different, or other decent ones appointed in their room, the seeds of division had been prevented; but as the case stood, it was next to a miracle that the Reformation had not been lost back into the hands of the Papists; and if some of the Puritants had not complied for the present, in hopes of the removal of these grievances, when things were better settled, it must have been so; for it was impossible, with all the assistances they could get from both Universities, to fill up the Parochial Vacancies with men of learning and character. Many Churches were dis-furnished for a considerable time, and not a few mechanics, altogether as unlearned as the most remarkable of those that were ejected, were preferred to Dignities and Livings, who were disregarded by the People, and did the Reformation more harm than good, while others of the first rank for learning, piety, and usefulness in their Functions, were laid aside. There was little or no preaching all over the Country; the Bishop of Bangor writes, that he had but two preachers in all his Diocese. It was enough if the Parson could read the Service, and sometimes an Homily. The Bishops were sensible, of the case; but instead of opening the door a little wider, to let in some of the more conscientious and zealous Reformers, they admitted the meanest and most illiterate that would come up to the terms of the law; and published a second Book of Homilies for their further assistance.

It is hard to say at this distance of time, how far the Bishops were to blame for their servile and abject compliance with the Queen; but one is ready to think, that those who had drunk so deep of the cup of persecution, and had seen the dreadful effects of it, in the fiery trial of their Brethren the Martyrs, should have insisted as one man upon a Latitude for their conscientious Brethren in points of meer indifference; Whereas their zeal run in a quite different channel; for when the spiritual Sword was put into their hands, they were too forward in brandishing it over the heads of others, and even to out-run the laws, by suspending, depriving, fining, and imprisoning men of true Learning and Piety, popular Preachers, declared Enemies of Popery and Superstition, and of the same Faith with themselves, but fearful of a sinful compliance with things that had been abused to Idolatry.

All the exiles were now come home, except a few of the Puritan stamp that stay'd at Geneva to finish their translation of the Bible, begun in the late Reign. The persons concerned in it were Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, John Knox, Anthony Gibbs, Thomas Sampson, William Cole of C. C. C. Oxon, and William Whittingham: They compared Tyndal's old English Bible first with the Hebrew, and then with the best modern Translations; they divided the chapters into verses, which the former translators had not done; they added some figures, maps, and tables, and published the whole this year at Geneva, in quarto, printed by Rowland Harle, with a dedication to the Queen, and an epistle to the reader, dated April 10th, which are left out in the after editions; because they touch'd somewhat severely upon certain ceremonies retained in the Church of England, which they excited her Majesty to remove, as having a popish aspect; and because the translators had published sundry marginal notes, some of which were thought to touch the Queen's prerogative, and to allow the Subject to resist wicked and tyrannical Kings; therefore when the proprietors petitioned the Secretary of State for reprinting it in England for publick use, in the year 1565. it was refused, and the impression stopt till after the death of the Arch-bishop in the year 1576. For the author of the "Troubles at Francfort," published in the year 1575. complains that "If the Geneva Bible be such as no enemy of God can justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour, as not to be printed again." The exceptionable notes were on Exodus xv. 19. where disobedience to Kings is allowed. 2 Chron. xix. 16. where Aza is censured for stopping short at the deposing of his Mother and not executing her, Rev. ix. 3. where the Locusts that come out of the smoak are said to be "Heretics, False Teachers, worldly, subtle Preachers, with Monks, Fryars, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, Batchelors, and Masters." But notwithstanding these, and some other exceptionable passages in the Notes, the Geneva Bible was reprinted in the years 1576 and 1579. and was in such repute, that some who have been curious to search into the number of its editions say, that by the Queen's own printers it was printed above thirty times. But for a present Supply Tyndal and Coverdale's Translation printed in the reign of King Henry VIII. was revised and published for the use of

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.
Geneva
Bible.

Life of Parker, p. 206.

Hickman against Heylin, p. 179.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

Dutch and
French
Churches
restored.

the Church of England, till the Bishops should publish a more correct one; which they now undertook.

Together with the exiles, the Dutch and German Protestants, who in the Reign of King Edward VI. had the Church in Austin Friars given them for a place of worship, returned to England with John a Lasco, a Polonian, their Superintendant. They petitioned the Queen to restore them to their Church and Privileges, which her Majesty declined for some time, because she would not admit of a stranger to be Superintendant of a Church within her Bishop's Diocese. To take off this objection Alasco resigned, and the people chose Grindal Bishop of London their Superintendent, and then the Queen confirmed their Charter, which they still enjoy, though they never chose another Superintendent after him. The French Protestants were also restored to their Church in Threadneedle-street, which they now enjoy.

Scots Reformation.

The Reformation took place this year in Scotland by the preaching of Mr. John Knox, a bold and courageous Scots Divine, who shun'd no danger, nor feared the face of any man in the cause of Religion. He had been a Preacher in England in King Edward's Time, then an Exile at Francfort, and at last one of the Ministers of the English Congregation at Geneva, from whence he arrived at Edinburgh, May 2d, 1559. being 54 years of age, and settled at Perth, but was a sort of Evangelist over the whole Kingdom. He maintained this position, "That
" if Kings and Princes refused to reform Religion, inferior Magistrates and the people being directed and instructed in the Truth by their Preachers, may lawfully
" reform within their own bounds themselves; and if all
" or the far greatest part be enlightened by the Truth,
" they may make a publick Reformation." Upon this principle the Scots Reformers humbly petitioned the Queen Dowager, Regent for her daughter [Mary] now in France, for liberty to assemble publicly or privately for Prayer, for reading and explaining the Holy Scriptures, and administering the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the vulgar tongue; and the latter in both kinds, according to Christ's institution. This reasonable Petition not being admitted, certain Noblemen and Barons formed an association, resolving to venture their lives and fortunes in this cause; and they encouraged as many of the Curates of the Parishes within their Districts, as were willing to read the Prayers and Lessons in English, but not to expound the Scriptures

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

tures till God should dispose the Queen to give them liberty. This being executed at Perth and the neighbouring parts without any disturbance, the Association spread, and was signed by great Numbers even in the capital city of Edinburgh. Upon this they presented another petition, representing to the Regent the unseasonableness of her rigour against the Protestants, considering their numbers; but she was deaf to all moderate councils. At the meeting of the Parliament, the Congregation or heads of the Association presented the Regent with sundry articles relating to liberty of conscience, to lay before the House, which she suppress'd and would not suffer to be debated; upon which they drew up the following protestation, and desired it might be recorded. "That since they could not procure a Reformation, agreeable to the word of God, from the Government, that it might be lawful for them to follow the dictates of their own consciences. That none that join'd with them in the Profession of the true faith should be liable to any civil penalties, or incur any damages for so doing. They protest, that if any tumults arise on the score of religion the imputation ought not to lie upon them who now humbly intreat for a regular remedy; and that in all other things they will be most loyal subjects." The Regent acquainted the Court of France with the situation of affairs, and received an order to suffer no other religion but the Roman catholick, with a promise of large supplies of forces to support her. Upon this she summoned the Magistrates of Perth, and the reformed Ministers to appear before her at Sterling, with a design to have them banished by a solemn decree. The Ministers appeared to defend their cause, being attended with vast crowds of people armed and prepared to defend them, agreeably to the custom of Scotland, which allowed criminals to come to their trials attended with their Relations and friends. The Regent astonished at the sight prayed John Areskin to persuade the multitude to retire, and gave her Parole that nothing should be decreed against the Ministers; but they were no sooner gone quietly home but she condemned them for non-appearance.

This News being brought to Perth, the Burghers encouraged by great numbers of the Nobility and neighbouring Gentry formed an army of 7000 Men under the command of the Earl of Glancarne, for the defence of their Ministers against the Regent, who was marching with an army of French and Scots to drive them out of their country;

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

try; but being informed of the preparation of the Burghers she consented to a treaty, by which it was agreed, that she should be received with honour into the city, and be suffered to lodge in it some days, provided she would promise to make no alteration in religion, but refer all to the parliament; the Scots forces on both sides to be dismissed: But the Reformed had no sooner dismissed their army, and opened their gates to the Regent, but she broke all the articles, set up the Mass, and left a Garrison of French in the town, resolving to make it a place of arms. Upon this notorious breach of treaty, as well as the Regent's Declaration, that "Promises were not to be kept with Hereticks," the congregations of Fyfe, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns and Montrose, raised a little army, and signed an engagement to assist each other in maintaining the Reformation with their lives and fortunes. Mr. Knox encouraged them by his Sermons, and the populace being warmed, pulled down Altars and Images, plundered the Monastries, and disfurnished the Churches of their superstitious ornaments, the Regent marched against them at the head of 2000 French, and 2000 Scots in French pay; but being afraid to venture a battle, she retreated to Dunbar, and the confederates made themselves masters of Perth, Scone, Sterlin and Lithgoe. At length a truce was concluded, by which the Ministers of the congregation had liberty to preach in the Pulpits of Edinburgh for the present; but the Regent having soon after received large recruits from France, repossessed herself of Leith, and ordered it to be fortified, and stored with all necessary provisions; the confederates desired her to demolish the works, alledging it to be a violation of the truce; but she commanded them upon their allegiance to be quiet and lay down their arms; and marching directly to Edinburgh, she obliged them to desert the city and retire to Sterlin, whither the French troops followed them, and dispersed them into the mountains. In this low condition they published a proclamation, discharging the Regent of her authority, and threatening to treat as enemies all that obeyed her orders; but not being able to stand their ground, they threw themselves into the arms of Queen Elizabeth, who being sensible of the danger of the Protestant religion, and of her own crown, if Scotland should become entirely popish under the Government of a Queen of France, who claimed the crown of England; enter'd into an alliance to support the confederate protestants in their religion and civil liberties, and sign'd the treaty at Berwick, Feb. 27, 1560.

Among

Among other articles of this treaty it was stipulated, that the Queen should send forces into Scotland, to continue there till Scotland was restored to its liberties and privileges, and the French driven out of the Kingdom. Accordingly her Majesty sent an army of 7000 foot, and 1200 horse, which joined the confederate army of like force. The army was afterwards reinforced by a large detachment from the Northern Marches, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk; after which they took the City of Leith, and obliged the Queen Regent to shut herself up in the Castle of Edinburgh, where she died June 10th. The French offered to restore Calais, if the Queen would recall her forces from Scotland; but she refus'd. At length the troubles of France requiring all their forces at home, plenipotentiaries were sent into Scotland to treat with Elizabeth's about withdrawing the French forces out of that Kingdom, and restoring the Scots to their Parliamentary Government. The treaty was concluded the beginning of August, whereby a general Amnesty was granted; the English and French forces were to withdraw in two months, and a Parliament to be called with all convenient speed, to settle the affairs of Religion and the Kingdom; but Francis and Mary refused to ratify it.

Queen Elizabeth, 1560.
Treaty of Edinburgh.
Rapin, Vol. VIII. p. 271.

Before the Parliament met Francis died, and left Mary Queen of Scots a young Widow. The late treaty not being ratified, the Parliament had no direct authority from the Crown, but assembled by virtue of the late treaty, and received the following petitions from the Barons and Gentlemen concerning Religion.

1. " That the doctrines of the Roman Church should be suppress'd by Act of Parliament, in those exceptionable points therein mentioned.
2. " That the discipline of the ancient Church be revived.
3. " That the Pope's usurped authority be discharged.

All which was voted, and the Ministers were desired to draw up a Confession of Faith, which they performed in 25 articles, agreeable to the sentiments of Calvin, and the foreign Reformers. The confession being read in Parliament was carried but with three dissenting voices; the popish Prelates offering nothing in defence of their Religion.

By another Act the Pope's authority was abolished, and reading Mass was made punishable, for the first offence with loss of goods; for the second banishment; and for

Queen
Elizabeth,
1560.

Collier's ec-
cles. Hist.
p. 468.

Their Kirk
Discipline.

First Book
of Disci-
pline, p. 31.

the third death. This was carrying matters too far ; for to judge men to death for matters of meer conscience that don't affect the Government, is not to be justified. " To affirm that we are in the right, and others in the wrong " (says Mr. Collier) is foreign to the point ; for every one " that suffers for Religion thinks himself in the right, and " therefore ought not to be destroyed for his sincerity, for " the prejudices of education, or the want of a better un- " derstanding, unless his opinions have mutiny and trea- " son in them, and shake the foundations of civil society.

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament a commission was directed to Mr. Knox, Willock, Spotiswood, and some other Divines, to draw up a scheme of discipline for the Church, which they did pretty much upon the Geneva plan, only they admitted superintendents in the room of Bishops, and rejected imposition of hands in the ordination of Ministers, because that miracles were ceased, which they apprehended to accompany that ceremony. Their words are these, " Other ceremonies than the publick ap- " probation of the people, and declaration of the chief " minister, that the person there presented is appointed to " serve the Church, we cannot approve ; for albeit the " Apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the mira- " cle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not " necessary." They also appointed ten or twelve Superintendents to plant and erect Kirks, and to appoint Ministers in such Counties as should be committed to their care, where there were none already. But then they add, these men must not live like idle Bishops, but must preach themselves twice or thrice a week, and visit their districts every three or four months, to inspect the lives and behaviour of the parochial Ministers, to redress grievances, or bring them before an assembly of the Kirk. The Superintendents were to be chosen by the Ministers and Elders of the several provinces ; and to be depriv'd by them for misbehaviour. The assemblies of the Kirk were divided into classical, provincial, and national, in which last the dernier resort of all Kirk jurisdiction was lodged.

When this plan of discipline was laid before the estates, it was referr'd to further consideration, and had not a parliamentary sanction, as the Reformers expected. But after the recess of the Parliament several Noblemen, Barons, and chief Gentlemen of the Nation, met together at the instance of Mr. Knox, and sign'd it, resolving to abide by the new discipline, till it should be confirm'd or alter'd by Parliament.

Parliament. From this time the old hierarchical Government was disused, and the Kirk was governed by General, Provincial, and classical assemblies, with Superintendents, though there was no law for it, till some years after.

Queen Elizabeth, 1561.

To return to England. The popish Bishops behaved rudely towards the Queen and her new Bishops. They admonished her Majesty by letter to return to the Religion of her ancestors, and threaten'd her with the censures of the Church if she did not. This not prevailing, Pope Pius 4th himself exhorted her by letter, dated May 5. 1570. to reject evil Counsellors, and obey his fatherly admonitions, assuring her, that if she would return to the bosom of the Church, he would receive her with like affectionate love as the Father in the Gospel received his Son. Parpalio, the Nuncio that was sent with this letter, offer'd in the pope's name to confirm the English Liturgy, to allow of the Sacrament in both kinds, and to disannul the sentence against her Mother's marriage; but the Queen would not part with her supremacy. Another Nuncio, the Abbot Martmegues was sent this summer with other proposals, but was stopt in Flanders and forbid to set foot in the Realm. The Emperor and other Roman Catholick Princes, interceded with the Queen to grant her Subjects of their Religion Churches to officiate in after their manner, and to keep up a separate communion; but her Majesty was too politick to trust them; upon which they enter'd upon more desperate measures, as will be seen hereafter.

Behaviour of the Papists.

Foxes and Firebrands Part III. p. 15. Ibid. p. 18.

Stype's Ann. p. 408.

Archbishop Parker visited his Diocese this summer, but found it in a deplorable condition; the major part of the beneficed Clergy being either mechanicks or Mass Priests in disguise; many Churches were shut up, and in those that were open not a Sermon was to be heard in some Counties within the compass of twenty miles; "the people perished for lack of knowledge," while men that were capable of instructing them were kept out of the Church, or at least denied all preferment in it. But the Queen was not so much concerned for this, as for maintaining her supremacy; his Grace therefore, by her order, drew up a form of subscription to be made by all that held any ecclesiastical preferment, wherein they acknowledge and confess, "That the restoring the supremacy to the Crown, "and the abolishing all foreign power; as well as the administration of the Sacraments according to the Book of "Common Prayer, and the Queen's injunctions, is agreeable to the word of God and the practice of the primitive

Abp. visits his Diocese.

L. of Parker, p. 77.

Queen
Elizabeth
1561.

M. S. penes
me, p. 884.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 84.

Strype's An-
nals, p. 117.

"tive Church." Which most that favoured the Reformation, as well as great numbers of time-serving Priests complied with; but some refused and were deprived.

The next thing the Archbishop undertook was, settling the Kalendar, and the order of lessons to be read throughout the year, which his Grace, as one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, procur'd Letters under the great Seal to reform. Before this time it was left to the discretion of the Minister to change the chapters to be read in course for some others that were more for edification; and even after this new regulation the Bishops recommended it; for in the preface to the second book of Homilies published in the year 1564. there is a serious admonition to all Ministers Ecclesiastical, to be diligent and faithful in their high functions; in which, among others, is this remarkable instruction to the Curates or Ministers, "If one or other chapter of the Old Testament falls in order to be read on Sundays or Holidays, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of some other chapter in the New Testament of more edification, for which it may be changed. By this your prudence and diligence in your office will appear, so that your people may have cause to glorify God for you, and be the readier to embrace your Labours." If this indulgence had been continued, one considerable difficulty of the Puritans had been removed (viz.) their obligation to read the Apochrypha lessons; and surely there could be no great danger in this, when the Minister was confined within the Canon of the Holy Scripture.

But this liberty was not long permitted, though the Admonition being never legally reversed, Archbishop Abbot was of opinion, that it was in force in his time, and ought to have been allowed the Clergy throughout the course of this Reign. His words are these, in his book entitled, "Hill's Reasons unmask'd, p. 317." "It is not only permitted to the Minister, but recommended to him, if wisely and quietly he do read canonical Scripture, where the Apochrypha upon good judgment seemeth not so fit; or any chapter of the canonical may be conceived not to have in it so much edification before the simple, as some other parts of the same canonical Scriptures may be thought to have." But the governing Bishops were of another mind, they would trust nothing to the discretion of the Minister, nor vary a tittle from the Act of Uniformity.

Hither-

Hitherto there were few or no peculiar lessons for holidays and particular Sundays, but the Chapters of the old and new Testament were read in course, without any interruption or variation; so it is in the Common Prayer Book of 1549. Fol. In the second edition of that book under King Edward VI. there were proper lessons for some few holidays, but none for Sundays; but now there was a table of proper lessons for the whole year thus entitled, "Proper lessons to be read for the first lesson, both at morning and evening Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the year; and for some also the second lessons." It begins with the Sundays of Advent, and appoints Isa. i. for Mattens, and Isa. ii. for Even-song. There is another table for proper lessons on holidays, beginning with St. Andrew; and a third table for proper psalms on certain days, as Christmäs, Easter, Ascension, Whitfunday, &c. At the end of this common Prayer book, printed by Jug and Cawood, 1560. were certain prayers for private and family use, which in the latter editions are either shortened or left out. Mr. Strype cannot account for this conduct, but says, It was great pity that the people were disfurnished of those assistances they so much wanted; but the design seems to have been, to confine all devotion to the Church, and to give no liberty to Clergy or Laity, even in their Closets or families, to vary from the publick forms. An admonition was published at the same time, and set up in all Churches, forbidding all Parsons under the degree of a Master of Arts, to preach or expound the Scriptures, or to innovate or alter any thing, or use any other Rite but only what is set forth by authority; these were only to read the Homilies. And whereas by reason of the scarcity of Ministers, the Bishops had admitted into the Ministry sundry Artificers, and others not brought up to learning, and some that were of base occupation, it was now desired, that no more tradesmen should be ordained, till the Convocation met and took some better order in this affair.

But it was impossible to comply with this admonition; for so many Churches in country towns and villages were unfurnished, that in some places there was no preaching, nor so much as reading a Homily, for many months together. In sundry Parishes it was hard to find persons to baptize or bury the dead; the Bishops therefore were obliged to admit of Pluralists, Non-Residents, civil Lawyers, and to ordain such as offered themselves, how meanly soever they were qualified, while others who had some

Queen
Elizabeth,
1561.

Appoint-
ment of les-
sons for sun-
days and ho-
lidays.
L. of Parker,
p. 83.

Sad state of
the Clergy.

Scru-

Queen
Elizabeth,
1561.

Scruples about conformity, stood by unprovided for; the learned and industrious Mr. John Fox the Martyrologist was of this number, for in a letter to his friend Dr. Humphreys, lately chosen President of Magdalen College, Oxon, he writes thus, "I still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition that England received me in, when I first came home out of Germany, nor do I change my degree or order, which is that of the Mendicants; or if you will, of the Friars Preachers." Thus pleasantly did this grave and learned Divine reproach the ingratitude of the times. The Puritans complained of these hardships to the Queen, but there was no remedy.

And of the
Universities.

The two Universities could give little or no assistance to the Reformers; for the Professors and Tutors being of the popish religion, had trained up the youth in their own principles for the last six or seven years. Some of the heads of the Colleges were displaced this Summer, and Protestants put in their room; but it was a long time before they could supply the necessities of the Church. There were but three Protestant Preachers in the University of Oxford in the year 1563. and they were all puritans (viz.) Dr. Humphreys, Mr. Kingsmill, and Mr. Sampson; and though by the next year the Clergy were so modell'd, that the Bishops procured a Convocation that favoured the Reformation, yet they were such poor scholars, that many of them could hardly write their names.

Queen a-
verse to the
married
Clergy.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 107,
209.

Indeed the Reformation went heavily on. The Queen could hardly be persuaded to part with images, nor consent to the marriage of the Clergy; for she commanded that no head or member of any Collegiate or Cathedral Church, should bring a wife or any other woman within the precincts of it, to abide in the same, on pain of forfeiture of all ecclesiastical promotions: And her Majesty would have absolutely forbid the marriage of all her Clergy, if Secretary Cecil had not briskly interposed. She repented that she had made any married men Bishops; and told the Archbishop in anger, that she intended to publish other injunctions, which his Grace understood to be in favour of Popery; upon which the Archbishop writ to the Secretary, that he was sorry the Queen's mind was so turned; but in such a case he should think it his duty to "obey God rather than man." Upon the whole, the Queen was so far from improving her brother's Reformation, that she often repented she had gone so far.

Her

Her Majesty's second Parliament met the 12th of January, in which a remarkable act was passed, "For assurance of the Queen's Royal Power over all States and Subjects within her dominions." It was a confirmation of the act of Supremacy. "All persons that by writing, printing, preaching or teaching, maintained the Popes authority within this Realm, incurred a Præmunire for the first offence, and the second was high treason. The oath of supremacy was to be taken by all in holy orders, by all Graduates in the Universities, Lawyers, School-masters, and all other officers of any Court whatsoever; and by all Knights, Citizens, and Burgeffes in Parliament." But the Archbishop by the Queen's order writ to the Bishops, not to tender the oath but in case of necessity, and never to press it a second time without his special direction; so that none of the popish Bishops or Divines were burdened with it, except Bonner and one or two more.

Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

Act of assurance.

L. of Parker, p. 126.

The Convocation was open'd at St. Paul's the day after the Parliament met. Mr. Day Provost of Eaton preached the Sermon, and Alexander Nowel Dean of St. Paul's was chosen Prolocutor. Her Majesty having directed letters of licence to review the doctrine and discipline of the Church, they began with the doctrine, and reduced the 42 Articles of King Edward VI. to the number of 39, as at present, the following article being omitted; Article 39. "The Resurrection of the dead is not passed already." Art. 40. "The souls of men deceased do neither perish with their bodies nor sleep idly." Art. 41. "Of the Millenarians." Art. 42. "All men not to be saved at last." Some of the other articles underwent a new division, two being sometimes joined into one, and in other parts one is divided into two; but there is no remarkable variation in the doctrine.

Convocation review the Art. of the Church.

It has been warmly disputed, whether the first clause of the 20th. article, "The Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," was a part of the article which passed the Synod, and was afterwards confirmed by Parliament in the year 1571. 'Tis certain that it is not among King Edward's articles; nor is it in that original manuscript of the articles subscribed by both Houses of Convocation with their own Hands, still preserved in Bennet College library among the rest of Archbishop Parker's papers. The records of this convocation were burnt in the fire of

Controverted clause of the 20th article.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1562.

of London, so that there is no appealing to them; but Archbishop Laud says, that he sent to the publick Records in his office, and the Notary returned him the 20th article with the clause; and that afterwards he found the book of articles subscribed by the lower House of Convocation in 1571. with the clause. Heylin says, That he consulted the records of Convocation, and that the contested clause was in the book; and yet Fuller, a much fairer writer, who had the liberty of perusing the same records, declares he could not decide the controversy. The Fact is this, the statute of 1571. expressly confirms English articles compriz'd in an imprinted book, entitled, "Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. according to the computation of the Church of England; for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion: Put forth by the Queen's authority." Now there were but two Editions of the articles in English before this time, both which have the same numerical title with that transcribed in the statute, and both (says my author) want the clause of the Church's power. But Mr. Strype in his life of Archbishop Parker says, that the clause is to be found in two printed copies of 1563. which I believe very few have seen. However, till the original M. S. abovementioned can be set aside, which is carefully marked as to the number of pages, and the number of lines and articles in each page, it seems more probable that the clause was some way or other surreptitiously inserted by those that were friends of the Church's power, than struck out by the Puritans, as Laud and his followers have published to the world; for 'tis hard to suppose, that a foul copy, as this is pretended to be, should be so carefully marked and subscribed by every Member of the Synod with their own hands, and yet not be perfect; but 'tis not improbable that the Notary or Register, who transcribed the articles into the Convocation book, with the names of them that subscribed, might by direction of his superiors privately insert it; and so it might appear in the records of 1571. though it was not in the original draught. But the controversy is of no great moment to the present Clergy, because 'tis certain, the clause was a part of the article confirmed by Parliament at the Restoration of King Charles II. 1662. though how far it was consistent with the act

of

of Supremacy, which lodged the ultimate power of determining matters of Faith and Discipline in the Crown, I must leave with the reader. The Synod it self seemed to be apprehensive of the danger of a Præmunire, and therefore after their names these words were cautiously added, “Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac Protestatione, quod nihil statuant in Præjudicium cujusquam Senatus consulti, sed tantum supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt, i. e. This Subscription is made by all with this Protestation, that they determine nothing in prejudice of any Act of Parliament, but only humbly offer this little book to the Queen or Parliament, containing their requests and petitions.

Queen Elizabeth, 1562.

The articles were concluded, and the subscription finished, in the Chapter-House of St. Paul's, Jan. 31, 1562. in the 9th Session of Convocation. All the Bishops subscribed, except Gloucester and Rochester, who I believe were absent. Of the lower House there were upwards of an hundred Hands; but whatever their learning was, many of them writ so ill that it is hard to read their names. Among the subscribers are several of the learned Exiles, who were dissatisfied with the Constitution; as, the Reverend Mr. Besely, Watts, Mullyns, Cole, Sampson, Pullan, Spencer, Wisdom, Nowel, Beaumont, Heton, Pedder, Lever, Pownal, Wilton, Croley, and others. But the Articles did not pass into a Law, and become a part of the Establishment, till nine years after, though some of the more rigid Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Commission insisted upon subscription from this time.

They are subscribed, Strype's An. p. 329.

The next considerable affair that came under debate, was the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church; and here, first Bishop Sandys brought in a paper of advice to move her Majesty;

Debate about Ceremonies.

1. “That private Baptism, and Baptism by Women, may be taken out of the Common Prayer Book.
2. “That the Cross in Baptism may be disallowed as needless and superstitious.
3. “That Commissioners may be appointed to reform the Ecclesiastical Laws.”

Another paper was presented to the House with the following requests, signed by thirty three names.

1. “That the Psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole Congregation; and that Organs may be laid aside.

Proposals for Reformation.

2 “That

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2. " That none may baptize but Ministers ; and that
" they may leave off the Sign of the Cross.
3. " That at the ministration of the Communion the
" posture of Kneeling may be left indifferent.
4. " That the use of Copes and Surplices may be taken
" away ; so that all Ministers in their ministry use a grave,
" comely and side Garment, as they commonly do in
" preaching.
5. " That Ministers be not compell'd to wear such
" Gowns and Caps, as the Enemies of Christ's Gospel
" have chosen to be the special array of their Priest-
" hood.
6. " That the Words in the 33d Article, concerning
" the Punishment of those who do not in all Things con-
" form to the publick Order about Ceremonies, may be
" mitigated.
7. " That all Saints Days, Festivals, and Holidays,
" bearing the Name of a Creature may be abrogated ; or
" at least a Commemoration only of them reserved by Ser-
" mons, Homilies or Common Prayer, for the better in-
" structing the people in History ; and that after Service
" Men may go to work."

I have subjoined the Names of the Subscribers to this Paper, that the Reader may take notice what considerable Persons they were for Learning and Ability, as well as Numbers, that desired a further Reformation in the Church.

Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's and Prolocutor.

—— Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, Oxon,

Lawrence Nowel, Dean of Lichfield,

—— Ellis Dean of Hereford,

—— Day, Provost of Eaton,

—— Dodds, Dean of Exon,

—— Mullins, Archdeacon of London,

—— Pullan, Archdeacon of Colchester,

—— Lever, Archdeacon of Coventry,

—— Bemont, Archdeacon of Huntingdon,

—— Spencer, Archdeacon of Chichester,

—— Croley, Archdeacon of Hereford,

—— Heton, Archdeacon of Gloucester,

—— Rogers, Archdeacon of St. Asaph,

—— Kemp, Archdeacon of St. Albans,

—— Prat, Archdeacon of St. Davids,

Longland,

—— Longland, Archdeacon of Bucks,
 —— Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex.

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—— Calfhil,	} Proctors of the	{ Church of Oxon,
—— Walger,		{ Clergy of Suffolk,
—— Saul,		{ Dean and Chap. of Gloucester,
—— Wiburne,		{ Church of Rochester,
—— Savage,		{ Clergy of Gloucester,
—— W. Bonner,		{ Church of Somerset,
—— Avys,		{ Church of Wigorn,
—— Wilfon,		{ Church of Wigorn, Worcester,
—— Nevynfon,		{ Clergy of Canterbury,
—— Tremayne,		{ Clergy of Exeter,
—— Renyger,		{ Dean and Chap. of Winton,
—— Roberts,		{ Clergy of Norwich,
—— Reeve,		{ Dean and Chap. of Westm.
—— Hills,		{ Clergy of Oxon.

This paper not being approved, another was brought in- to the lower House Feb. 13. containing the following Arti- cles, to be approved or rejected.

Other Pro-
 posals.
 Strype's
 Ann. p.
 337.

1. " That all Sundays in the year, and principal Feasts of
 " Chrif, be kept Holidays; and that all other Holidays be
 " abrogated.
2. " That in all Parifh Churches the Minifter in com-
 " mon Prayer turn his face towards the people, and there
 " read diftinctly the Service appointed, that the people may
 " hear and be edified.
3. " That in Baptifm the Crofs may be omitted, as tend-
 " ing to fuperftition.
4. " Forasmuch as divers Communicants are not able to
 " kneel for age and ficknefs at the Sacrament, and others
 " kneel and knock fuperftitiously, that therefore the Order
 " of Kneeling may be left to the difcretion of the Ordi-
 " nary.
5. " That it be fufficient for the Minifter in time of
 " faying Divine Service, and miniftring of the Sacraments
 " (once) to wear a Surplice; and that no Minifter fay Ser-
 " vice, or minifter the Sacraments, but in a comely Gar-
 " ment or Habit.
6. " That the ufe of Organs be removed."

These Propositions were the subject of great debates, some approving, and others rejecting them. In conclusion the House being divided, it appeared upon the scrutiny, that the majority of those present were for approving them;

Rejected by
 a single
 Proxy.

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43 against 35; but when the Proxies were counted the scale was turned; those who were for the propositions being 58, and those against them 59; so that by the majority of one single voice, and that not a person present to hear the debates but a Proxy, it was determined to make no alteration in the Ceremonies, nor any abatements of the present Establishment. The names of the 43 that approved of the Articles abovementioned, were,

Dean Nowel, Prolocutor, St. Paul's,
Mr. Archdeacon Lever, Coventry,
Dean Pedder, Wigorniensis,
Mr. Archdeacon Watts, Middlesex,
Dean Nowel, of Lichfield,
Mr. Archdeacon Spencer, Ciceſtrenſis,
Mr. Beſely, Proct. Cler. Cant.
Mr. Nevynſon, Proct. Cler. Cant.
Mr. Bower, Proct. Cler. Somerſ.
Mr. Ebden, Proct. Cler. Wint.
Mr. Archdeacon Longland, Bucks,
Mr. Lancaſter, Theſaurar. Sarum,
Mr. Archdeacon Weſton, Lewenſis,
Mr. Archdeacon Wiſdom, Elienſis,
Mr. Saul, Proct. Dec. & Cap. Glouc.
Mr. Walker, Proct. Suffolk,
Mr. Becon,
Mr. Proctor, Proct. Cler. Suffex,
Mr. Coccrel, Proct. Cler. Surrey,
Mr. Archdeacon Tod, Bedf.
Mr. Archdeacon Croley, Hereford,
Mr. Soreby, Proct. Cler. Ciceſt.
Mr. Bradbridge, Cancellar. Ciceſt.
Mr. Hills, Proct. Cler. Oxon.
Mr. Savage, Proct. Cler. Glouc.
Mr. Archdeacon Pullan, Colcheſt.
Mr. Wiſon Proct. Wigorn.
Mr. Burton,
Mr. Archdeacon Bemont, Huntingd.
Mr. Wiburne, Proct. Eccl. Roff.
Mr. Day, Prov. Eaton,
Mr. Reeve, Proct. Dec. Cap. Weſtm.
Mr. Roberts, Proct. Cler. Norw.
Mr. Calſhil, Proct. Cler. Lond. & Oxon,
Mr. Godwin, Proct. Cler. Linc.
Mr. Archdeacon Prat, St. David's,

Mr.

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Mr. Tremayn, Proct. Cler. Exon.
Mr. Archdeacon Heton, Glouc.
Mr. Archdeacon Kemp, St. Albans,
Mr. Avys, Proct. Eccl. Wigorn.
Mr. Renyger, Proct. Dec. Cap. Wint.
Mr. Dean Ellis, Hereford,
Mr. Dean Sampson, Oxon.

I mention these names not to detract from the Merit of those that appear'd for the present Establishment ; for many of them would have voted for the alterations, but were awed by their superiors, or afraid of a Præmunire ; whereas, if the contrary Vote had prevailed, it was only to address the Queen or Parliament, to alter the Service Book in those particulars : But I mention them to show, that the voice of half the Clergy in Convocation, and of no less numbers out of it, were for Amendments, or at least a Latitude in the Observation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. Indeed it was very unkind, that when such considerable abatements had been made in favour of the Roman Catholicks, nothing should be indulged to those of the same faith, and who had suffered in the same cause with themselves, especially when the controversy was about points which one party apprehended to be sinful, and the other allowed to be merely indifferent. Sundry other papers and petitions were drawn up by the lower House of Convocation in favour of a further Reformation, but nothing passed into a Law.

The Church having carried their point against the Puritans in Convocation, we are now to see what Use they made of their Victory. The Plague being in London and several parts of the Country this Summer, put a little stop to their zeal for uniformity at present ; some were indulged, but none were prefer'd that scrupled the Habits. For proof of this we may produce the Examples of two of the worthiest and most learned Divines of the age ; one was Father Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, who with Tindal and Rogers first translated the Bible into English after Wickliffe. This Prelate was born in Yorkshire, bred at Cambridge, and proceeded Doctor in Divinity in the University of Tubing. Returning into England in the Reign of King Edward, he was made Bishop of Exeter, 1551. Upon the accession of Queen Mary he was imprisoned, and narrowly escaped the Fire ; but by the intercession of the King of Denmark was sent over into that coun-

1563.

Miles Coverdale dispensed with as to the Habits.

Fuller's Worthies, B. III. p. 198.

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Elizabeth,
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Ann. p. 405.

And Mr.
Fox the
Martyrolo-
gist.

try, and coming back at her death, he assisted at the Consecration of Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury; but because he could not comply with the Ceremonies and the Habits he was neglected, and had no preferment. This reverend man (says Mr. Strype) being now old and poor, Grindal Bishop of London gave him the small Living of St. Magnus at the Bridge foot, where he preached quietly about two years; but not coming up to the Conformity required, he was persecuted thence, and obliged to relinquish his parish a little before his death, which happen'd May 20, 1567. at the age of 81. He was a celebrated Preacher, admired and followed by all the Puritans; but the Act of Uniformity brought down his reverend grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. He was buried in St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, and was attended to his grave with vast crouds of people.

The other was the Reverend Father Mr. John Fox, the Martyrologist, a grave, learned, and painful Divine, and Exile for Religion, who employ'd his time abroad in writing the Acts and Monuments of that Church that would hardly receive him into her bosom, and in collecting Materials relating to the Martyrdom of those that suffered for Religion in the Reigns of King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary; all which he published first in Latin, for the benefit of Foreigners, and then in English for the service of his own Country, and the Church of England in the year 1561. No Book ever gave such a mortal wound to Popery as this; it was dedicated to the Queen, and was in such high reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in the Churches; where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that Religion that had shed so much innocent Blood. Queen Elizabeth had a particular Esteem for Mr. Fox; but this excellent and laborious Divine, though reduced to very great poverty and want, had no preferment in the Church because he scrupled the Habits, till at length, by the intercession of some great friend, he obtained a Prebend in the Church of Sarum, which he made a shift to hold to his death, though not without some disturbance from the Bishops.

The parochial Clergy both in city and country had an aversion to the Habits; they wore them sometimes in obedience to the Law, but more frequently administred without them; for which some were cited into the Spiritual Courts, and admonished, but the Bishops had not yet assumed the courage of proceeding to suspension and deprivation.

vation. At length the matter was laid before the Queen, as appears by a paper found among Secretary Cecil's MSS. dated Feb. 14, 1564. which acquaints her Majesty, that
 " Some performed Divine Service and Prayers in the Chan-
 " cel, others in the body of the Church ; some in a seat
 " made in the Church, some in the Pulpit, with their faces
 " to the People ; some keep precisely to the Order of the
 " Book, some intermix Psalms in Metre ; some say with a
 " Surplice, and others without one.

Queen Elizabeth, 1564.
 Variety of Forms and Habits complain'd of.

" The Table stands in the Body of the Church in some
 " places, in others it stands in the Chancel ; in some places
 " the Table stands Altarwise, distant from the wall a Yard ;
 " in some others in the middle of the Chancel, North and
 " South ; in some places the Table is joined, in others it
 " stands upon Treffels ; in some the Table has a Carpet,
 " in others none.

" Some administer the Communion with Surplice and
 " Cap ; some with Surplice alone ; others with none ;
 " some with a Chalice, others with a Communion Cup, o-
 " thers with a common Cup ; some with unleavened
 " Bread, and some with leavened.

L. of Parker, p. 152.

" Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting ;
 " some baptize in a Font, some in a Basin ; some sign
 " with the Sign of the Cross, others sign not ; some mini-
 " ster in a Surplice, others without ; some with a square
 " Cap, some with a round Cap, some with a button Cap,
 " some with a Hat ; some in Scholar's Cloaths, some in
 " others."

Her Majesty was highly displeased with this report, and especially that her Laws were so little regarded ; she therefore directed a letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, dated Jan. 25th, " To confer with the Bishops of
 " the Ecclesiastical Commission, and to enquire what Di-
 " versities there were among the Clergy in Doctrine, Rites
 " and Ceremonies, and to take effectual methods that an
 " exact order and uniformity be maintained in all external
 " Rites and Ceremonies, as by law and good usages are
 " provided for ; and That none hereafter be admitted to a-
 " ny Ecclesiastical Preferment, but who is well disposed to
 " common Order, and shall formally promise to comply
 " with it." To give countenance to this severity, it was reported that some of the warmer Puritans had turned the Habits into ridicule, and given unhandsome language to them that wore them ; which according to Mr. Strype was an occasion of their being pressed afterwards with so much Rigor :

Ibid. p. 154.

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Elizabeth,
1564.

But whatever gave occasion to the persecution that followed, or whoever was at the head of it, supposing the insinuation to be just, it was very hard that so great a number of useful Ministers, who neither censured their brethren, nor abused their indulgence by an unmannerly behaviour, should be turned out of every thing they had in the Church for the indiscretion of a few. The Bishops in their Letters to the foreign Divines had promised “not to urge their Brethren in these Things, and when opportunity should serve to seek Reformation of them;” but now they took themselves to be released from their promises, and set at liberty by the Queen’s express command to the contrary; their meaning being, that they would not do it of their own accord, without direction from above.

Letters of
Puritans to
Courtiers
against pre-
ferring the Ha-
bits.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 155.

The Puritans and their friends foreseeing the storm did what they could to prevent it. Pilkington Bishop of Durham writ to the Earl of Leicester, Octob. 25, to use his interest with the Queen in their behalf. He said, “that compulsion should not be used in things of liberty. He prayed the Earl to consider, how all reformed countries had cast away popish apparel with the pope, and yet we contend to keep it as an holy Relick. That many ministers would rather leave their Livings than comply; and the realm had a great scarcity of Teachers; many places being destitute of any. That it would give incurable offence to foreign Protestants; and since we have forsok Poperie as wicked, I do not see (says the Bishop) how their apparel can become Saints and professors of the Gospel.” Whittingham Dean of Durham writ to the same purpose. He dreaded the consequence of imposing that as necessary, which at best was but indifferent, and in the opinion of many wise and learned men was superstitious. “If the apparel which the Clergy wear at present (says he) seems not so modest and grave as their vocation requires, or does not sufficiently distinguish them from men of other callings, they refuse not to wear that which shall be thought by godly magistrates most decent for these uses; provided they may keep themselves ever pure from the defiled Robe of Antichrist. Many Papists (says he) enjoy their Livings and Liberty, that have not sworn Obedience, nor do any part of their Duty to their miserable Flock. Alas! my Lord, that such compulsion should be used towards us, and such great Lenity towards the Papists. O! noble Earl, be our Patron and Stay in this behalf, that we may not lose that Liberty that hitherto by the Queen’s Benignity we have enjoyed.”

Other

Life of Par-
ker, p. 157.

Other letters were writ to the same purpose : And all made what friends they could among the courtiers.

Queen Elizabeth, 1564.

The Nobility were divided, and the Queen herself seemed to be at a stand, but the Archbishop spirited her up; and having received her Majesty's Letter, authorizing him to proceed, he entered upon the unpleasing work with vigor and resolution. The Bishops Jewel and Horn preached at Paul's Cross to reconcile the People to the habits. Jewel said, he did not come to defend them, but to shew "that they were indifferent, and might be complied with." Horn went a little further, "and wished those cut off from the Church that troubled it about white or black garments, round or square caps." The Puritans were not allowed to preach against the habits, but they writ to the Bishops, and told them, that in their opinions, those ought rather to be cut off which stopt the course of the Gospel, and that grieved and offended their weak Brethren, by urging the remnants of Antichrist more than God's Commandments, and by punishing the refusers of them more extremely than the breakers of God's Laws.

Proceedings of the Bishops.

The Archbishop, with the Bishops of London, Ely, Winchester, and Lincoln, framed sundry Articles to enforce the habits, which were afterwards published under the title of Advertisements. But when his Grace brought them to Court the Queen refused to give them the Royal Sanction. The Archbishop chafed at the disappointment, said that the Court had put him upon framing the Advertisements; and if they would not go on, and give them the Royal Sanction, they had better never have done any thing; nay, if the Council would not lend their helping hand against the Non-conformists, as they had done heretofore in Hooper's days, they should be but laughed at for all they had done. But still the Queen was so cold, that when the Bishop of London came to Court, she spoke not a word to him about the redressing the neglect of Conformity in the City of London, where it was most disregarded. Upon which the Archbishop writ to the Secretary, desiring another letter from the Queen to back their endeavours for Conformity, adding in some heat, "If you remedy it not by letter I will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who will."

Advertisements.

They urge the Queen to enforce them.

L. of Parker, p. 159.

But the wearing the popish garments being one of the grand principles of Non-conformity, it will be proper to set before the reader the sentiments of the most learned Reformers upon this controversy, which employed the pens of the most judicious Divines of the age.

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Elizabeth,
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Sentiments
of the first
Reformers
about the
Habits.

Fox's Book
of Martyrs,
Vol. I. l. p.
500

Ridley.
Latimer.

We have related the unfriendly behaviour of the Bishops Cranmer and Ridley towards Hooper; and that those very Prelates who once threatened his very Life for refusing the habits, if we may credit Mr. Fox's Latin Edition of the Book of Martyrs, lived to see their mistake and repent: For when Brooks Bishop of Gloucester came to Oxford to degrade Bishop Ridley, he refused to put on the Surplice, and while they were putting it on him whether he would or no, he vehemently inveighed against the apparel, calling it "foolish, abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play."

Bishop Latimer also derided the garments; for when they pulled off his Surplice at his degradation, "Now (says he) I can make no more holy water."

Farrar.

In the Articles against Bishop Farrar in King Edward's Reign, 'twas objected, Artic. 49. that he had vowed never to wear the cap, but that he came into his Cathedral with a long Gown and Hat; which he did not deny, but alledged he did it to avoid superstition, and without any offence to the People.

Taylor.

When the popish vestments were put upon Dr. Taylor the Martyr in order to his degradation, he walked about with his hands by his sides, saying, "How say you, my Lord, am I not a goodly fool? If I were in Cheapside would not the boys laugh at these foolish toys and apish trumpery?" And when the surplice was pulled off, "Now (says he) I am rid of a fool's coat."

Cranmer.

When they were pulling the same off of Archbishop Cranmer, he meekly replied, "All this needed not, I myself had done with this gear long ago."

Rogers.

Dr. Heylin testifies, That John Rogers the Proto-martyr peremptorily refused to wear the habits unless the popish Priests were enjoined to wear upon their sleeves, by way of distinction, a Chalice with an Host. The same he asserts concerning Philpot, a very eminent Martyr; and concerning one Tymes a Deacon, who was likewise martyred in Queen Mary's Reign.

Bradford.

The holy Martyr John Bradford, as well as Mr. Sampson, and some others, excepted against the habits at their entrance into Holy Orders, and were ordained without them.

Bucer and
Martyr.

Bucer and Peter Martyr, Professors of our two famous Universities, were both against the habits, and refused to wear them. Bucer being asked, Why he did not wear the square cap, answered, "Because his head was not square." And Martyr in one of his letters after his return home, says,
when

“ when I was at Oxford, I would never use those white
 “ garments in the choir, though I was a canon in the
 “ Church ; and I am satisfied in my own reasons for what I
 “ did.” In the same letter he calls them meer relicks of
 Popery ; and says, He never liked them.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1:64.
 Hist. Ref.
 p. 65.

These were the sentiments of our first Reformers in the reign of King Edward VI. and Queen Mary.

Upon restoring the Protestant religion under Queen Elizabeth, the same sentiments concerning the habits prevailed amongst all the Reformers at first, though they disagreed upon the grand question, “ Whether they should desert their
 “ ministry rather than comply ?”

Mr. Strype, in his Life of Archbishop Parker, a most
 cruel persecutor of the Puritans, says, That he was not fond
 of the Cap, the Surplice, and the Wafer Bread, and such
 like injunctions, and would have been pleased with a tolera-
 tion ; that he gloried in having been consecrated without the
 Aaronical Garments ; but that his concern for his Prince’s
 honour made him resolute that her Royal Will might take
 place.

Dr. Horn Bishop of Winchester, in his letter to Gaulter
 says, “ That the Act of Parliament which enjoined the
 “ Vestments, was made before they were in office, so that
 “ they had no hand in making it ; but they had obeyed the
 “ law, thinking the matter to be of an indifferent nature ;
 “ and they had reason to apprehend, that, if they had de-
 “ serted their stations on that account their Enemies might
 “ have come into their places ; but he hoped to procure
 “ an alteration of the Act in the next Parliament, though
 “ he believed it would meet with great opposition from
 “ the Papists.” Yet this very Bishop a little after wished
 them cut off from the Church that troubled it about white
 or black garments.

Horn.
 Pierce’s
 Vindicat.
 p. 44.
 Hist. Ref.
 Vol. III.
 p. 289 294.

Bishop Jewel calls the Vestments “ the habits of the
 “ Stage, the relicks of the Amorites, and wishes they may
 “ be extirpated to the roots, that all the remnants of for-
 “ mer errors, with all the rubbish, and even the dust that yet
 “ remained, might be taken away.” But he adds, the
 Queen is fixed ; and so was his Lordship soon after, when
 he refused the learned Dr. Humphreys a benefice within his
 Diocese on this account, and called all the Non-conformists
 men of squeamish stomachs.

Jewel.
 MS. p. 873.

Bishop Pilkington complains “ that the disputes which
 “ began about the Vestments were now carried further,
 “ even to the whole Constitution ; that pious persons la-
 “ mented

Pilkington.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1564.

“ted this, Atheists laughed, and the Papists blew the
“coals; and that the blame of all was cast upon the Bi-
“shops. He urged that it might be considered, that all
“Reformed Churches had cast away all Popish apparel
“with the Pope; that many Ministers would rather leave
“their Livings than wear them; and he was well satisfied
“that it was not an apparel becoming those that profess
“Godliness. I confess (says he) we suffer many things
“against our hearts groaning under them; but we cannot
“take them away though we were ever so much set upon
“it. We are under authority, and can innovate nothing
“without the Queen; nor can we alter the laws; the on-
“ly thing left to our choice is, whether we will bear these
“things or break the peace of the Church.”

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 316.

Grindal.

Bishop Grindal was a considerable time in suspense, whether he should accept a Bishoprick with the Popish Vestments. He writ to Peter Martyr on this head, and says, That all the Bishops that had been beyond Sea had dealt with the Queen to let the habits fall; but she was inflexible. This made them submit to the laws, and wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. Upon this principle he conformed and was consecrated; and in one of his letters, “He calls God to witness, that it did not lie at their [the
“Bishops] door, that the habits were not quite taken
“away.”

Sandys.

Dr. Sandys Bishop of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, inveigh severely against the habits, and they with the rest of the Bishops threaten to declaim against them, “Till they are sent to Hell from whence they came.” Sandys in one of his letters to Parker says, “I hope we
“shall not be forced to use the Vestments, but that the
“meaning of the law is, that others in the mean time
“shall not take them away, but that they shall remain for
“the Queen.”

Guest.

M.S. p. 891.

Dr. Guest Bishop of Rochester writ against the Ceremonies to Secretary Cecil, and gave it as his opinion, “That having been evil used, and once taken away, they
“ought not to be used again, because the Galatians were
“commanded, To stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ
“had made them free; and because we are to abstain
“from all appearance of evil. The Gospel teaches us to
“put away needless ceremonies, and to worship God in Spi-
“rit and Truth; whereas these ceremonies were no better
“than the devices of men, and had been abused to Idolatry.”

“He

“ He declares openly against the Cross, against Images in Churches, and against a variety of Garments in the Service of God. If a Surplice be thought proper for One, (says his Lordship) it should serve for All Divine Offices. The Bishop is for the People’s receiving the Sacrament into their hands, according to the example of Christ and the Primitive Church, and not for putting it into the people’s mouths: And as for the posture, that it should be rather standing than kneeling; but that this should be left to every one’s choice.”

Queen Elizabeth;
1564.



Not one of the first set of Bishops after the Reformation approved of the Habits, or argued for their continuance from Scripture, Antiquity, or Decency, but submitted to them out of Necessity, and to keep the Church in the Queen’s Favour. How much are the Times now altered with us! Our first Reformers never ascribed any Holiness or Virtue to the Vestments, but wished and prayed for their removal; whereas many of our modern Conformists have made them Essential to their Ministrations, and have represented Religion as lean and defective without them.

But the Question that divided the Reformers, was “ The Lawfulness of wearing Habits that had been consecrated to idolatrous and superstitious Uses, and were the very Marks and Badges of that Religion they had renounced.” Upon this they consulted the foreign Divines, who agreed in the Reasonableness of abolishing the Habits, but were divided in their Sentiments about the Lawfulness of wearing them in the mean time: Some were afraid of the return of Lutheranism or Popery, if the Ministers should desert their Stations in the Church; and others apprehended, that if they did not reject them at first, they should never obtain their removal afterwards.

State of the
Question about the
Habits.

Dr. Humphreys and Sampson, two Heads of the Non-Conformists, writ to Zurich the following Reasons against the Lawfulness of wearing the Habits: “ That they did not think the prescribing Habits to the Clergy merely a Civil Thing; nor that the Habits now prescribed were decent; for how can the Habit be decent that serves to dress up the theatrical pomp of Popery? The Papists glory in this, that these Habits were brought in by them, for which they vouch Otho’s Constitutions and the Roman Pontifical. They add, that in King Edward’s time the Surplice was not universally used or pressed, whereas the Copes then taken away are now to be restored. This is not to extirpate Popery but to plant it again,

Sampson and
Humphrey’s
Letter against the
Habits.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1564.

“ again, and instead of going forward in Reformation to
 “ go backward. We do not place Religion in Habits (say
 “ they) but we oppose them that do, [the Papists]. Be
 “ sides, it gives some authority to Servitude to depart from
 “ our Liberty. We hate Contention, nor do we desert
 “ our Churches and leave them exposed to wolves, but
 “ we are driven from them. We leave our Brethren
 “ to stand and fall to their own Master, and desire the
 “ same favourable Forbearance from them. All that is
 “ pretended is, that the Habits are not unlawful; not that
 “ they are good and expedient; but forasmuch as the Ha-
 “ bits of the Clergy are visible Marks of their Profession,
 “ they ought not to be taken from their enemies. The
 “ ancient Fathers had their Habits, but not peculiar to Bi-
 “ shops, nor distinct from the Laity. The Instances of
 “ St. John and Cyprian are singular. In Tertullian’s time
 “ the Pallium was the common Habit of all Christians.
 “ Chrysostom speaks of white Garments, but with no
 “ approbation; he rather finds fault with them: Nor do
 “ we condemn things indifferent as unlawful; but we
 “ wish there might be a free Synod to settle this Matter,
 “ in which things may not be carried according to the
 “ minds of one or two Persons. The Doctrine of our
 “ Church is now pure, and why should there be any de-
 “ fect in our Worship? Why should we borrow any thing
 “ from Popery? Why should we not agree in Rites as
 “ well as in Doctrine with the other reformed Churches?
 “ We have a good opinion of our Bishops, and bear with
 “ their State and Pomp; we once bore the same Cross
 “ with them, and preached the same Christ with them;
 “ why then are we now turned out of our Benefices, and
 “ some put in Prison, only for Habits, and publicly de-
 “ famed?

H. A. Ref.
Vol. III.
P. 311.

“ But the Dispute is not only about a Cap and Sur-
 “ plice; there are other grievances which ought to be re-
 “ dressed or dispensed with; as, (1.) Musick and Organs
 “ in Divine Worship. (2.) The Sponsors in Baptism, an-
 “ swering in the Child’s Name. (3.) The Cross in Bap-
 “ tism. (4.) Kneeling at the Sacrament, and the use of
 “ unleavened Bread. (5.) There is also a want of Disci-
 “ pline in the Church. (6.) The Marriage of the Clergy
 “ is not legitimated, but their Children are looked upon by
 “ some as Bastards. (7.) Marriage is not to be perform-
 “ ed without a Ring. (8.) Women are not to be churched
 “ without the Veil. (9.) The Court of Faculties; Plura-
 “ lities;

“ lities ; Licences for Non-Residence ; for eating Flesh
 “ in Lent, &c. are insufferable Grievances. (10.) Mini-
 “ sters have not a Liberty to preach without subscribing
 “ to the Use and Approbation of all the Ceremonies. And,
 “ Lastly, the Article which explained the manner of Christ’s
 “ Presence in the Sacrament is taken away.”

Queen
Elizabeth,
1564.
Hist. Ref.
in Records,
p. 335.

The Bishops writ in Vindication of their Compliance with these Things, from the necessity of the Times ; the Queen’s Peremptoriness ; the indifferent Nature of the Things required, and their fears of the loss of the whole Reformation, if they should desert their Stations in the Church ; promising not to urge them upon their Brethren who were dissatisfied ; but to endeavour their Removal in a proper time.

The learned Foreigners gave their Opinions upon this nice Question with caution and reserve. Peter Martyr in his letter to Grindal writes thus ; “ As for the Habits to
 “ be used in holy Things, since they carry an Appearance
 “ of the Mass, and are meerly Remains of Popery, it
 “ is (says he) the opinion of the learned Bullinger, the
 “ chief Minister of Zurich, that they are to be refrained
 “ from, lest by your Example a Thing that is scandalous
 “ should be confirmed ; but (he adds) though I have been
 “ always against the use of such Ornaments, yet I see the
 “ present Danger, lest you should be put from the Office
 “ of Preaching. There may also be some hopes, that as
 “ Images and Altars are taken away, so also those appear-
 “ ances of the Mass may be removed, if you and others
 “ who have taken upon you Episcopacy labour in it.—I
 “ am therefore more backward to advise you rather to re-
 “ fuse the Bishoprick than to submit to the Use of those
 “ Vestures ; and yet because I am sensible Scandals of
 “ this kind are to be avoided, I am more willing to yield
 “ to Bullinger’s Opinion aforesaid :” But after all he ad-
 “ vises him to do nothing against his Conscience.

Sentiments
of foreign
Divines.
Strype’s Life
of Grindal,
p. 29, 30.

Bullinger and Gualter, Ministers of Zurich, in their Letters to Horn and Grindal, “ lament the unhappy breach
 “ in the Church of England, and approve of the zeal of
 “ those Divines, who wish to have the House of God
 “ purged from all the dregs of Popery. They are not
 “ pleased with them who first made the Laws about Ha-
 “ bits, nor with those who zealously maintain them. They
 “ declare that they acted unwisely if they were of the
 “ reformed side ; but if they were disguised Enemies, that
 “ they

Of the Swit-
zers.
Hist. Ref.
Vol. III.
p. 308.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1564.
M. S. p. 889.

“ they had been laying snares with ill designs. They are
“ therefore absolutely against the Imposition of these, and
“ other Grievances; but they think many Things of this
“ Sort should be submitted to, rather than Men should
“ forsake the Ministry at this Juncture, lest the whole
“ Reformation should be lost; but that they should press
“ the Queen and the Nobility to go on and complete the
“ Reformation so gloriously begun.”

These Divines writ also to the Earl of Bedford, and acquainted him, “ That they were sorry to hear that not
“ only the Vestments, but many other Things were retained in the Church which favoured plainly of Popery.
“ They complain of the Bishops printing their Letter,
“ and that their private opinion about the Lawfulness of
“ wearing the Habits for the present, should be made use
“ of to cast reproaches on Persons, for whom they should
“ rather have compassion in their Sufferings, than study
“ to aggravate them. They pray his Lordship to intercede with the Queen and Nobility, for their Brethren
“ that were then under Sufferings, who deserved a very
“ great regard, forasmuch as it had appeared what true zeal
“ they had for Religion, since the only thing they desired
“ was, that the Church should be purged from all the
“ dregs of Popery. This Case (say they) in general is
“ such, that those who promote it are worthy of the highest dignity. They do therefore earnestly pray his Lordship
“ at this time, to exert himself and employ all the
“ interest he has in the Queen and Nobility, that the
“ Church of England, so happily reformed to the Admiration of the whole World, may not be defiled with the
“ Remnants of Popery. To retain these things will look
“ like giddiness (says these Divines;) it will offend the weak,
“ and give great scandal to their Neighbours in France and
“ Scotland, who are yet under the Cross; and the very
“ Papists will justify their tyrannical Impositions by such
“ Proceedings.” They also writ to Grindal and Horn to
“ the same purpose, but with no effect.

Hist. Ref.
Vol. III. p.
313.

Of the
French
Divines.

The Divines of Geneva were more peremptory in their
Advices; for in their Letter of Octob. 25. signed by Theodore Beza, and seventeen of his Brethren, they say, “ If
“ the Case were theirs they would not receive the Ministry
“ upon these Conditions if it were proffered, much less
“ would they sue for it. As for those who have hitherto
“ complied, if they are obliged not only to wink at manifest
abuses,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1564.

“ abuses, but to approve of those things which ought to be redressed, what things else can we advise them to, but that they should retire to a private life.—As for the popish habits, those men that are Authors of their being imposed, do deserve most evil of the Church, and shall verily answer it at the dreadful Bar of Christ’s Judgment.” They then argue very strongly against the habits; and having advised the Ministers not to lay down their ministry presently, for fear of the return of Popery, they conclude thus, “ Nevertheless, if Ministers are commanded not only to tolerate these things, but by their Subscriptions to allow them as lawful, what else can we advise them to, but that having witnessed their innocence, and tried all other means in the fear of the Lord, they should give over their Functions to open wrong.” They then gave their opinions against the cross in Baptism; the validity of Baptism by midwives; the power of the keys being in the hands of Lay-chancellors and Bishops Courts: And conclude with an Exhortation and Prayer for Unity, and a more perfect Reformation in the English Church.

Though the Reformation in Scotland was not fully established, yet the superintendent Ministers and Commissioners of charges within that Realm, directed a letter the very first opportunity, to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, “ who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.” It was dated from Edinburgh, Dec. 28th, 1566. and signed by John Spotswood, and nine of his Brethren, Preachers of Christ Jesus. The letter does not enter into the debate, whether the habits are simply indifferent or not; but pleads in a most earnest and pathetick manner for toleration and forbearance, and that the deprived Ministers may be restored. “ If Surplice, corner Cap and Tippet (say they) have been badges of idolatry, what have the preachers of Christian liberty, and open rebuffers of all superstition, to do with the dregs of the Romish Beast? Our Brethren that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn yours, nor molest you that use such vain trifles. If ye shall do the like by them we doubt not but you will therein please God, and comfort the hearts of many.” But the whole letter breaths such an excellent spirit, that I cannot forbear recommending it to the reader’s perusal in the Appendix.

Appendix,
No. I.

It

Queen
Elizabeth,
1564.

It is evident upon the whole, that it was the unanimous opinion of the foreign Divines, that the Habits ought to be laid aside by authority; and that in the mean time they should not be urged upon those that scrupled them: But they were not so well agreed "in the lawfulness of wearing them till they were taken away;" though their fears of the return of Popery, if the Ministers should desert their stations; their compassion to the Souls of the People that were perishing for lack of knowledge; and their hopes, that the Queen would quickly be prevailed with to remove them, made most of them think they might be dispensed with for the present.

Of the Eng-
lish Laity.

The English Laity were more averse to the habits than the Clergy; as their hatred of Popery encreased, so did their aversion to the garments. There was a strong party in the very Court against them, among whom was the great Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys Vice-chamberlain; Burleigh Lord Treasurer; Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary of State; the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, and others. But the Protestant populace throughout the Nation were so inflamed, that nothing but an awful subjection to authority could have kept them within the Church. Great numbers refused to frequent those places of worship where service was ministered in that dress; they would not salute such Ministers in the streets, nor keep them company; nay, if we may believe Dr. Whitgift, in his defence against Cartwright, "They spit in their faces, reviled them as they went along, and shewed such like rude behaviour," because they took them for Papists in disguise, for time-servers, and half-faced Protestants, that would be content with the return of that Religion whose badge they wore. There was indeed a warm spirit in the people against every thing that came from that pretended Church, whose garments had been so lately dyed with the Blood of their Friends and Relations. Upon the whole, I leave the reader to determine, how far the Wisdom and Justice of the Queen can be vindicated, in imposing these habits on the Clergy; or the Bishops be excused for imprisoning, suspending, and depriving, some of the most useful Preachers in the Kingdom, for things which in their own opinion were but barely tolerable; but in the judgment of their Brethren were absolutely sinful.

Strype's An-
nals, p. 460.

We have already mentioned the Queen's letter of January 25th; in obedience to which Archbishop Parker writ to his Brethren of the ecclesiastical commission and in particu-
ticular

Queen
Elizabeth,
1564.

ticular to Grindal Bishop of London, (there being in that City the greater number of Clergy, and of the best learning that refused the apparel) to consult proper methods to reduce them to an exact Uniformity. After some debate the Commissioners agreed upon certain Advertisements (as they were called) “ partly for due order in preaching “ and administering the Sacraments; and partly for the apparel of persons ecclesiastical.”

The Articles for preaching declare, “ That all Licences granted before March 1st, 1564. shall be void and of none effect; and that all that shall be thought meet for the office of preaching shall be admitted again, paying no more than four pence for the writing, parchment, and wax; and that those who were not approved as Preachers, might read the Homilies.

Advertisements or injunctions for Uniformity.
Sparrow.

“ In the Ministration of the Communion in cathedrals and collegiate Churches, the principal Ministers shall wear a Cope with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeably; but at all other prayers to be said at the Communion Table, they shall wear no Copes but Surplices only: Deans and Prebendaries shall wear a Surplice with a silk hood in the choir; and when they preach a hood.

“ Every Minister saying the publick prayers, or administering the Sacraments &c. shall wear a Surplice with sleeves; and the parish shall provide a decent table standing on a frame for the Communion Table; and the ten Commandments shall be set on the East wall over the said table.

“ All dignities in cathedral Churches, Doctors, Bachelors of Divinity and Law, having ecclesiastical Livings, shall wear in their common apparel a broad side-gown with sleeves, strait at the hands without any cuffs, or falling capes; and tippets of farsenet, and a square cap, but no hats, except in their journeying. The inferior Clergy are to wear long gowns and caps of the same fashion; except in case of poverty, when they may wear short gowns.”

To these Advertisements certain protestations were annexed, to be made, promised, and subscribed by such as shall hereafter be admitted to any Office or Cure in the Church. “ And here every clergyman subscribed, and promised not to preach or expound the Scriptures, without special licence of the Bishop under his Seal, but only to read the Homilies; and likewise to observe, keep, and maintain such order and uniformity in all external polity,

New Subscriptions.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1565.

“lity, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, as by laws, good
“usage, and orders are already well provided and esta-
“blished.”

These Advertisements were enjoined to the Clergy by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Rochester Commissioners in causes Ecclesiastical, and by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and some others. The preface says, “That they do not prescribe these rules as equivalent
“with the Word of God, or as of necessity to bind the con-
“sciences of the Queen’s subjects, in their own nature con-
“sidered; or as adding any efficacy or holiness to publick
“Prayer, or to the Sacraments; but as temporal orders
“merely Ecclesiastical, without any vain superstition, and as
“rules of decency, distinction, and order, for the time.”

By the first of these Articles, all preachers throughout the nation were disqualified at once; and by the last, they subscribed, and promised not to preach or expound the Scriptures, without a special licence from the Bishop, which was not to be obtained without a promise under hand of an absolute conformity to the ceremonies. But here the Commissioners surely broke through the Act of Submission, by which they are obliged “never to make or execute any ca-
“nons or constitutions without the Royal Assent.” But the Bishops presumed upon their interest with her Majesty; they knew her mind, though she refused, for political reasons, to ratify their Advertisements, telling them that the oath of canonical obedience was sufficient to bind the inferior Clergy to their duty, without the interposition of the Crown.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 161.

Parker therefore went on; and having cited the Puritan Clergy to Lambeth, he admonished some, and threatened others: But Grindal withdrew, being naturally averse to methods of severity, and afraid of a Præmunire: His Grace took a great deal of pains to gain him over, and by his arguments (says Strype) brought him to a good resolution. He also writ to the Council for the Queen’s and their assistance; and to the Secretary of State, beseeching him to spirit up the Bishop of London to his duty, which was done accordingly. What pains will some men take to draw their brethren into a snare, and force them to be partners in oppression and cruelty!

Dr. Hum-
phreys and
Sampson be-
fore the
commis-
sioners.

Among others that the Archbishop cited before him were the Reverend Mr. Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, President of Magdalen College, Oxon, men of high renown throughout the nation for learning, piety, and zeal for the Reforma-
tion,

tion, having been Exiles for Religion in Queen Mary's Reign, but averſe to the Habits. Upon their appearance the Archbiſhop urged them with the Opinions of Bucer and Peter Martyr; but the authority of theſe Divines not being ſufficient to remove their ſcruples, they were ordered not to depart the City without leave. After long attendance, and many checks from ſome of the Council of their Refraſtorineſs, they framed a ſupplicatory Letter in a very elegant but ſubmiſſive ſtile, and ſent it to the Archbiſhop, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, March 20th, " In which they proteſt before God, what a bitter
 " grief it was to them, that there ſhould be ſuch Diſſen-
 " tions about a Cap and Surplice among Perſons of the
 " ſame Faith. They alledge the Authorities of St. Auſtin,
 " Socrates, and Theodoret, to ſhew that in their times
 " there was a variety of Rites and Obſervances which
 " break not Unity and Concord. They beſeech the Bi-
 " ſhops therefore, if there was any Fellowſhip in Chriſt,
 " that they would follow the direction of St. Paul about
 " Things in their own Nature indifferent, that every
 " one ſhould be perſuaded in his own Mind. Conſcience
 " (ſay they) is a tender Thing, and all Men cannot look
 " upon the ſame things as indifferent; if therefore theſe
 " Habits ſeem ſo to you, you are not to be condemned
 " by us; on the other hand, if they do not appear ſo to
 " us, we ought not to be vexed by you. They then ap-
 " peal to Antiquity, to the Practice of other Reformed
 " Churches, and to the Conſciences of the Biſhops them-
 " ſelves; and conclude thus, Wherefore we moſt humbly
 " pray, that a Thing which is the Care and Pleaſure of
 " Papiſts, and which you [the Biſhops] have no great
 " value for yourſelves, and which we reſuſe not from the
 " Contempt of Authority, but from an Averſion to the
 " Common Enemy, may not be our Snare nor our
 " Crime."

In one of their Examinations the Archbiſhop put nine Questions to them, to which they gave the following Answers.

Queſt. 1. " Is the Surplice a Thing evil and wicked; or
 " is it indifferent?

Anſw. " Though the Surplice in Subſtance be indiffe-
 " rent, yet in the preſent Circumſtance it is not, being of
 " the ſame Nature with the Veſtis peregrina, or the Appa-
 " rel of Idolatry, for which God by the Prophet threatens
 " to viſit.

Vo L. I.

M

Queſt.

The Archbi-
 ſhop's Queſti-
 ons and their
 Anſwers.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1563.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1565.

Quest. 2. " If it be not indifferent, for what Cause ?

Answ. " Because Things that have been consecrated to
" Idolatry are not indifferent.

Quest. 3. " Whether the Ordinary [or Bishop] detesting
" Papistry, may enjoin the Surplice to be worn, and en-
" force his Injunction ?

Answ. " It may be said to such an one in Tertullian's
" Words, Si tu Diaboli Pompam oderis, quicquid ex ea
" attigeris, id scias esse Idololatriam. That is, If thou
" hatest the Pomp and Pageantry of the Devil, whatsoever
" of it thou meddlest with, is Idolatry. Which if he be-
" lieves he will not enforce the Injunction.

Quest. 4. " Whether the Cope be a Thing indifferent,
" being prescribed by Law for Decency and Reverence, and
" not in respect of Superstition or Holiness ?

Answ. " Decency is not promoted by a Cope, which was
" devised to deface the Sacrament. St. Jerom says, that
" the Gold ordained by God for Reverence and Decency
" of the Jewish Temple, is not to be admitted to beauti-
" fy the Church of Christ ; and if so, much less Copes
" brought in by Papists, and continued in their Service as
" proper Ornaments of their Religion.

Quest. 5. " Whether any Thing that is indifferent may
" be enjoined as godly, to the Use of Common Prayer and
" Sacraments ?

Answ. " If it is merely indifferent, as Time, Place, and
" such necessary Circumstances of Divine Worship, for the
" which there may be brought a Ground out of Scripture,
" we think it may.

Quest. 6. " Whether the Civil Magistrate may con-
" stitute by Law an Abstinence from Meats on certain
" Days ?

Answ. " Because of Abstinence a manifest Commodity
" ariseth to the Commonwealth in Policy, if it be sufficiently
" guarded against Superstition, he may appoint it, due Re-
" gard being had to Persons and Times.

Quest. 7. " Whether a Law may be made for the Diffe-
" rence of Ministers Apparel from Laymen ?

Answ. " Whether such Prescription to a Minister of the
" Gospel of Christ be lawful, may be doubted, because
" no such Thing is decreed in the New Testament ;
" nor did the Primitive Church appoint any such Thing,
" but would rather that Ministers should be distinguished
" from the Laity Doctrinâ, non Veste, by their Doctrine,
" not by their Garments.

Quest.

Quest. 8. "Whether Ministers going in such Apparel as the Papists used, ought to be condemned of any Preacher for so doing?"

Queen Elizabeth, 1565.

Ans. "We judge no Man; to his own Master he stands or falls."

Quest. 9. "Whether such Preachers ought to be reformed, or restrained, or no?"

Ans. "Irenæus will not have Brethren restrained from brotherly Communion for Diversity in Ceremonies, provided there be Unity of Faith and Charity; and it is to be wished that there may be the like charitable Permission among us."

Life of Parker, p. 166.

To these Answers, our Divines subjoined some other Arguments against wearing and enforcing the Habits; as, (1.) Apparel ought to be worn as meat ought to be eat; but according to St. Paul, Meat offered to Idols ought not to be eaten, therefore Popish Apparel ought not to be worn. (2.) We ought not to give offence in Matters of meer Indifference, therefore the Bishops who are of this opinion ought not to enforce the Habits. (3.) Popish Garments have many superstitious mystical Significations, for which purpose they are consecrated by the Papists; we ought therefore to consecrate them also, or lay them wholly aside. (4.) Our Ministrations are supposed by some not to be valid, or acceptable to God, unless performed in Popish Apparel; and this being a prevailing opinion, we apprehend it highly necessary to disabuse the People. (5.) Things indifferent ought not to be made necessary, because then they change their Nature, and we lose our Christian Liberty. (6.) If we are bound to wear Popish Apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven Crowns, and to make use of Oil, Spittle, Cream, and all the rest of the papistical Additions to the Ordinances of Christ.

Other Arguments against the Habits.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners were very much divided in their opinions, how to proceed with these men. Some were for answering the Reasons abovementioned, and for enforcing the Habits with a Protestation, "that they wished them taken away." Others were for Connivance; and others for some Compromise: Accordingly a pacifick Proposition was drawn up which Humphreys and Sampson were willing to subscribe, with the Reserve of the Apostle, "All Things are lawful, but all Things edify not." But the Archbishop, who was at the head of the Commission, would abate nothing; for on the 29th of April he told

Proceedings of the Commissioners.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1565.

L. of Parker,
p. 185.
Sampson de-
prived.

Humphrey's
Letter to the
Queen.

Obtains a
Toleration.

M.S. p. 873.

them peremptorily in open Court, that they should conform to the Habits; that is, "to wear the square Cap and no Hats in their long Gowns; to wear the Surplice with Non-regent's Hoods in the Choirs, according to ancient Custom; and to communicate Kneeling in Wafer Bread;" or else they should part with their Places. To which our Divines replied, that their Consciences could not comply with these Injunctions, be the Event what it would. Upon this they were both put under confinement; but the Storm fell chiefly upon Sampson, who was detained in prison a considerable time, as a terror to others; and by special order from the Queen, was deprived of his Deanery; nor could he ever obtain after this, any higher Preferment in the Church, than the Government of a poor Hospital.

Humphrey's Place was not at the Queen's Disposal; but he durst not return to Oxford, even after he had obtained his release out of Prison, but retired to one Mrs. Warcup's in Berkshire, a most devout Woman, who had run all hazards for harbouring the persecuted Protestants in the late times: From hence he writ a most excellent Letter to the Queen, in which he "beseeches her Majesty's Favour about the Habits, so far as she well knew that the Controversy was about Things in their own Nature indifferent, and in which Liberty of Conscience ought not to be restrained. He protests his own and his Brethren's Loyalty, and then expostulates with her Majesty, why her Mercy should be shut against them, when it was open to all others? Did she say she would not yield to Subjects? Yet she might spare miserable Men. Would she not rescind a publick Act? Yet she might relax and suspend it. Would she not take away a Law? Yet she might grant a Toleration. Was it not fit to indulge some Mens Affections? Yet it was most fit and equal not to force the Minds of Men. He therefore earnestly beseeched her to consider the Majesty of the Glorious Gospel, the Equity of the Cause, the Fewness of the Labourers, the Greatness of the Harvest, the Multitude of the Tares, and the Heaviness of the Punishment." Humphreys made so many friends at Court, that at length he obtained a Toleration for himself, but had no Preferment in the Church, till after 10 or 12 years, when he submitted to the Habits. The Bishop of Winchester presented him a small Living within the Diocese of Salisbury, but Jewel refused to admit him, and said he

was

was determined to abide by his Resolution till he had good Assurance of his conformity. The Oxford historian says, Dr. Humphreys was a moderate conscientious Non-conformist, but a great and general scholar, an able Linguist, a deep Divine; and that for his excellency of stile, exactness of method, and substance of matter in his writings, he went beyond most of our present theologists.

Queen Elizabeth, 1-65.
Athen. Ox. P. 242.

While the case of these Oxford Divines was under consideration, his Grace was consulting how to reduce the London Puritans: He was afraid to press them with the advertisements, because the Queen could not be prevailed upon to put the seal to them; he therefore sent them again to the Secretary with a letter to the Queen, praying, "That if not all, yet at least those articles that related to the apparel might be returned with some authority." But the Queen was firm to her former resolution; she would give no authority to the advertisement, but to support the Commissioners issued out a proclamation, peremptorily requiring uniformity in the habits, upon pain of "Prohibition from preaching, and deprivation."

L. of Parker, p. 212, 214.

Upon this the Archbishop consulted with men learned in the civil law, what method to proceed in; and then concluded with the rest of the Commissioners, to summons the whole body of Pastors and Curates, within the city of London, to appear at Lambeth, and to examine every one of them upon this Question, "Whether they would promise Conformity to the apparel establish'd by law, and testify the same by subscription of their hands?" Those that demurred were immediately to be suspended, and after three months deprived of their livings. To prepare the way for this general citation it was thought proper, first to summon the Reverend Mr. John Fox the Martyrologist, that the reputation of his great piety might give the greater countenance to the proceedings of the Commissioners; but when they called upon him to subscribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his pocket, and said, "To this I will subscribe." And when they offered him the Canons, he refused, saying, "I have nothing in the Church but a Prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you take it from me." But the Commissioners had not courage enough to deprive a Divine of so much merit, who held up the ashes of Smithfield before their Eyes.

Proceedings with the London Clergy.

The 26th of March being the day appointed for the appearance of the London Clergy, the Archbishop desired

Fuller.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1565.

the Secretary with some of the Nobility and Queen's Council to countenance the proceedings of the Commissioners with their presence, but they would not be concerned in such disagreeable work. When the Ministers appeared in Court, Mr. Thomas Cole a Clergyman being placed by the side of the Commissioners in priestly apparel, the Bishop's Chancellor from the Bench address'd them in these words: " My masters, and ye Ministers
" of London, the Council's pleasure is, that strictly ye
" keep the unity of apparel, like this man who stands here
" canonically habited with a square Cap, a Scholar's
" gown Priest-like, a tippet, and in the Church a linen
" Surplice. Ye that will subscribe, write Volo; those that
" will not subscribe, write Nolo: Be brief, make no words."

L. of Grin-
dal, p. 98.

Strype's An-
nals, p. 463.

Numbers
deprived.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 215.

—When some of the Clergy offered to speak he interrupted them, and cried, " Peace, peace. Apparitor call over the
" Churches, and ye masters answer presently Sub pœna
" contemptus." Great was the anguish and distress of those
Ministers, who cried out for compassion to themselves and families, saying, " We shall be killed in our souls for this
" pollution of ours." After much persuasion and many threatnings, sixty one out of about a hundred were prevail-
ed with to subscribe, and thirty seven absolutely refused; of which last number, as the Archbishop acknowledged, were some of the best preachers. These were immediately suspended, and put forth from all manner of ministry, with signification, that if they did not conform within three months they were to be deprived. The Archbishop imagined that their behaviour would have been rough and clamorous, but contrary to his expectations it was reasonable, quiet, and modest.

The Ministers gave in the following paper of reasons for refusing the apparel.

Reasons grounded upon the Scriptures, whereby we are persuaded not to admit the use of the outward apparel, and ministring garments of the Pope's Church.

Their rea-
sons for re-
fusing the
habits.

First, " **O**UR Saviour saith, Take heed that you con-
" temn not one of these little ones; for he
" that offendeth one of these little ones that believeth in
" me, it were good for him that a millstone were hanged
" about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth
" of the Sea. To offend the little ones in Christ, is to
" speak or do any thing whereby the simple Christians may
" take

Queen
Elizabeth,
1565.

“ take occasion either to like that which is evil, or to dislike
“ that which is good. Now for us to admit the use of these
“ things may occasion this mischief, therefore in consenting
“ to them we should offend many of these little ones.

“ Further, St. Paul saith, If any man that is infirm
“ shall see thee that hast knowledge sitting at meat at the
“ idol’s table, will not his conscience be stirred up to eat
“ that which is offered to idols? And so the weak brother
“ for whom Christ died shall perish in thy knowledge;
“ and in sinning after this sort against the brethren, and
“ wounding their weak consciences, ye do sin against Christ,
“ 1 Cor. viii. 10, 11. This place proveth, that whatsoever
“ is done by him that has knowledge, or seems to have it,
“ in such sort that he may seem to allow that as good,
“ which in itself cannot be other than evil, is an occa-
“ sion for the weak to allow and approve of the thing that
“ is evil, and to dislike that that is good, tho’ the doing
“ it be indifferent of itself in him that has knowledge.
“ To set at the idols table, or to eat things offered to idols,
“ is in him that has knowledge a thing indifferent, for he
“ knows that the idol is nothing, and that every creature
“ of God is good, and to be received with thanksgiving
“ without asking any questions for conscience sake. But to
“ do this in the presence of him that thinks that none can
“ do so, but he must be a partaker of idolatry, is to en-
“ courage him to like idolatry, and to dislike the true ser-
“ vice of God; for none can like both. Now the case of
“ eating and drinking, and of wearing apparel, is in this
“ case the same; for though to wear the outward and mi-
“ nistring garments of the Pope’s Church is in itself indif-
“ ferent, yet to wear in presence of the infirm and weak
“ brethren, who do not understand the indifferency of them,
“ may occasion them to like the pomp of the Pope’s mi-
“ nistration, which of itself is evil, and to dislike the
“ simple ministration of Christ, which in itself is good.

Secondly, “ We may not use any thing that is repugnant
“ to Christian Liberty, nor maintain an opinion of holiness
“ where none is; nor consent to idolatry, nor deny the
“ truth, nor discourage the godly, and encourage the wicked
“ nor destroy the Church of God, which we are bound to
“ edify, nor shew disobedience where God commandeth us
“ to obey; all which we should do, if we should consent to
“ wear the outward and ministring garments of the Pope’s
“ Church; as appears by the following passages of Scrip-
“ tures; by St. Paul’s exhortation, Gal v. 1. Stand fast in

Queen
Elizabeth,
1555.

“ liberty wherewith Christ has made you free; by the example of Christ, Matth. xv. 2, 3. who would not have his Disciples maintain an opinion of holiness which the Pharisees had in washing hands; by the doctrine of St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi. 15. where he teacheth, that there can be no agreement between Christ and Belial; by the example of Daniel, ch. vi. who making his prayer to God contrary to the commandment of the King, set open his window towards Jerusalem, lest he might seem to deny his profession, or consent to the wicked: By the example of St. Paul, who rebuked Peter sharply, because he did by his dissimulation discourage the godly that from among the heathen were converted to Christ, and encourage the superstitious Jews: And again, by his doctrine, 2 Cor. xiii. where he teacheth, that Ministers have power to edify, but not to destroy. It is farther evident, from the examples of the Patriarchs and Prophets, who in worshipping God would not use the Rites and Ceremonies of the idolatrous: And to conclude, from the doctrine and example of Peter and John, Acts iv. who refusing to obey the commandment of the rulers, in ceasing to preach Christ, said, Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you rather than God, be you yourselves judges.

Thirdly, “ For a further proof we may bring the testimony and practice of the ancient fathers.

“ Tertullian, in his Book “*de Corona Militis*,” compares those men to dumb idols, who wear any thing like the decking of the idols. Again he saith, “*Si in idolio recumbere alienum est a fide, quid in idoli habitu videri?*” If it be a matter of infidelity to sit at the idols feasts, what is it to be seen in the habit or apparel of the idol?

“ St. Austin, in his 86th epistle to Casulanus, warneth him not to fast on the same day, lest thereby he might seem to consent with the wicked Manichees.

“ The fourth Council of Toletane, [*Toledo*] Canon 5th, to avoid Consent with hereticks, decreed, That in Baptism the body of the baptized should be but once dipped.

“ The great Clerk Origen, as Epiphanius writeth, Tom. I. B. 2. Hæres. 64. because he delivered palm to those that offered to the image of Serapis, although he openly said, “*Venite accipite non frondes simulachri sed frondes Christi;*” Come and receive the bows, not of the image but of Christ; yet was he for this, and such like doings, excommunicated, and cast out of the Church, by those Martyrs and Confessors that were at Athens.

“ In

Queen
Elizabeth,
1:65.

“ In the Tripartite History, B. 6. chap. 30. It is said,
“ that the Christian Soldiers that by the subtlety of Julian
“ were brought to offer Incense to the Idol, when they
“ perceived their fault, they ran forth into the streets, pro-
“ fessing the Religion of Christ, testifying themselves to
“ be Christians, and confessing that their Hands had of-
“ fended unadvisedly, but that now they were ready to give
“ their whole Bodies to the most cruel torments and pains
“ for Christ.

“ Further, to prove that wearing the ministring Gar-
“ ments of the Pope’s Church, is to confirm the Opinion
“ of the Necessity and Holiness of the same, and to shew
“ Consent to Idolatry, let it be remembered that the first
“ Devisers of them have taught, that of Necessity they
“ must be had; and have made laws to punish and de-
“ prive those that had them not; as appears in the Pon-
“ tifical de Clerico faciendo, that is, of the ordering of
“ a Clerk, where the Surplice is termed the Habit or Gar-
“ ment of the holy Religion. And Durandus, in his third
“ Book, entitled “ Rationale Divinor,” calls it the Linen
“ Garment which those Men that are occupied in any Man-
“ ner at the Service of the Altar and holy Things, must
“ wear over their common Apparel.

“ Lyndwood also, in his Constitutions for the Province
“ of England, de Habitu Clericali, affirms the Necessity
“ of this Habit; so does Ottobonus and others, appointing
“ grievous Punishments for those that refuse to wear them;
“ yea, and the Pontifical teaches, that when a Clerk has
“ by murder, or otherwise, deserved to die, he must be
“ degraded, by plucking violently from him those Gar-
“ ments with these Words, *Autoritate Dei Omnipotentis,*
“ *Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, &c.* By the Authority
“ of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and
“ by our Authority we take from thee the Habit of the
“ Clergy, and we make thee naked and bare of the Or-
“ naments of Religion; and we do depose, degrade, spoil,
“ and strip thee of thy Clergy Order, Benefice, and Pri-
“ vilege; and as one that is unworthy of the Profession
“ of a Clerk, we bring thee back again into the Servitude
“ and Shame of the Secular Habit.

“ These Things being thus weighed, with the Warning
“ that St. Paul giveth, 1 Theff. chap. v. where he com-
“ mands us to abstain from all appearance of Evil, we
“ cannot but think that in using of these Things we should
“ beat

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Elizabeth,
1565.

“ beat back those that are coming from Superstition, and
“ confirm those that are grown in Superstition, and conse-
“ quently overthrow that which we have been labouring
“ to build, and incur the danger of that horrible Curse
“ that our Saviour has pronounced, Wo to the World be-
“ cause of Offences.

“ Knowing therefore how horrible a Thing it is to fall
“ into the Hands of the living God, by doing that which
“ our Consciences (grounded upon the Truth of God’s
“ Word, and the Example and Doctrine of ancient Fa-
“ thers) do tell us were evil done, and to the great discre-
“ diting of the Truth whereof we profess to be Teachers ;
“ we have thought good to yield ourselves into the Hands
“ of Men, to suffer whatsoever God hath appointed us to
“ suffer, for the preferring of the Commandments of God
“ and a clear Conscience, before the Commandments of
“ Men ; in complying with which we cannot escape the
“ Commandments of our Consciences ; keeping always in
“ Memory that horrible Saying of John in his first Epistle,
“ If our Conscience condemn us, God is greater than our
“ Conscience : And not forgetting the saying of the Psal-
“ mist, It is good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust
“ in Man. Psal. cxviii. It is good to trust in the Lord, and
“ not to trust in Princes. And again, Psal. cxlvi. Trust
“ not in Princes, nor in the Children of Men, in whom
“ there is no Health, whose Spirit shall depart out of
“ them, and they shall return to the Earth from whence
“ they came, and in that Day all their Devices shall come
“ to nought.

M. S. penes
me, p. 57,
&c.

“ Not despising Men therefore, but trusting in God on-
“ ly, we seek to serve him with a clear Conscience, so
“ long as we shall live here, assuring our selves that those
“ Things that we shall suffer for doing so, shall be a
“ Testimony to the World, that great Reward is laid up
“ for us in Heaven, where we doubt not but to rest for
“ ever, with them that have before our Days suffered for
“ the like.”

To this Declaration, and every Thing else that was of-
fered, from the danger of the Reformation, and the ruin
of so many poor Families ; the Commissioners replied, it
was not their business to argue and debate, but to execute
the Queen’s Injunctions. Archbishop Parker seemed pleas-
ed with the Resolution of his Chancellor, and said, That
he did not doubt, but when the Ministers had felt the
smart

L. of Parker,
p. 215.

smart of poverty and want they would comply; for the Wood (says he) is yet but green. He declared further, that he was fully bent to go through with the Work he had begun; and the rather, because the Queen would have him try "with his own authority," what he could do for order. This raised his ambition, and put him upon soliciting the Secretary with Letters for his Countenance; in one of which he tells him, that "If he was not better back'd there would be fewer Winchester's, as is desired." referring to Stephen Gardiner, the bloody persecuting Bishop of Winchester in Queen Mary's Reign; "but for my part (says he) so that my Prince may win Honour, I will be very gladly the Rock of Offence; since the Lord is my Helper I will not fear what Man can do to me; nor will I be amused or daunted, Fremat Mundus ruat Cœlum." These were the Weapons, and this the Language, of one whom Mr. Strype calls the mild and gentle Archbishop!

Queen Elizabeth, 1565.

Life of Parker, p. 219, 220, &c.

The Non-Conformists had juster Thoughts of him; he was at the head of all their Sufferings, and pushed them forward with unrelenting Vigor. The Queen might have been softened; the Secretary of State and Courtiers declared they could not keep Pace with him; Grindal relented, and the Bishop of Durham declared he would rather lay down his Bishoprick than suffer such proceedings in his Diocese. But Parker was above these Reproaches, and instead of relaxing framed such Injunctions for the London Clergy as has never been heard of in a Protestant Kingdom, or a free Government. The Commissioners obliged every Clergyman that had Cure of Souls to swear Obedience, (1.) To all the Queen's Injunctions and Letters Patents. (2.) To all Letters from the Lords of the Privy Council. (3.) To the Articles and Injunctions of their Metropolitan. (4.) To the Articles and Mandates of their Bishop, Archdeacon, Chancellors, Somners, Receivers, &c. And in a Word, to be subject to the Controul of all their Superiors with Patience. To gird these Injunctions close upon the Puritans, there was appointed in every Parish four or eight Censors, Spies, or Jurats, to take Cognizance of all Offences given or taken. These were under Oath enjoined to take particular Notice of the Conformity of the Clergy and of the Parishioners, and to give in their Presentments when required; so that it was impossible for an honest Puritan to escape the High Commission.

New Injunctions of the ecclesiastical Commissioners. Strype's Ann. p. 463.

By

Queen
Elizabeth,
1565.
Consequen-
ces of them.
L. of Parker,
p. 224.

Life of Grin-
dal, p. 99.
Pierce, p. 52.

Further Se-
verities a-
gainst the
Puritans.

Licences
taken away.

L. of Parker,
p. 189.

By these Methods of Severity, Religion and Virtue were discountenanced for the sake of their pretended Ornaments; the Consciences of good Men were entangled, and the Reformation exposed to the utmost Hazard. Many Churches were shut up in the City of London for want of Ministers, to the grief all good Men, and the inexpressible pleasure of the Papists, who rejoiced to see the Reformers weakening their own hands, by silencing such Numbers of the most useful and popular Preachers, while the Country was in distress for want of them. Bishop Sandys in one of his Sermons before the Queen some Years after, tells her Majesty, "That many of her People, especially in the Northern Parts, perished for want of food. Many there are (says he) that hear not a Sermon in seven years, I might safely say in seventeen: Their Blood will be required at some bodies hands."

But to make thorough Work with the Refusers of the Habits, the Archbishop called in all Licences, according to the Advertisements, and appointed all Preachers throughout his whole Province to take out new ones; this was to reach those who were neither Incumbents, nor Curates in Parishes, but Lecturers, or occasional Preachers. All Parsons and Curates were forbid to suffer any to preach in their Churches upon any former Licences given by the Archbishop; and such as took out new Licences bound themselves for the future, not to disturb the publick Establishment, or vary from it. And because some when they had been discharged from their Ministry in one Diocese for Nonconformity, got a Settlement in another, it was appointed that such Curates as came out of other Dioceses should not be allowed to preach without Letters Testimonial from the Ordinary where they last served. But those Puritans who could not with a good Conscience take out new Licences kept their old ones, and made the best use of them they could. "They travell'd up and down the Countries from Church to Church, preaching where they could get leave, as if they were Apostles (says Bishop Jewel)" and so they were with regard to their Poverty, "For Silver and Gold they had none:" But his Lordship adds, "And they take Money for their Labours." An unpardonable Crime! that honest Men of a liberal Education, that had parted with their Livings in the Church for a good Conscience, should endeavour after a very poor manner to live by the Gospel.

There

There was still one door of entrance into the Ministry left open to the Puritans, which the Archbishop used all his interest to shut, but could not prevail. It was a privilege granted the University of Cambridge by Pope Alexander VI. to licence twelve Ministers yearly, to preach any where throughout England, "without obtaining licences from any of the Bishops." The Bull says, "That the Chancellor of the University (who was then Fisher Bishop of Rochester) and his Successors, shall licence twelve Preachers yearly, under the common Seal of the University, who shall have liberty to preach, &c. durante vita naturali." The Archbishop sent to Secretary Cecil their Chancellor, praying him to set aside this practice. (1.) Because the present licences varied from the original Bull, being given out by the Vice-Chancellor, whereas they ought to be in the name of the Chancellor only. (2.) Because it was unreasonable to give licences "durante vita naturali, i. e. for life;" whereas they ought to be only "quam diu nobis placuerint, & dum laudabiliter gesserint, i. e. during our pleasure, or as long as they behave well." (3.) But that which troubled the Archbishop most, was the clause that infringed his own and his brethren's jurisdiction, "that they might preach without a licence from any of the Bishops." This was thought insufferable; the Vice-chancellor therefore was sent for to town to defend the privilege of the University, which he did to the satisfaction of the Chancellor; but the Archbishop was so angry, that he declared he would not admit any of their licences without the Chancellor's name; nor could he imagine that the Vice-chancellor, by his pretended experience and skill in the civil law, could inform his Honour of any thing that he was not capable of answering. But here his Grace met with a disappointment, for the University retained their privilege, and made use of it to the relief of the Puritans.

Queen Elizabeth, 1565.
University of Cambridge's Privilege of licensing Preachers debated.

L. of Parliament, p. 193.

In the Queen's progress this year, her Majesty visited the University of Cambridge, and continued there five days, being entertained by the Scholars with speeches and disputations. On the 3d day of her being there [Aug. 7.] a philosophy act was kept by Tho. Byng of Peter-house, on these two questions. (1.) Whether Monarchy be not the best form of Government? (2.) Whether frequent alterations of the Laws is dangerous? The Opponents were Mr. Tho. Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity College, Mr. Chadderton, of Queens, Mr. Preston and Clark of Kings College; who

Queen visits the University of Cambridge.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1565.

who performed their parts to the satisfaction of the Queen and the whole audience; but it seems Preston pleased her Majesty best, and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a salary. The divinity questions were, 1. Whether the authority of the Scripture is greater than that of the Church? 2. Whether the civil Magistrate has authority in ecclesiastical affairs? These were the tests of the times. At the close of the disputation the Queen made a short and elegant oration in Latin, encouraging the Scholars to pursue their Studies, with a promise of her countenance and protection.

They scruple
the habits.

But this learned Body was soon after thrown into confusion, by the controversy of the habits, especially of the Surplice. Dr. Longworth, Master of St. John's, being absent from his College, the Students of that house came to Chapel on a festival day without their Hoods and Surplices, to the number of 300, and continued to do so for some time; the Master at his return making no complaint, nor attempting to recover them to Uniformity. In Trinity College all except three declared against the Surplice, and many in other Colleges were ready to follow their example. The news of this being sent to Court, it was easy to foresee an impending storm: Several Members of the University writ to the Secretary, humbly beseeching his intercession with the Queen, that they might not be forced to receive a popish Ceremony which they had laid aside; assuring him before God, that nothing but reason, and the quiet enjoyment of their consciences, had induced them to do as they had done. But Cecil writ them an angry letter, admonishing them to return quietly to the habits, as they had used them before. He also writ to the Vice-chancellor, requiring him to call together the Heads of the Colleges, and let them know, that as they tendered the Honour of God, the preservation of Christian Unity, the Reputation of the University, the favour of the Queen, and his own good will to them, they should continue the use of the habits.

Whitgift
writes for
dispensing
with the ha-
bits.

The Heads of Colleges being sensible of the risk the University would run of being disfurnished of Students, if the habits were pressed, writ again to their Chancellor Cecil, to intercede with the Queen for a dispensation; one of their letters was signed by the Master of Trinity College, Dr. Beaumont, who had been an Exile, John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Roger Keilk, Master of Magdalen College, Richard Longworth, Master

ter of St. John's, Matthew Hutton, Master of Pembroke-Hall, afterwards Archbishop of York, and many others; in their letter they acquaint his Honour, " That a great
 " many persons in the University of piety and learning,
 " were fully persuaded of the unlawfulness of the habits;
 " and therefore if conformity were urged, they would be
 " forced to desert their stations, and thus the University
 " would be stript of its Ornaments; they therefore give it
 " as their humble opinion, that indulgence in this matter
 " would be attended with no inconveniencies; but on the
 " other hand, they were afraid Religion and Learning
 " would suffer very much by rigor and imposition." This
 letter was resented at Court, and especially by the Ecclesiastical Commission; Longworth Master of St. John's was sent for before the Commissioners, and obliged to sign a recantation, and read it publickly in the Church; the rest made their peace by submissive letters: All the Heads of Colleges were commanded to assist the Vice-chancellor in bringing the the Scholars to an uniformity in the habits, which nevertheless they could not accomplish for many years. Whitgift seeing which way the tide of preferment ran, drew his pen in defence of the Hierarchy in all its branches, and became a most potent advocate for the habits. But the University of Cambridge was still a Sanctuary for the Puritans.

Queen Elizabeth, 1565.
 L. of Parker, p. 194.

To return to the Puritan Clergy: Among the deprived Ministers, some betook themselves to the Study of Physick, others entered upon a secular employment; some went into Scotland or beyond Sea; some got to be Chaplains in Gentlemen's families; but many that had large families were reduced to beggary. Many Churches were now shut up, and the people ready to mutiny for their Ministers. 600 persons came to a Church in London to receive the Communion on Palm Sunday, but the doors were shut, there being none to officiate. The cries of the people reached the Court; the Secretary writ to the Archbishop to supply the Churches, and release the prisoners; but his Grace was inexorable, and had rather the people should have no Sermons or Sacraments, than have them without the Surplice and Cap. He acquainted the Secretary in a letter, " That when the Queen put him upon what he
 " had done, he told her that these precise folks would offer their goods and bodies to prison rather than relent;
 " and her Highness then willed him to imprison them. He
 " confessed that there were many parishes unserved; that
 " he.

The Abp's rigor and his Complaints.

L. of Parker, p. 225.

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Elizabeth,
1565.

“ he underwent many hard speeches, and much resistance
 “ from the people ; but nothing more than was to be ex-
 “ pected. That he had sent his Chaplains into the City to
 “ serve in some of the great parishes, but they could not
 “ administer the Sacrament, because the Officers of the
 “ Parish had provided neither Surplice nor Wafer Bread.
 “ That on Palm Sunday one of his Chaplains designing to
 “ administer the Sacrament to some that desired it, the
 “ Table was made ready, but while he was reading the
 “ chapter of the Passion one of the Parishioners drew from
 “ the Table both the Cup and the Wafer Bread, because
 “ the Bread was not common ; and so the people were
 “ disappointed, and his Chaplain derided. That divers
 “ Church Wardens would provide neither Surplice nor Wa-
 “ fer Bread. He acquainted the Secretary further, That
 “ he had talked with several of the new Preachers, who
 “ were movers of sedition and disorder, that he had com-
 “ manded them silence, and had put some into prison.
 “ That on Maunday Thursday he had many of the Bi-
 “ shop of London’s Parishioners, Church Wardens, and
 “ others before him ; but that he was fully tired, for some
 “ Ministers would not obey their Suspensions, but preached
 “ in defiance of them. Some Church Wardens would
 “ not provide the Church Furniture ; and others opposed
 “ and disturbed those that were sent to officiate in the
 “ prescribed apparel. He then calls upon the Secretary
 “ to spirit up [Grindal] Bishop of London, to his duty ;
 “ and assures him, that he had spoken to him to no pur-
 “ pose ; that he was younger, and nearer the City, and
 “ had vacant Priests in his Church, who might supply
 “ the places of the deprived Ministers ; he therefore be-
 “ wailed that he should be put upon the oversight of the
 “ parishes of London, which was another man’s charge ;
 “ and that the burden should be laid on his neck when other
 “ men drew back.” The truth is, Grindal was weary of
 the unpleasant work, and having a real concern to pro-
 mote the preaching of the word of God, he would not act
 against the Ministers, but as he was pushed forwards ; and
 when the eyes of his Superiors were turned another way, he
 would relax again. When the Secretary and Archbishop sent
 to him to provide for this Charge, and fill up the vacant
 Pulpits ; he told them it was impossible, for there were no
 Preachers ; all he could do was to supply the Churches by
 turns, which was far from stopping the murmurs of the
 People.

This

This was the sad condition of the city of London; the very bread of life being taken from the people, for the sake of a few trifling ceremonies: And if it was thus in the city, how much worse must it be in those distant countries where her Majesty's injunctions were rigidly executed? And yet with all this rigour it was not in the power of the Queen and her Bishops to reconcile the Clergy and the common People to the Habits. The Queen herself was in earnest, and her Archbishop went into the most servile measures to fulfil the commands of his Royal Mistress; the High Commission was furious, but the Council were backward to countenance their proceedings.

Queen Elizabeth, 1566.

Sad condition of the city of London.

All applications to the Queen and her Commissioners being ineffectual, the suspended Ministers thought it their duty to lay their case before the World; accordingly they published a small Treatise this year, in vindication of their conduct, intituled, "A Declaration of the Doings of those Ministers of God's Word and Sacraments in the city of London, which have refused to wear the upper Apparel, and ministring Garments of the Pope's Church." In this Book they shew, "That neither the Prophets in the Old Testament, nor the Apostles in the New, were distinguished by their Garments; that the Linen Garment was peculiar to the Priesthood of Aaron, and had a signification of something to be fulfilled in Christ and his Church. — That a Distinction of Garments in the Christian Church did not generally obtain till long after the rising of Antichrist; for the whole Clergy of Ravenna writing to the Emperor Carolus Calvus, in the year of our Lord, 876. say, We are distinguished from the Laity not by our Cloaths but by our Doctrines; not by our Habits but our Conversation. — That the Surplice, or white Linen Garment, came from the Egyptians into the Jewish Church; and that Pope Sylvester about the year 320, was the first that appointed the Sacrament to be administred in a white Linen Garment; giving this Reason for it, Because the Body of Christ was buried in a white Linen Cloth. — They represent how all these Garments had been abused to Idolatry, Sorcery, and all kinds of Conjurations; for (say they) the popish Priests can perform none of their pretended Consecrations of holy Water, Transubstantiation of the Body of Christ, Conjurations of the Devil out of places or persons possessed, without a Surplice, or an Albe, or some hallowed Stole. — They argue against the Ha-

Abstract of the suspended Ministers Reasons for Nonconformity.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1566.

“ bits as an Offence to weak Christians, an Encourage-
“ ment to ignorant and obstinate Papists, and as an Affec-
“ tation to return to their Communion.—That at best
“ they were but human Appointments, and came within
“ the Apostle’s Reproof, Col. ii. 20, 22. Why as though
“ living in the World are ye subject to Ordinances,
“ after the Commandments and Doctrines of Men? Which
“ all are to perish with the using. Touch not, taste not,
“ handle not.—That supposing the Garments were in-
“ different (which they did not grant) yet they ought not to
“ be imposed, because it was an infringement of the Li-
“ berty wherewith Christ had made them free.—Lastly,
“ They call in the Suffrages of foreign Divines, who all
“ condemned the Habits, though they were not willing
“ to hazard the Reformation in its Infancy for them. E-
“ ven Bishop Ridley, who contended so zealously for the
“ Habits, when Dr. Brooks at his Degradation would have
“ persuaded him to put on the Surplice with the rest of the
“ Massing Garments, absolutely refused, saying, If you
“ put the Surplice upon me, it shall be against my
“ Will. And when they forced it upon him, he inveigh-
“ ed against the Apparel, as foolish and abominable.”

At the end of the Book is a Prayer, in which are these
Words; — “ Are not the Relicks of Romish Idolatry
“ stoutly retained? Are we not bereaved of some of our
“ Pastors, who by Word and Example sought to free thy
“ Flock from these Offences? Ah, good Lord! these are
“ now by Power put down from pastoral Care; they are
“ forbid to feed us; their Voice we cannot hear. This is
“ our great Discomfort; this is the Joy and Triumph of
“ Antichrist; and which is more heavy, the Increase of
“ this misery is of some threaten’d, of the wicked hoped
“ for, and of us feared, as thy Judgments against us for
“ our Sins.” — At the Conclusion is the Lord’s Prayer
and Creed, after this manner, In thy Name, O Christ
our Captain, we ask these Things, and pray unto thee, O
heavenly Father, saying, “ Our Father, &c.” After this;
O Lord, encrease our Faith, whereof we make Confession,
“ I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.” And in
the end is this Sentence, “ Arise, O Lord, and let thine
“ Enemies be confounded.”

Strype’s
Annals, p.
555.
Pierce, p.
61.

Other Pamphlets of the same kind were published in fa-
vour of the suspended Ministers, which the Bishops appoint-
ed their Chaplains to answer. Mr. Strype is of Opinion,
that

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that the Archbishop himself published an Answer to their Declaration ; but whoever be the Author, he is a Man of a bad spirit, and abusive language : The Ministers printed a Reply to it, intituled, " An Answer for the Time, to the Examination put in print without the Author's Name, " pretending to maintain the Apparel prescrib'd, against " the Declaration of the Ministers of London ;" it answers the Adversary paragraph by paragraph with good temper and judgment. But the Bishops printed some new testimonies of foreign Divines, without their consent, with a collection of Tracts, " Of Obedience to the Magistrate," and Melancthon's Exposition of Rom. xiii. 1. " Let every " Soul be subject to the higher Powers : " From whence they conclude, that because things are barely tolerable, though offensive, dangerous, and in their own opinions, to be removed out of the Church, as soon as an opportunity shall offer, yet in the mean time they may be imposed under the penalties of suspension, deprivation, and imprisonment, from a mistaken interpretation of the Apostle's words, " Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers."

The Puritans replied to all these attempts of their Adversaries ; their Tracts were eagerly sought after, and had a wide spread among the people ; upon which the Commissioners had recourse to their last Remedy, which was the further restraint of the Press. They complain'd to the Council, that notwithstanding the Queen's injunctions, the differences in the Church were kept open by the printing and publishing seditious Libels ; and procured the following Decree of the Star-Chamber, (viz.)

1. " That no Person should print or publish any Book " against the Queen's Injunctions, Ordinances or Letters " Patents, set forth, or to be set forth, or against the mean- " ing of them. L. of Parker, p. 221.
Restraint of
the Press
2. " That such offenders should forfeit all their Books " and Copies, and suffer three months imprisonment, and " never practise the Art of Printing any more.
3. " That no Person should sell, bind or stitch such " Books, upon pain of 20 Shillings for every Book.
4. " That all forfeited Books should be brought to Stationer's-Hall, and half the money forfeited to be reserved " for the Queen, the rest for the Informer, and the Books " to be destroyed or made waste Paper.
5. " That the Wardens of the Company may from time " to time search all suspected places, and open all Packs, " Dry Fats, &c. wherein Paper or foreign Books may be " contained ;

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“ contained ; and enter all Warehouses where they have
“ reasonable Suspicion, and seize all Books and Pamphlets
“ against the Queen’s Ordinances, and bring the Offenders
“ before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

6. “ All Stationers, Booksellers, and Merchants trading
“ in Books, shall enter into Recognizances of reasonable
“ Sums of Money, to observe the Premises, or pay the
“ Forfeitures.”

L. of Par-
ker, p. 222.

This was signed by eight of the Privy Council, and by the Bishops of Canterbury and London, with five more of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and published June 29th, 1566. in the eighth year of the Queen’s Majesty’s Reign.

Hardships of
the Puritans.

The Puritans being thus foreclosed, and shut out of the Church by “ Sequestrations, Imprisonments, the taking
“ away their Licences to preach, and the Restraint of the
“ Prefs,” most of them were at a loss how to behave, being unwilling to separate from a Church where the Word and Sacraments were truly administer’d, though defiled with some popish Superstitions; of this number was Dr. Humphreys, Sampson, Fox the Martyrologist, Lever, Whittingham, Johnson, and others, who continued preaching up and down, as they had opportunity, and could be dispensed with for the Habits, though they were excluded all parochial Preferment.

Some continue in the
church.

But there were great numbers of the Common People that abhorred the Habits as much as the Ministers, and would not frequent the Churches where they were used, thinking it as unlawful to countenance such Superstitions with their Presence, as if they themselves were to put on the Garments. These were at a loss where to hear; some staid without the Church till Service was over, and the Minister was entering upon his Prayer before Sermon; others flocked after Father Coverdale, who preached without the Habits; but being turned out of his Church at St. Magnus, London-Bridge, they were obliged to send to his house on Saturdays, to know where they might hear him next day: The Government took Umbrage at this, insomuch that the good old man was obliged to tell his friends, that he durst not inform them any more of his preaching for fear of offending his superiors. At length, after having waited about eight weeks to see if the Queen would have compassion on them, several of the deprived Ministers had a solemn consultation with their friends, in which after prayer, and a serious debate about the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the establishment’d

Others separate.

blish'd Church, they came to this agreement, that " Since
 " they could not have the word of God preached, nor the
 " Sacraments administred without Idolatrous Geare (as
 " they call'd it) and since there had been a separate congre-
 " gation in London, and another at Geneva in Queen Ma-
 " ry's time, which used a book and order of preaching,
 " Administration of Sacraments and Discipline, that the
 " great Mr. Calvin had approved of, and which was free
 " from the superstitions of the English Service; that there-
 " fore it was their duty in their present circumstances, to
 " break off from the publick Churches, and to assemble,
 " as they had opportunity, in private Houses, or elsewhere,
 " to worship God in a manner that might not offend against
 " the Light of their Consciences." Had the habits and a
 few ceremonies been left indifferent, both Minister and
 People had been easy, but " it was the compelling these
 " things by Law (as they told the Archbishop) that made
 " them separate."

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Elizabeth,
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L. of Par-
ker, p. 241.

It was debated among them, whether they should use as
 much of the Common Prayer and Service of the Church
 as was not offensive, or resolve at once, since they were
 cut off from the Church of England, to set up the purest
 and best Form of Worship, most consonant to the Holy
 Scriptures, and to the practice of the foreign Reformers;
 the latter of these were concluded upon, and accordingly
 they laid aside the English Liturgy, and made use of the
 Geneva Service Book.

Here was the Æra or date of the Separation, a most un-
 happy event (says Mr. Strype) whereby " People of the
 " same Country, of the same Religion, and of the same
 " judgment in Doctrine, parted Communion; one part
 " being obliged to go aside into secret Houses, and Cham-
 " bers, to serve God by themselves which begat strangeness
 " between Neighbours, Christians, and Protestants." And
 not only strangeness but unspeakable mischiefs to the Na-
 tion in this and the following Reigns. The breach might
 easily have been made up at first, but it widened by de-
 grees; the passions of the contending parties encreased, till
 the fire, which for some years was burning under ground,
 broke out into a civil war, and with unspeakable fury de-
 stroy'd the Constitution both of Church and State.

Sad Conse-
quences of it.

I leave the reader to judge at whose door the beginnings
 of these sorrows are to be laid, for each party cast the
 blame on the other. The Conformists charged the depri-
 ved Ministers with disobedience to the Queen, with obsti-

Remarks.

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nacy, preciseness, and with breaking the peace of the Church for matters of no consequence to Salvation. The Ministers, on the other hand, thought it cruel usage to be turned out of the Church, for things which their adversaries acknowledged to be trifling, and of meer indifference; whereas they took it upon their consciences, and were ready to declare in the most solemn manner, that they apprehended them unlawful. They complied as far as they could with the Establishment while they were within it, by using as much of the Liturgy as was not offensive, and by taking the oath of Supremacy; they were as dutiful subjects to the Queen as the Bishops, and declared themselves ready to obey their Sovereign in all things lawful; and when they could not obey, patiently to suffer the Will of God. After all this, to impute the behaviour of the Non-conformists to obstinacy and peevishness, was very uncharitable. What could move them to part with their Livings, or support them under the loss, “but the Testimony of a good Conscience?” when they could not but be sensible their Non-conformity must be attended with Poverty and Disgrace, with the loss of their Characters and Usefulness in the Church; and with numberless unforeseen calamities to themselves and Families, unless it should please God in his All-wise Providence to soften the Queen’s heart in their favour.

Affairs of
Scotland.

In Scotland all things were in confusion. The young Queen Mary, after the death of her husband Francis II. returned into her own Country, August 21, 1561. upon ill terms with Queen Elizabeth, for assuming the Arms of England, and putting in her claim to the Crown on the foot of Queen Elizabeth’s Bastardy, which most of the popish powers maintained, because she was born during the Life of Queen Katherine, whose marriage had been declared valid by the Pope. Elizabeth offered her a safe conduct if she would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; but she chose rather to run all risks than submit. Mary was a bigotted Papist, but her juvenile Amours and Follies soon entangled her Government, and lost her Crown. As soon as she arrived in Scotland she had the mortification to see the whole Nation turned Protestant, and the Reformation established by laws so secure and strict, that only herself was allowed the liberty of Mass in her own Chapel, and that without pomp or ostentation. The Protestants of Scotland, by the preaching of Mr. Knox, and others, had received the strongest aversion to Popery, and were for removing at the greatest Distance

distance from its superstitions. The general Assembly petition'd her Majesty to ratify the Acts of Parliament for abolishing the Mass, and for obliging all her Subjects to frequent the reformed Worship. But she replied, that she saw no impiety in the Mass, and was determined not to quit the Religion in which she was bred, being satisfied it was founded on the word of God. To which the general assembly answered a little coarsely, that "Turcism stood upon as good ground as Popery;" and then required her in the name of the Eternal God, to inform herself better, by frequenting Sermons, and conferring with learned Men: but her Majesty gave no Ear to their Counsels.

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1566.

In the year 1564. the Queen married Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, who was joined with her in the Government. By him she was brought to bed of a Son June 15, 1566. afterwards James I. King of England; but when she was with child of him, she received a fright by her Husband's coming into her chamber with his Servants, and putting to death her favourite David Rizzo an Italian Musician, while she was sitting with him at Table. This was thought to have such an influence upon the Prince that was born of her, that he never loved the sight of a Sword. Soon after this the King himself was found murdered in a Garden, the House in which the murder was committed being blown up with Gun-powder, to prevent the discovery. Upon the King's death, the Earl of Bothwel became the Queen's Fauourite, and as soon as he had sued out a divorce from his lawful Wife, she took him into her Marriage-bed, to her very great infamy, and the regret of the whole Scots Nation, who took up Arms to revenge the late King's murder, and dissolve the present incestuous Marriage. When the two Armies were ready to engage Bothwel fled to Dunbar; and the Queen being apprehensive her soldiers would not fight in such an infamous Cause, surrender'd herself to the Confederates, who shut her up in the Castle of Lough-Levin, and obliged her to resign the Crown to her young Son, under the Regency of the Earl of Murray: from hence she made her escape into England, in the year 1568. where she was detained prisoner by Queen Elizabeth almost eighteen years, and then put to death. Bothwel turned Pirate, and being taken prisoner by the Danes, was shut up for ten years in a noisom prison in Denmark till he lost his senses and died mad.

Birth of K.
James I.

Rapin,
P. 357.

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Kirk Disci-
pline esta-
blished.

The Earl of Murray being Regent of Scotland convened a Parliament and Assembly at Edinburgh, in which the Pope's Authority was again discharged, and the Act of Parliament of the year 1560. for renouncing the jurisdiction of the Court of Rome was confirmed, and all Acts passed in former Reigns, for the support of popish Idolatry were annulled. The new Confession of Faith was ratified, and the Protestant Ministers, and those of their Communion, declared to be the only true and holy Kirk within that Realm. The Examination and Admission of Ministers, is declared to be only in the power and disposition of the Church; with a saving Clause for Lay-Patrons. By another Act, the Kings at their Coronation for the future, are to take an Oath to maintain the reformed Religion then professed: and by another, none but those who profess the reformed Religion now established, are capable of being Judges or Proctors, or of practising in any of the Courts of Justice; excepting the rights of Offices hereditary, or for Life.

The general Assembly declared their approbation of the Discipline of the reformed Churches of Geneva and Switzerland; and for a Parity among Ministers, in opposition to the superior claim of the Bishops. All Church-Affairs were managed by Provincial, Classical and National Assemblies; but those Acts of the general Assembly not being confirmed by Parliament, Episcopal Government was not legally abolished, but tacitly suspended till the King came of age. However, the general Assembly shewed their power of the Keys at this time, by deposing the Bishop of Orkney for marrying the Queen to Bothwel, who was supposed to have murdered the late King; and by making the Countess of Argyle do penance for assisting at the Ceremony.

C H A P. V.

From the Separation of the Protestant Non-Conformists,
to the Death of Archbishop PARKER.

THOUGH all the Puritans of these times would have remained within the Church, if they might have been indulged in the Habits and a few Ceremonies, yet they were far from being satisfied with the Hierarchy. They had other objections besides those for which they were depri-

deprived, which they laboured incessantly throughout the whole course of this Reign to remove. I'll set them before the reader in one view, that he may form the better judgment of the whole Controversy.

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First, They complained of the Bishops affecting to be thought a superior order to Presbyters, and claiming the sole right of Ordination, and the use of the Keys. They disliked the temporal Dignities and Lordships annexed to their Office, and their engaging in secular Employments and Trusts, &c. as tending to exalt them too much above their Brethren, and not so agreeable to their characters as Ministers of Christ, nor consistent with the due discharge of their spiritual Function.

Objections of the Puritans against the Hierarchy of the Church.

M. S. p. 174.

Secondly, They excepted to the Titles and Offices of Archdeacons, Deans, Chapters, and other Officials belonging to Cathedrals, as having no foundation in Scripture or primitive Antiquity, but intrenching upon the privileges of the Presbyters of the several Dioceses.

Thirdly, They complained of the exorbitant power and jurisdiction of the Bishops and their Chancellors in their Spiritual Courts, as derived from the Canon Law of the Pope, and not from the word of God, or the Statute Law of the Land. They complain'd of their fining, imprisoning, depriving, and putting men to excessive charges for small offences; and that the highest censures, such as Excommunication and Absolution, were in the hands of Laymen, and not in the spiritual Officers of the Church.

Fourthly, They lamented the want of a godly discipline, and were uneasy at the promiscuous and general access of all persons to the Lord's Table. The Church being described in her Articles as a Congregation of faithful Persons, they thought it necessary that a power should be lodged somewhere, to enquire into the qualifications of such as desired to be of her Communion.

Fifthly, 'Tho' they did not dispute the lawfulness of "Set Forms of Prayer," provided a due Liberty was allowed for Prayers of their own compofure, before and after Sermon; yet they disliked some things in the publick Liturgy established by Law; as the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer; the interruption of the Prayers by the frequent Responses of the People, who in some Places seem to be little better than vain repetitions, and is practised in no other Protestant Church in the World. They excepted to some passages in the offices of Marriage and Burial, &c. which they very unwillingly complied with; as in the office

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fice of Marriage, "With my body I thee worship;" and in the office of Burial, "in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal Life," to be pronounced over the worst of Men, if not excommunicated, &c.

Sixthly, They disliked the reading of the Apocryphal Books in the Church, while some parts of canonical Scripture were omitted; and though they did not dislike the Homilies, they thought that no man should be ordained a Minister in the Church, but who was capable of preaching and expounding the holy Scriptures. One of their great complaints therefore, throughout the course of this Reign was, that there were so many dumb Ministers, Pluralists and Non-residents; and that presentations to Benefices were in the hands of the Queen, Bishops, or some Lay-patron, which ought to arise from the Election of the People.

Seventhly, They disapproved of the observation of sundry of the Church Festivals or Holidays, as having no foundation in Scripture, or primitive Antiquity, "We have no example (say they) in the old or new Testament, of any Days appointed in commemoration of Saints; to observe the fast in Lent of Friday and Saturday, &c. is unlawful and superstitious; as also, buying and selling on the Lord's Day."

Eighthly, They disallowed of the Cathedral Mode of Worship; of singing their Prayers, and of the Antiphone, or chanting of the psalms by turns, which the ecclesiastical Commissioners in King Edward VIth's time advised the laying aside. Nor did they approve of musical Instruments, as Trumpets, Organs, &c. which were not in use in the Church for above 1200 years after Christ.

Ninthly, They scrupled conformity to certain Rites and Ceremonies, which were enjoined by the Rubrick, or the Queen's Injunctions; as,

1. To the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, which is no part of the institution as directed in Scripture; and though it was usual for Christians, in the earlier Ages of the Church, to cross themselves, or make a Cross in the Air upon some occasions, as a sort of enchantment, yet there is no express mention of its being used in Baptism, till about the 5th Century. Besides, it having been abused to Superstition by the Church of Rome, and been had in such reverence by some Protestants, that Baptism itself has been thought imperfect without it, they apprehend it ought to be laid aside. They also disallowed of Baptism by Mid-

wives,

wives, or other Women, in cases of sickness; and of the manner of churching Women, which look'd to them too much like the Jewish Purification.

2. They excepted to "The use of God-fathers and God-mothers, to the exclusion of the parents from being sureties for the education of their own children." If parents were dead, or in a distant Country, they were as much for Sponsors to undertake for the education of the child, as their adversaries; but when the education of children is by the laws of God and nature committed to parents, who are bound to form them to virtue and piety, they apprehended it very unjustifiable to release them totally from that promise, and deliver up the child to a stranger; as was then the constant practice, and is since enjoined by the 29th Canon, which says, "No parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as Godfather to his own child." In giving names to children it was their opinion, that heathenish names should be avoided, as not so fit for Christians; and also, the names of God, and Christ, and Angels, and the peculiar offices of the Mediator. They also disliked the God-fathers answering in the Name of the child, and not in their own.

3. They disliked the custom of confirming children, as soon as they could repeat the Lord's Prayer and their catechism, by which they had a right to come to the Sacrament, without any other qualification; this might be done by children of 5 or 6 years old. They were also dissatisfied with that part of the office where the Bishop laying his hand upon the children, prays that God would by this Sign certify them of his favour and goodness, which seems to put a sacramental efficacy upon the imposition of his hands.

4. They excepted against the injunction of "Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," which they apprehended not so agreeable to the example of Christ and his Apostles, who gave it to his Disciples rather in a posture of feasting than of adoration. Besides, it has no foundation in Antiquity for many hundred years after Christ; and having since been grossly abus'd by the Papists to Idolatry in their adoration of the Host, it ought (say they) to be laid aside; but if it should be allowed, that the posture was indifferent, yet it ought not to be imposed and made a necessary term of Communion; nor did they approve of either of the Sacraments being administer'd in private; no not in cases of danger.

5. To bowing at the name of Jesus, as grounded upon a false interpretation of that passage of Scripture, "At the
"name

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“ name of Jesus every knee shall bow ;” as if greater external reverence was requir’d to that name, than to the Person of our blessed Saviour, under the titles of Lord, Saviour, Christ, Immanuel, &c. and yet upon this mistake was founded the injunction of the Queen, and the 18th Canon, which says, “ When in time of divine service the name Jesus shall be “ mention’d, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all “ persons present.” But the Puritans maintained, that all the names of God and Christ were to be had in equal reverence, and therefore it was besides all reason to bow the knee, or uncover the head, only at the name of Jesus.

6. To the ring in marriage. This they sometimes complied with, but wished it altered. ’Tis derived from the Papists, who made marriage a Sacrament, and the ring a sort of a sacred sign or symbol. The words in the Liturgy are, “ Then shall they again loose their hands, and the man shall “ give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the “ book ; and the Priest taking the ring, shall deliver it to the “ man, to put it on the 4th finger of the woman’s left hand ; “ and the man holding the ring there, and taught by the “ Priest shall say, with this ring I thee wed, with my body I “ thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of “ the holy Ghost.” They also disallowed the forbidding of marriage at certain times of the year, and then “ licencing “ it for money (say they) is more intolerable. Nor is it lawful to grant licences that some may marry without the “ knowledge of the congregation, who ought to be acquainted with it, lest there should be any secret lets or hindrances.

7. “ To the wearing of the surplice, and other ceremonies to be used in divine service ;” concerning which the Church says, in the preface to her Liturgy, that “ tho’ they “ were devised by men, yet they are reserved for decency, “ order, and edification. And again, they are apt to stir up “ the dull mind of Man to the remembrance of his duty to “ God, by some notable and special signification, whereby “ he might be edified.” But the Puritans saw no decency in the Vestments ; nay, they thought them a disgrace to the Reformation, and in the present circumstances absolutely unlawful, because they had been defiled with superstition and idolatry ; and because many pretended Protestants placed a kind of sanctity or holiness in them. Besides the wearing them gave countenance to popery, and look’d as if we were fond of being thought a branch of that communion which we had so justly renounced. But suppose them to be indifferent, they gave great offence to weak minds, and therefore

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fore ought not to be imposed and made necessary, when there was no foundation for the use of them in Scripture or primitive antiquity.

These things (say they) every one should endeavour to reform in his place, Ministers by the word, Magistrates by their authority, according to the Word of God, and the people by prayer.

There was no difference in points of Doctrine between the Puritans and Conformists; so that if we add but one Article more, we have the chief heads of controversy between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters at this day; and that is, "The natural right that every man has to judge for himself, and make profession of that Religion he apprehends most agreeable to truth, as far as it does not affect the peace and safety of the Government he lives under; without being determined by the prejudices of education, the laws of the civil Magistrate, or the decrees of Councils, Churches, or Synods." This principle would effectually put an end to all impositions; and unless it be allowed, I am afraid our separation from the Church of Rome can hardly be justified. The Bible (says Mr. Chillingworth) and that only, is the Religion of Protestants; and every one by making use of the helps and assistances that God has put into his hands, must learn and understand it for himself as well as he can.

It will appear hereafter what sort of discipline the Puritans would have set up; but these were the injunctions that hindered their compliance with the present Establishment, and for which they were content "to suffer the loss of all things." Those that remained within the Church became itinerant Preachers, Lecturers, or Chaplains. The chief leaders of the Separation, according to Mr. Fuller, were the Reverend Mr. Colman, Mr. Button, Mr. Halingham, Mr. Benson, Mr. White, Mr. Rowland, and Mr. Hawkins, all beneficed within the Diocese of London. These had their followers of the Laity, who forsook their parish Churches, and assembled with deprived Ministers in woods and private houses, to worship God without the offensive habits and ceremonies of the Church.

Heads of the
Separation.

The Queen being informed of their proceedings, sent to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to take effectual measures to keep the Laity to their Parish Churches, and to let them know, if they frequented any separate Conventicles, or broke through the laws of the Church, they should for the first offence be deprived of their freedom of the City of London,

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London, and after that abide what further punishment she should direct. This was a vast stretch of the prerogative ; for there was no law as yet to disfranchise any man for not coming to Church.

They are ap-
prehended
at Plumbers-
Hall.

L. of Grin-
dal, p. 242.
L. of Parker,
p. 342.

Their exa-
mination.

But notwithstanding this threatening message they went on with their Assemblies, and on the 19th of June agreed to have a Sermon and a Communion at Plumbers-Hall, which they hired for that day under pretence of a wedding ; but here the Sheriffs of London detected and broke them up, when they were assembled to the number of about 100 ; most of them were taken into custody and some sent to the Compter, and next day seven or eight of the chief were brought before the Bishop of London, Dean Goodman, Mr. Archdeacon Watts, and Sir Roger Martin, Lord Mayor of London. The Bishop charged them “ with absenting from their Parish “ Churches, and with setting up separate Assemblies for “ prayer and preaching and ministering the Sacrament.” He told them, that by these proceedings they condemned the Church of England, which was well reformed according to the Word of God, and those Martyrs that had shed their Blood for it. To which one of them replied in the name of the rest, that they condemned them not, but only stood for the truth of God’s Word. Then the Bishop asked the antagonist of them, Mr. John Smith, what he could answer ? Who replied, “ That they thanked God for the Reformati- “ on ; that as long as they could hear the Word of God “ preached without idolatrous Gear about it they never as- “ sembled in private houses ; but when it came to this point, “ that all their Preachers were displaced who would not sub- “ scribe to the apparel, so that they could hear none of them “ in the Church for the space of 7 or 8 weeks, except Fa- “ ther Coverdale, they began to consult what to do ; and re- “ membring there had been a congregation of Protestants in “ the City of London in Queen Mary’s days, and another of “ English Exiles at Geneva, that used a Book framed by “ them there, they resolved to meet privately together and “ use the said Book.” And finally, Mr. Smith offered in the name of the rest, to yield, and do penance at St. Paul’s Cross, if the Bishop and the Commissioners with him, could reprove that Book, or any thing else that they held, by the Word of God.

Peirce,
p. 42.

The Bishop told him, “ They could not reprove the “ Book,” but that was no sufficient answer for not going to Church. To which Mr. Smith replied, that “ He would “ as soon go to Mass as to some Churches, and particularly “ to

“ to his own Parish Church; for the Minister that officiated
“ there was a very Papist.” Others said the same of other
parish Priests. The Bishop asked, If they accused any of
them; upon which one of them presently named Mr. Bedel,
who was there present, but the Bishop would not enquire
into the accusation.

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The Dean of Westminster, who was one of the Ecclesi-
astical Commission, charged them “ with derogating from
“ the Queen’s authority of appointing indifferent things in
“ God’s Worship.” To which one of them answered, “ that
“ it lay not in the authority of a Prince, nor the liberty of
“ a Christian man, to use and defend that which appertain-
“ ed to Papistry, Idolatry, and the Pope’s Canon Law.”
Another, said that “ these things were preferred before
“ the Word of God and the Ordinances of Christ.” The
Bishop asked them what was preferred? One of them an-
swered boldly, “ That which was upon the Bishop’s head
“ and upon his Back; their Copes and Surplices, and Ca-
“ non Laws.” Another said, “ That he thought both
“ Prince and People ought to obey the Word of God.”
To which the Bishop yielded, except in things that were in-
different, which God had neither commanded nor forbid; in
these he asserted, that Princes had authority to order and
command. Whereupon several of them cried out, “ Prove
“ that, where find you that?” But the Bishop would not
enter into the debate, but alledged the judgment of the
learned Bullinger; to which Mr. Smith replied, That per-
haps they could shew Bullinger against Bullinger in the af-
fair of the habits.

The Bishop asked them, whether they would be deter-
mined by the Church of Geneva. Mr. Smith replied,
“ That they revered the learned in Geneva, and in other
“ places, but did not build their Faith and Religion upon
“ them.” The Bishop produced the following passage out
of one of Beza’s letters, against them; “ That against the
“ Bishops and Prince’s Will they should exercise their office,
“ they [the Ministers of Geneva] did much the more
“ tremble at it.” Mark, says the Bishop, how the learn-
ed Beza trembles at your case. But one of them said they
knew the letter well enough, and that it made nothing a-
gainst them, but rather against the Prince and the Bishops.
Beza and his learned Brethren trembled at their case, in
proceeding to such extremities with men, to drive them a-
gainst their wills to that which they did not care to menti-
on. Their words are these, “ We hope that her Royal
“ Majesty,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1567.

Life of Grin-
dal, Re-
cords,
No. XVI.

“ Majesty, and so many men of dignity and goodness,
“ will endeavour that care may rather be taken of so
“ many pious and learned Brethren, than so great an
“ evil should happen, to wit, that the Pastors should be
“ forced against their consciences, to do that which is evil,
“ and so to involve themselves in other men’s sins, or to
“ give over; for we more dread that third thing (viz.) to
“ execute their Ministry contrary to the Will of her Ma-
“ jesty and the Bishops, for causes, which though we
“ hold our peace, may well enough be understood.” How
the Bishop could think this was levelled against the Non-
conformists is hard to understand.

To go own with the Examination. One of the prisoners
said, that “ Before they compelled the Ceremonies, so
“ that none might officiate without them, all was quiet.”
Another (viz.) Mr. Hawkins produced a passage out of Me-
lanchton, that “ When the opinion of Holiness, or neces-
“ sity, is put unto things indifferent, they darken the Light
“ of the Gospel.” The Bishop replied, “ That the Cere-
“ monies and Habits were not commanded of necessity.”
To which Hawkins rejoined, that they had made them mat-
ters of necessity, as many a poor man had felt to his cost,
who had been discharged of his Living for Non-conformity.
When the Bishop had occasionally said, that he had for-
merly said Mass, but he was sorry for it, one of them said,
he went still in the habit of a Mass-priest. To which he
replied, that “ he had rather administer without the Cope
“ and Surplice, but for order sake and obedience to the
“ Queen.” When some of the Commissioners urged
them with the Reformation of King Edward, one said, that
“ They never went so far in his time, as to make a law
“ that none should preach or minister without the Gar-
“ ments.” Sundry other expressions of some warmth pas-
sed on both sides; at length one of them delivered to
Justice Harris their Book of Order, [the Geneva Book]
and challenged any of the Commissioners to disapprove it
by the Word of God and they would give over. The
Bishop said “ they reprov’d it not,” but they liked not
their separate Assemblies to trouble the common quiet of
the Realm against the Queen’s Will. But the others in-
sisted on their superior Regards to the Word of God. In
conclusion the prisoners not yielding to the Bishop were
sent to Bridewell, where they with their Brethren,
and sundry women, were kept in durance above a year :

Their Suf-
ferings.

At

Queen
Elizabeth,
1568.

Grindal's
Life, p. 135.

At length, their patience and constancy having been sufficiently tried, an order was sent from the Lords of the Council to release them; with an admonition to behave themselves better for the future. Accordingly twenty four men and seven women were discharged; the names of the men were, John Smith, John Roper, Robert Hawkins, James Ireland, William Nickson, Walter Hynkesman, Thomas Rowland, George Waddy, William Turner, John Nayshe, James Adderton, William Wight, Thomas Lydford, Richard Langton, Alexander Lacy, John Leonard, Robert Tod, Roger Hawksworth, Robert Sparrow, Richard King, Christopher Colman, John Benson, John Bolton, Robert Gates. Whether these severities were justifiable by the laws of God or the Land, I leave with the Reader.

There was a spirit of uncommon zeal in these people to suffer all extremities for the cause in which they were engaged. In one of their Letters, directed "to all the Brethren that believed in Christ," the Writer who was but a Layman, says,—“The reason why we will not hear our parish Ministers, is because they will not stand forth and defend the Gospel against the Leavings of Popery, for fear of loss of Goods, or punishment of Body, or danger of Imprisonment, or else for fear of men more than God.” He then calls up their courage, “Awake, O ye cold and lukewarm Preachers, out of sleep; gird up your selves with the Truth; come forth and put your necks [to the yoke] and think with Peter, that persecution is no strange thing; for which of the Prophets were not persecuted as well as Christ and his Apostles; not for evil doing, but for preaching God’s Word, and for rebuking the World of Sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ? This is the ordinance of God, and this is the highway to Heaven, by corporal death to eternal life, as Christ saith, John v. Let us never fear Death that is killed [conquered] by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever. There is no Condemnation to them that are in Christ. O Death! where is thy sting? Thanks be to God that has given us the victory. Let us not then dissemble, as some do, to save their Pigs, but be valiant for the Truth. I doubt not, but all they who believe the Truth, and will obey it, will consider the Cause; and the Lord, for his Christ’s sake, make Ephraim and Manasses to agree, that we may all with one heart and mind unfeignedly seek God’s glory, and the edification of his

M. S. p. 71.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1568.

“ People, that we may live in all godly peace, unity and
“ concord. This grant, O Lord, for Christ Jesus sake, to
“ whom with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all Praise,
“ Glory and Honour, for ever and ever.”

Another in a Letter to Bishop Grindal, occasioned by his Lordship's discourse to the Prisoner at his examination before him, December 19. begins thus, “ Pleaseth your
“ Wisdom, my duty remember'd, &c. being grieved at certain Words spoken by you, and at your extreme dealing
“ with us of late, I am bold to utter my grief in this manner. You said, if Discipline did not tend to Peace and
“ Unity, it were better refused ; whereas our Saviour
“ Christ commandeth Discipline as one part of the Gospel, most necessary for the Church's Peace and Order ; the
“ Apostles practised it, and Mr. Calvin and other learned
“ men, call it the Sinews of the Church, that keep the
“ Members together ; and Beza says, where Discipline is
“ wanting there will be a licentious Life and a School of
“ Wickedness——Secondly, You seemed to be offended
“ with a late Exercise of Prayer, and Fasting, saying, That
“ you had not heard of any Exercise of this kind without
“ consent of publick Authority ; to which the Example
“ of the Ninevites plainly answers, who proclaimed a Fast
“ before they acquainted the King with it ; nor did the
“ King blame his Subjects for going before him in well-
“ doing, but approved it by doing the like——Thirdly,
“ You said, You would never ask God Mercy for using the
“ Apparel ; and should appear before him with a better
“ Conscience than we ; whereas you said in a Sermon, as
“ many can witness, That you was sorry, for that you knew
“ you should offend many godly Consciences by wearing
“ this Apparel ; requiring your Auditory to have Patience
“ for a time, for that you did but use them for a time, to
“ the end you might the sooner abolish them : And now
“ you displace, banish, persecute, and imprison such as
“ will not wear, nor consent thereunto, and at the same time
“ say, you fear not to appear before God for so doing. But
“ if the Corinthians, for eating meat to the offence of their
“ Brethren, are said to sin against Christ, how much more
“ do you, who not only retain the Remnants of Antichrist,
“ but compel others to the same ? Better were it for you
“ to leave your Lordly Dignity, not given you by Christ,
“ and to suffer Affliction for the Truth of the Gospel, than
“ by enjoying thereof to become a Persecutor of your
“ Brethren. Consider (I pray you) if throughout the whole
“ Scriptures

M. S. p. 22.

“ Scriptures you can find one, that was first a Persecutor,
“ and after was persecuted for the Truth, that ever fell to
“ persecuting again and repented. I desire you, in the
“ Bowels of Christ, to consider your own case, who by
“ your own confession was once a Persecutor, and has since
“ been persecuted; whether displacing, banishing, and
“ imprisoning God’s Children more freightly than Felons,
“ Hereticks, or Traytors, be persecuting again or no?
“ They that make the best of it, say, you buffet your
“ Brethren, which if the Master of the House find you so
“ doing you know your Reward. I desire you, therefore,
“ in the Bowels of Christ, not to restrain us of the Liber-
“ ty of our Consciences, but be a means to enlarge our
“ Liberty in the Truth and Sincerity of the Gospel; and
“ use your Interest, that all the Remnants of Antichrist
“ may be abolished, with every plant that our heavenly Fa-
“ ther has not planted.——Signed, Yours in the Lord
“ to command, William White, who joineth with you in
“ every speck of Truth, but utterly detesteth whole Anti-
“ christ, Head, Body, and Tail, never to join with you,
“ or any, in the least Joint thereof; nor in any Ordinances
“ of Man, contrary to the Word of God, by his Grace
“ unto the Church.”

But neither the Arguments nor Sufferings of the Puritans, nor their great and undissembled Piety had an influence upon the Commissioners, who had their spies in all suspected places, to prevent their religious Assemblies; and gave out strict orders, That no Clergyman should be permitted to preach in any of the Pulpits of London, without a Licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.

The persecution of the Protestants in France and the Low Countries was hot and terrible about this time. The King of France broke through all his Edicts, for the free exercise of the reformed Religion; he banished their Ministers, and much blood was spilt in their religious Wars. In the Netherlands the Duke D’Alva breathed out nothing but blood and slaughter, putting multitudes to death for their Religion. This occasioned great numbers to fly into England, which encreased the number of the Dutch Churches in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, London, Southwark, and elsewhere. The Queen, for their encouragement, allowed them the liberty of their own Mode of Worship, which turned to a good account, for they brought their Manufactures over

Refugees
encrease.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1568.

Dangerous
state of the
Reforma-
tion.

with them, which proved very beneficial to the trade and merchandize of the nation.

Even in England the hearts of all good men were ready to fail, for fear of the return of popish Idolatry; the Queen being suddenly taken with a severe fit of sickness this summer, which brought her to the very point of death, and the presumptive Heir, Mary, late Queen of Scots, being a bigotted Papist. The Queen, together with her bodily distemper, was under great terror of mind for her sins, and for not discharging the duty of her high station as she ought: She said, "She had forgotten her God, to whom she had made many vows, and been unthankful to him." Prayers were composed, and publicly read in all Churches for her Majesty's recovery, in which they petition'd, "That God would heal her Soul, and cure her Mind as well as her Body." The Papists were never in greater Expectations, nor the Reformation in greater danger, than now; and yet Bridewell and other Prisons, were full of Puritans, as appears by a manuscript Letter of Mr. Thomas Lever, now before me, dated December 5, 1568. in which he endeavours to comfort the prisoners, and declares,

M. S. p. 18. that though the popish garments and ceremonies were not unclean in themselves, yet he was determined for himself, by God's Grace, never to wear the Square Cap and Surplice, because they tended neither to decency nor edification, but to offence, dissention, and division in the Church of Christ: Nor would he kneel at the Communion, because it was a symbolizing with Popery, and looked too much like the Adoration of the Host. But at length it pleased Almighty God to dissipate for the present the Clouds that hung over the Reformation, by the Queen's recovery.

Bishop's
Bible.

This year was published the Bible in Folio, called the "Bishops Bible," with a preface by Archbishop Parker. It was only Cranmer's translation revised and corrected by several Bishops and learned men, whose names may be seen in the records of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. It was designed to set aside the Geneva Translation, which had given offence. In the beginning, before the Book of Genesis, is a Map of the land of Canaan; before the New Testament is a Map containing the Places mentioned in the Four Evangelists, and the Journeys of Christ and his Apostles. There are several Cuts dispersed through the Book, and several genealogical and chronological Tables, with the Arms of sundry Noblemen,

blemen, and particularly those of Cranmer and Parker. There are also some references and marginal Notes, for the explication of difficult passages. This was the Bible that was read in the Churches till the last translation of King James I. took place.

Queen Elizabeth 1568.

Strype's Ann. p. 216.

But there was another storm gathering from abroad, which threatned the Reformation all over Europe; most of the popish Princes having enter'd into a league to extirpate it out of the world: The principal Confederates were the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Spain, France, and Portugal; with the Duke of Savoy, and some lesser Princes: Their agreement was, to endeavour by force of arms to depose all Protestant Kings or Potentates, and to place Catholicks in their room; and to displace, banish, and condemn to death, all well-wishers and assistants of the Clergy of Luther and Calvin, while the Pope was to thunder out his Anathemas against the Queen of England, to interdict the Kingdom, and to absolve her Subjects from their Allegiance. In prosecution of this league, war was already begun in France, Holland, and in several parts of Germany, with unheard of cruelties against the Reformed. Under these difficulties the Protestant Princes of Germany enter'd into a league for their common defence, and invited the Queen of England into it. Her Majesty sent Sir Henry Killigrew over to the Elector Palatine with a handsome Excuse; and at the same time ordered her Ambassador in France to offer her mediation between that King and his Protestant Subjects: But the confederacy was not to be broken by treaties; upon which, her Majesty by way of self-defence, and to keep off the Storm from her own Kingdoms, assisted the confederate Protestants of France and Holland with men and money. This was the second time the Queen had supported them in their religious wars against their natural Kings. The foreign popish princes reproached her for it; and her Majesty's Ministers had much ado to reconcile it with the court doctrines of passive Obedience and Non-resistance.

Popish confederacy.

At home the Papists were in motion, having vast expectations from certain prophecies, that the Queen should not reign above 12 years; their numbers were formidable, and such was their latitude, that it was not easy to bring them within the verge of the Laws. In Lancashire the Common Prayer Book was laid aside, Churches were shut up, and the Mass said openly. The Queen sent down Commissioners of Enquiry, but all they could do was to bind some

Their numbers

Strype's Ann. p. 541.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1569.

Grindal's
Life, p. 133.

of the principal Gentlemen to their good behaviour in recognizances of 100 Marks. Two of the Colleges of Oxford, (viz.) New College and Corpus Christi were so overrun with Papists, that the Bishop of Winchester their Visitor, was forced to break open the Gates of the College, and send for the Ecclesiastical Commission to reduce them to Order. Great Numbers of Papists harboured in the Inns of Court, and in several other places of publick resort, expecting with impatience the death of the Queen, and the succession of the presumptive Heir, Mary, late Queen of Scotland.

Rebellion in
the north.

Towards the latter end of the year the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, with their friends, to the number of 4000, broke out into open rebellion; their pretence was, to restore the Popish religion, and deliver the Queen of Scots. In the City of Durham they tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book to pieces, and restored the Mass in all places where they came; but hearing of the advance of the Queen's army under the Earl of Suffolk, they fled northward and mouldered away, without standing a battle: The Earl of Northumberland was taken in Scotland, and executed at York, with many of his confederates; but the Earl of Westmorland escaped into Flanders and died in poverty. No sooner was this rebellion over, but the Lord Dacres began another on the borders of Scotland; but after a small Skirmish with the Governor of Berwick he was defeated and fled, and the Rabble were pardoned. There was a general commotion among the Papists in all parts of the Kingdom, who would have united their forces, if the northern rebels had kept their ground.

The Queen
and King-
dom excom-
municated.

To give new life to the Catholick cause, the Pope published a Bull, excommunicating the Queen, and absolving her Subjects from their allegiance. In this Bull he calls her Majesty an Usurper, and a Vassal of iniquity; and having given some instances of her aversion to the Catholick Religion, he declares "her an Heretick, and an encourager of
" Hereticks; and anathematizes all that adhere to her.
" He deprives her of her Royal Crown and Dignity, and
" absolves all her Subjects from all Obligations of fidelity and obedience. He involves all those in the same
" sentence of excommunication, who presume to obey
" her orders, commands, or laws, for the future; and ex-
" cites all foreign Potentates to take up arms against her."

Collier,
p. 523.

Effects of it.

This alarmed the Administration, and put them upon their guard; but it quickly appear'd that the Pope's thunderbolts had

Queen
Elizabeth,
1569.

had lost their terror ; for the Roman Catholick princes not being forward to encourage the Court of Rome's pretended power of excommunicating Princes, continued their correspondence with the Queen ; and her own Roman Catholick subjects remained pretty quiet ; though from this time they separated openly from the Church. But the Queen took hold of the opportunity to require all Justices of Peace, and other Officers in Commission, throughout all the Counties in England, to subscribe their names to an instrument, professing their conformity and obedience to the Act of " Uniformity in Religion, and for due resorting " to their parish Churches to hear Common Prayer." This affected the Puritans as well as Papists. The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court were also cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and examined about their resorting to Church, and receiving the Sacrament, of which most of them were very negligent. This raised a clamour, as if the Queen intended to ransack into mens consciences ; in answer to which she published a declaration, that she had no such intention, " That she did not enquire into the sentiments of people's mind, but only required an external conformity to the Laws ; and that all who came to Church, and observed her Injunctions, should be deemed good Subjects." So that if men would be Hypocrites, her Majesty would leave them to God ; but if they would not come to Church, they should suffer the Law.

When the next Parliament met they passed a Law to make it High Treason, " To declare the Queen to be an " Heretick, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel or Usurper ; to " publish or put in use the Pope's Bulls ; to be reconciled " to the Church of Rome, or to receive Absolution by virtue of them." The concealing, or not discovering Offenders against this Act ; is Misprision of Treason. A Protestation was likewise drawn up, to be taken by all reputed Papists, in these words ; " I do profess and confess before " God, that Queen Elizabeth, my sovereign Lady, now " reigning in England, is rightfully, and ought to be, and " continue Queen, and lawfully beareth the Imperial " Crown of those Realms, notwithstanding any Act or " Sentence that any Pope or Bishop has done or given, or " can do or give ; and that if any Pope, or other, say or " judge to the contrary, whether he say it as Pope, or " howsoever, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth and teacheth Error." And that the Puritans might not escape without some note of disloyalty, another Protestation was

Penal Laws
against the
Papists.
13 Eliz.
cap. 1.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 324.

drawn up for them; in which they profess before God, that "they believe in their Consciences, that Queen Elizabeth is and ought to be lawful Queen of England, notwithstanding any Act or Sentence, that any Church, Synod, Consistory, or Ecclesiastical Assembly hath done or given, or can give; and that if any say or judge the contrary, in what respect soever he saith it, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth and teacheth Error and Falshood."

There was no manner of occasion for this last Protestation; for in the midst of these commotions the Puritans continued the Queen's faithful and dutiful Subjects, and served her Majesty as Chaplains in her Armies and Navy, though they were not admitted into the Churches. One would have thought these formidable conspiracies of the Roman Catholicks should have alienated the Queen's heart from them, and prevailed with her Majesty to yield something for the sake of a firmer union among her Protestant Subjects; but instead of this, the edge of the laws that were made against popish Recusants, was turned against Protestant Non-conformists, which instead of bringing them into the Church, like all other methods of severity, drove them further from it.

Death of
Mr. King-
smill.

This year died Mr. Andrew Kingsmill, born in Hampshire, and educated in All Souls College, Oxon, of which he was elected Fellow in 1558. He had such a great memory, that he could readily rehearse in the Greek language all St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and other portions of Scripture memoriter. He was a most pious and religious person, undervaluing all worldly profit, in comparison of the assurance of his salvation. In the year 1563, there were but three preachers in the University, of whom Kingsmill was one; but after some time, when Conformity was pressed, and Sampson turned out of his Deanry, he withdrew out of the kingdom, resolving to live in one of the best reformed Churches for Doctrine and Discipline, the better to prepare himself for the service of the Church; accordingly he lived 3 years at Geneva, from thence he removed to Lausanne, where he died this year, in the prime of his days, leaving behind him an excellent pattern of Piety, Devotion, and all kinds of virtues.

1570.
Proceedings
of the Spi-
tual Courts.

The rigorous execution of the penal laws made business for the Civilians; many were cited into the Spiritual Courts, and after long attendance, and great charges, were suspended or deprived; the Pursuivant, or Messenger of the Court, was paid by the mile; the Fees were exorbitant which

which the prisoner must satisfy before he is discharged ; the Method of Proceeding was dilatory and vexatious, though they seldom called any Witnesses to prove the Charge, but usually tendered the Defendant an oath, to answer the Interrogatories of the Court ; and if he refused the oath they examined him without it, and convicted him upon his own confession ; if the Prisoner was dismissed he was almost ruined with the Charges, and bound in a Recognizance to appear again whenever the Court should send for him. We shall meet with many sad demonstrations of this in the latter part of this Reign. The honest Puritans made Conscience of not denying any thing they were charged with, if it was true, though they might certainly have put the Court upon the proof of it : Nay, most of them thought themselves bound to confess the Truth, and bear a publick Testimony to it, before the Civil Magistrate, though it was made use of to their disadvantage.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

I have an example of this now before me ; the Reverend Mr. Axton, Minister of Morton Corbet in Leicestershire was cited into the Bishop's Court three several times this Year, and examined upon the Reasons of his refusing the Apparel, the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at the Sacrament, which he debated with the Bishop and his Officers with a decent freedom and courage. At the close of the Debate the Bishop said ;

Mr. Axton's
Examina-
tion.

Bish. Now Mr. Axton, I would know of you, what you think of the Calling of the Bishops of England ?

Axton. I may fall into danger by answering this Question.

Bish. I may compel you to answer upon your oath.

Axt. But I may choose whether I will answer upon Oath or not. I am not bound to bring myself into danger ; but because I am persuaded it will redound to God's Glory, I will speak, be the Consequence what it will ; and I trust in the Holy Spirit that I shall be willing to die in defence of the truth.

Bish. Well ; what do you think of my calling ?

Axt. You are not lawfully called to be a Bishop, according to the Word of God.

Bish. I thought so ; but why ?

Axt. For three Causes, 1. Because you were not ordained by the Consent of the Eldership.

Bish. But I had the hands of 3 or 4 Bishops.

Axt. But that is not the Eldership St. Paul speaks of, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

Bish.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

Bish. By what Eldership were you ordained? Was it not by a Bishop?

Axt. I had indeed the laying on of the hands of one of the Bishops of England, but that was the least Part of my Calling.

Bish. What Calling had you more?

Axt. I having exercised and expounded the Word several times in an ordinary Assembly of 10 Ministers; they joined in Prayer, and being required to speak their Consciences in the Presence of God, declared upon the Trial they had of me, that they were persuaded I might become a profitable Labourer in the House of God; after which I received the laying on of the Hands of the Bishop.

Bish. But you had not the Laying on of the Hands of Preachers.

Axt. No; I had the Substance, but I wanted the Accident, wherein I beseech the Lord to be merciful to me; for the Laying on of Hands, as it is the Word, so it is agreeable with the mighty Action of ordaining the Ministers of God.

Bish. Well, then your Ordination is imperfect as well as mine. What is your second reason?

Axt. Because you are not ordained Bishop over any one Flock; nay, you are not a Pastor over any one Congregation, contrary to 1 Pet. v. 2. "Feed the Flock;" and to Acts xiv. from whence 'tis manifest that there should be Bishops and Elders through every Congregation.

Bish. What is a Congregation?

Axt. Not a whole Diocese, but such a Number of People as ordinarily assemble in one Place to hear the Word of God.

Bish. What if you had a Parish six or seven Miles long, where many could not come to hear once in a Quarter of a Year?

Axt. I would not be Pastor over such a Flock.

Bish. What is your third Reason?

Axt. Because you are not chosen by the People; Acts xiv. 23. "And they ordained Elders by Election in every Church, χειροτονήσαντες, by the lifting up of Hands.

B's Chanc. How came you to be Parson of Morton Corbet.

Axt. I am no Parson.

Chanc. Are you then Vicar?

Axt. No; I am no Vicar, I abhor those Names as Antichristian; I am Pastor of the Congregation there.

Chanc.

Chanc. Are you neither Parson nor Vicar? How hold you your Living?

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

Axt. I receive these temporal Things of the People, because I being their Pastor, do minister to them spiritual Things.

Chanc. If you are neither Parson nor Vicar you must reap no Profit.

Axt. Do you mean good Faith in that you say?

Chanc. Yea, if you will be neither Parson nor Vicar, there is good Cause why another should.

Bish. You must understand, that all Livings in the Church are given to Ministers as Parsons and Vicars, and not as Pastors and Ministers. How were you chosen Pastor?

Axt. By the free Election of the People and Leave of the Patron: After I had preached about six Weeks by way of Probation, I was chosen by one Consent of them all, a Sermon being preached by one of my Brethren, setting forth the mutual duties of Pastor and People.

Bish. May the Bishops of England ordain Ministers?

Axt. You ought not to do it in the Manner ye do; that is, without the Consent of the Eldership, without sufficient Proof of their Qualifications, and without ordaining them to a particular Congregation.

Bish. Well, Mr. Axton, you must yield somewhat to me, and I will yield somewhat to you; I will not trouble you for the Cross in Baptism; and if you will wear the Surplice but sometime it shall suffice.

Axt. I can't consent to wear the Surplice, 'tis against my Conscience; I trust, by the help of God, I shall never put on that Sleeve which is a Mark of the Beast.

Bish. Will you leave your Flock for the Surplice?

Axt. Nay; Will you persecute me from my Flock for a Surplice? I love my Flock in Jesus Christ, and had rather have my right arm cut off than be removed from them.

Bish. Well, I will not deprive you this Time.

Axt. I beseech you consider what you do in removing me from my Flock, seeing I am not come in at the Window, or by Simony, but according to the Institution of Jesus Christ.

On the 22d of November following Mr. Axton appeared again, and was examined touching Organs, Musick in Churches, and Obedience to the Queen's Laws, &c.

Bish.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

Bish. You in refusing the Surplice are disloyal to the Queen, and shew a Contempt of her Laws.

Axt. You do me great Injury in charging me with disloyalty; and especially when you call me and my Brethren Traitors, and say, that we are more troublesome Subjects than the Papists.

Bish. I say still, the Papists are afraid to stir, but you are presumptuous, and disquiet the State more than they.

Axt. If I, or any that fear God, speak the Truth, doth this disquiet the State? The Papists have for 12 years been plotting Treason against the Queen and the Gospel, and yet this doth not grieve you. But I protest in the Presence of God, and of you all, that I am a true and faithful Subject to her Majesty; also I do pray daily both publickly and privately, for her Majesty's Safety, and for her long and prosperous Reign, and for the overthrow of all her Enemies, and especially the Papists. I do profess myself an Enemy to her Enemies, and a Friend to her Friends; therefore if you have any Conscience, cease to charge me with Disloyalty to my Prince.

Bish. In as much as you refuse to wear the Surplice, which she has commanded, you do in effect deny her to be supreme Governess in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Temporal.

Axt. I admit her Majesty's Supremacy so far, as if there be any Error of the Governors of the Church she has Power to reform it; but I do not admit her to be an Ecclesiastical Elder, or Church Governor.

Bish. Yes; but she is, and hath full Power and Authority all manner of ways; indeed she doth not administer the Sacraments and preach, but leaveth those Things to us. "But if she were a Man, as she is a Woman, why might she not preach the Word of God as well as we?"

Axt. May she, if she were a Man, preach the Word of God? Then she may also administer the Sacraments.

Bish. This does not follow, for you know Paul preached and yet did not baptize.

Axt. Paul confesses that he did baptize, though he was sent especially to preach.

Bish. Did not Moses teach the People? and yet he was their Civil Governor.

Axt. Moses's Calling was extraordinary. Remember the King of Judah, how he would have sacrificed in the Temple

Temple of God. Take heed how you confound those Offices which God has distinguished.

Bish. You see how he runneth.

Bickley. You speak very confidently and rashly.

Bish. This is his arrogant Spirit.——

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

M S. P. 55,
56.

Thus the Dispute broke off, and the good Man, notwithstanding all his Supplications, was deprived of his Living, and driven to seek his Bread in another Country, though the Bishop owned he was a Divine of good Learning, a ready Memory, and well qualified for the Pulpit.

One sees here the Difficulties the Puritans laboured under in their Ordinations; they apprehended the Election of the People, and the Examination of the Presbyters, with the Imposition of their Hands, necessary to the Call of a Minister; but this, if it were done in England without a Bishop, would hardly entitle them to preach in the Church, or give them a legal Title to the Profits of their Livings: Therefore after they had past the former Trials they applied to the Bishop for the Imposition of his hands; but others not satisfied with the Ordination of a single Person, not rightly called (as they thought) to the Office of a Bishop, went beyond Sea, and were ordained by the Presbyteries of foreign Churches: For though the English Puritans had their Synods and Presbyteries, yet 'tis remarkable that they never ordained a single person to the Ministry.

The Controversy with the Church, which had hitherto been chiefly confined to the Habits, to the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, began now to open into several more considerable branches, by the Lectures of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Cartwright, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's Professor, a courageous Man, a popular Preacher, a profound Scholar, and Master of an elegant Latin Style; he was in high esteem in the University, his Lectures being frequented by vast crouds of Scholars; and when he preached at St. Mary they were forced to take down the Windows. Beza says of him, that he thought "there was not a more learned Man under the Sun." This Divine, in his Lectures, disputed against certain Blemishes of the English Hierarchy, and particularly against these six, which he subscribed with his own hand.

Mr. Cartwright opposes the Hierarchy of the Church.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

Strype's

Ann. p. 628.

(1.) " The Names of the Functions of Archbishops and Archdeacons ought to be abolished, as having no foundation in Scripture.

(2.) " The Offices of the lawful Ministers of the Church (viz.) Bishops and Deacons, ought to be reduced to the Apostolical Institution; the Bishop to preach the word of God and pray, and Deacons to take care of the poor.

(3.) " The Government of the Church ought not to be intrusted with Bishops Chancellors, or the Officials of Archdeacons; but every Church should be governed by its own Minister and Presbyters.

(4.) " Ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a certain Flock.

(5.) " No body should ask, or stand as a Candidate for the Ministry.

6. " Bishops should not be created by civil Authority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the Church."

These Propositions are said to be untrue, dangerous, and tending to the ruin of Learning and Religion; they were therefore sent to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the University, who advised the Vice-Chancellor to silence the Author, or oblige him to recant. Cartwright challenged Dr. Whitgift, who preached against him, to a publick Disputation, which he refused unless he had the Queen's Licence; and Whitgift offered a private Conference by writing, which the other declined, as answering no valuable purpose.

Other dangerous and seditious Propositions (as they were called) were collected out of Cartwright's Lectures, and sent to Court by Dr. Whitgift, to incense the Queen and Chancellor against him. As,

(1.) " In reforming the Church 'tis necessary to reduce all Things to the apostolical Institution.

(2.) " No Man ought to be admitted into the Ministry but who is capable of preaching.

(3.) " None but such a Minister of the Word ought to pray publickly in the Church, or administer the Sacraments.

(4.) " Popish Ordinations are not valid.

(5.) " Only Canonical Scripture ought to be read publickly in the Church.

(6.) " The publick Liturgy should be so framed, that there be no private praying or reading in the Church, but

" that

His Posi-
tions.

‘ that all the people attend to the Prayers of the Minister.

Queen Elizabeth,
1570.

(7.) “ The Care of burying the Dead does not belong more to the ministerial Office than to the rest of the Church.

(8.) “ Equal Reverence is due to all Canonical Scripture, and to all the Names of God ; there is therefore no Reason why the people should stand at the Reading of the Gospel, or bow at the Name of Jesus.

(9.) “ ’Tis as lawful to sit at the Lord’s Table as to kneel or stand.

(10.) “ The Lord’s Supper ought not to be administer’d in private ; nor should Baptism be administer’d by Women or Lay-persons.

(11.) “ The Sign of the Cross in Baptism is superstitious.

(12.) “ ’Tis reasonable and proper, that the Parent should offer his own Child to Baptism, making a Confession of that Faith he intends to educate it in, without being obliged to answer in the Child’s Name, “ I Will, I Will not, I Believe, &c.” nor ought it to be allowed, that Women or persons under age should be Sponsors.

(13.) “ In giving Names to Children ’tis convenient to avoid Paganism, as well as the Names and Offices of Christ, Angels, &c.

(14.) “ ’Tis papistical to forbid Marriages at certain times of the year ; and to give Licences in those times is intolerable.

(15.) “ Private Marriages, that is, such as are not published before the Congregation, are highly inconvenient.

(16.) “ The Observation of Lent, and fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious.

(17.) “ The Observation of Festivals is unlawful.

(18.) “ Trading, or keeping Markets on the Lord’s Day is unlawful.

(19.) “ In ordaining of Ministers the pronouncing those Words, “ Receive thou the Holy Ghost, is both ridiculous and wicked.

(20.) “ Kings and Bishops should not be anointed.”

These were Cartwright’s dangerous Doctrines, which he touched occasionally in his Lectures, but with no design to move Discord, as appears by a Testimonial sent to the Secretary of State in his Favour, sign’d by fifteen considerable

Queen
Elizabeth,
1570.

Strype's
Ann. Vol.
III. p. 2.

Pierce's Vin-
dicat. p. 77.

His Punish-
ment.

Cartwright
goes beyond
Sea.

Clarke's L. of
Cartwright,
p. 18.

derable Names in the University; in which they say, that they had heard his Lectures, and declare, that "He never touched upon the Controversy of the Habits; and though he had advanced some Propositions with regard to the Ministry, according to which he wished Things might be regulated, he did it with all imaginable Caution and Modesty." Other Letters were written in his Favour, signed by 20 or 25 Names, of whom some were afterwards Bishops, but was resolved to make him an Example. Cartwright himself writ an elegant Latin Letter to the Secretary, in which he declares, that he waved all occasions of speaking concerning the Habits, but owns he had taught that our Ministry declined from the Ministry of the apostolical Church in some Points, according to which he wished it might be modelled; but that he did this with all imaginable caution, as almost the whole University would witness, if they might be allowed. He prayed the Secretary to hear and judge the Cause himself; which was so far from Novelty, that it was as venerable for its Antiquity as the apostolick Age it self; but though the Secretary was convinced, that his Behaviour was free from Arrogancy, or an Intention to move Trouble, and that only as a publick Reader in the University, he had given Notes of the Difference between the Ministry in the times of the Apostles, and the present Ministry of the Church of England, yet he left him to the Mercy of his Enemies, who poured upon him all the Infamy and Disgrace their Power would admit. They first denied him his Degree of Doctor in Divinity, then forbid his reading publick Lectures, and at last deprived him of his Fellowship, and expelled him the University. A short and compendious way of confuting an Adversary.

Mr. Cartwright being now out of all Employment at home travelled beyond Sea, and settled a Correspondence with the most celebrated Divines in the Protestant Universities of Europe. While he was abroad he was chosen Minister to the English Merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleburgh, where he continued two years with little or no profit to himself; after which he returned into England, being earnestly solicited thereunto by Letters from Mr. Deering, Fulk, Wiburne, Fox and Lever, when we shall hear more of the Sufferings of this eminent Divine for his Non-Conformity.

This

This year Grindal Bishop of London being translated to York, Sandys Bishop of Worcester was removed to London; in his primary Visitation, Jan. 10. he charged his Clergy, (1.) To keep strictly to the book of Common Prayer. (2.) Not to preach without a Licence. (3.) To wear the Apparel, that is, the square Cap and Scholars Gown, and in divine Service, the Surplice. (4.) Not to admit any of other Parishes to their Communion. He also ordered all Clerks Tolerations to be called in; by which it appears that some few of the Non-conformists had been tolerated, or dispensed with hitherto, but now this was at an end. However, the Puritans encouraged one another by conversation and letters to steadfastness in their opposition to the corruptions of the Church, and not to fear the resentments of their adversaries.

Queen Elizabeth, 1570.

Strype's Annals, p. 6.

There was a spirit in the Parliament, which began April 2. to attempt something in favour of the Puritans, upon whom the Bishops bore harder every day than other. Mr. Strickland, an ancient Gentleman, offered a Bill for a further Reformation in the Church, and introduced it with a Speech, proving, that the "Common Prayer Book, with "some superstitious remains of Popery in the Church," might easily be altered without the danger of changing Religion. But the Treasurer of the Queen's Household stood up and said, "All matters of Ceremonies were to be referred to the Queen, and for them to meddle with the Royal "Prerogative was not convenient." Her Majesty was so displeased with Mr. Strickland's motion, that she sent for him before the Council, and forbid him the Parliament House, which alarmed the Members, and occasioned so many warm Speeches, that she thought fit immediately to restore him; this was destroying the freedom of Parliaments, and carrying the Prerogative to its utmost length. But Mr. Strickland moved further, that a Confession of Faith should be published and confirmed by Parliament, as it is in other Protestant Countries; and that a Committee might be appointed to confer with the Bishops on this head. The Committee drew up certain articles, according to those which passed the Convocation of 1562. but left out others. The Archbishop asked them, why they left out the Article for Homilies, and for the consecrating of Bishops, and some others relating to the Hierarchy. Mr. Peter Wentworth replied, because they had not yet examined how far they were agreeable to the word of God, having confined themselves chiefly to doctrines. The

1571. Proceedings in Parliament for Reformation.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

Archbishop replied, surely you will refer yourselves wholly to us the Bishops in these things? to which Mr. Wentworth replied warmly, "No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were but to make you Popes: make you Popes who list, for we will make you none." So the articles relating to discipline were waved, and an Act was passed, confirming all the doctrinal articles agreed upon in the Synod of 1562.

Act for sub-
scribing Ar-
ticles of
Faith. 13
Eliz. cap. 12.

The Act is entitled, "For Reformation of Disorders in the Ministers of the Church," "And enjoins all that have any ecclesiastical Livings, to declare their assent before the Bishop of the Diocese to all the articles of Religion, which only concern the Confession of the true Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprized in the book imprinted, and intituled, Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. and the whole Clergy in the Convocation of 1562. for avoiding diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true Religion; and to subscribe them; which was to be testified by the Bishop of the Diocese, under his Seal; which Testimonial he was to read publicly with the said Articles, as the Confession of his Faith, in his Church on a Sunday, in the time of divine Service, or else to be deprived. If any Clergyman maintained any Doctrine repugnant to the said Articles, the Bishop might deprive him. None were to be admitted to any Benefice with Cure, except he was a Deacon of the Age of 23 years, and would subscribe, and declare his unfeigned assent to the Articles above mentioned. Nor might any administer the Sacraments under 24 years of Age."

Remarks.

It appears from the words of this Statute, that those Articles of the Church which relate to its discipline were not designed to be the Terms of ministerial Conformity; and if the Queen and the Bishops had governed themselves by it, the separation had been stifled in its Infancy; for there was hardly a Puritan in England that refused subscription to the doctrinal articles: if all the 39 Articles had been established, there had been no need of the following Clause, "Which only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments." And yet notwithstanding this Act, many that held Benefices and Ecclesiastical Preferments, and that offered to conform to the Statute, were deprived in the following part of this Reign

Reign; which was owing to the Bishops servile compliance with the Prerogative, and pressing Subscription to more than the Law required.

Queen Elizabeth, 1571.

It deserves further to be taken notice of, that by a Clause in this Act the Parliament admits of Ordination by Presbyters without a Bishop; which was afterwards disallowed by the Bishops in this Reign, as well as at the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Church was deprived of great numbers of learned and useful Preachers, who scrupled the matter of Re-ordination, as they would at this time, if it had been insisted on. Many of the present Clergy had been Exiles for Religion, and had been ordained abroad, according to the custom of foreign Churches, but would not be re-ordained, any more than those of the popish Communion; therefore to put an end to all disputes the Statute includes both; the words are these, "That every person under the degree of a Bishop, that doth, or shall pretend to be a Priest or Minister of God's word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of Institution, Consecration, or Ordering, than the Form set forth in Parliament in the time of the late King Edward VI. or now used in the Reign of our most Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, shall before Christmas next, declare his assent, and subscribe the Articles aforesaid." The meaning of which Clause, says Mr. Strype, is undoubtedly to comprehend Papists, and likewise such as received their orders in some of the foreign reformed Churches when they were in exile under Queen Mary.

Strype's Ann. p. 72.

'Tis probable that the controverted Clause of the 20th Article, "The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority, in Controversies of Faith," was not among the Articles of 1562. as has been shewn under that year; though it might be (according to Laud and Heylin) inserted in the Convocation Book of 1571. but what has this to do with the Act of Parliament, which refers to a Book printed nine years before? besides, 'tis absurd to charge the Puritans with striking out the Clause, as Archbishop Laud has done; because they had no share in the Government of the Church at this time, nor interest to obtain the least abatement in their favour; nor does it appear that they disallowed the Clause under proper Regulations: one might rather suppose, that the Queen should take umbrage at it as an invasion of her Prerogative, and that therefore some zealous Churchman,

Strype's Ann. p. 71.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

finding the Articles defective upon this head of the Church's authority, might insert it privately, to avoid the danger of a Præmunire.

But after all, subscription to the doctrinal articles of the Church only, has been reckoned a very great grievance by many pious and learned Divines, both in the Church and out of it; for 'tis next to impossible to frame 36 Propositions in any human words, that ten thousand Clergymen can give their hearty assent and consent unto. Some that agree to the Doctrine itself may dissent from the words and phrases by which it is expressed; and others that agree to the capital Doctrines of Christianity may have some doubts about the deeper and more abstruse points of Speculation. It would be hard to deprive a man of his Living, and shut him out from all usefulness in the Church, because he doubts of the "Local descent of Christ into Hell; or, whether the best actions of men before their conversion have the nature of Sins; or that every thing in the three Creeds, commonly called the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, and are therefore to be believed and received." Wise and good men may have different speculations upon the doctrine of the Decrees, which are a depth which no man can fathom. These, and some other things, have pinched the consciences of the Clergy, and driven them to find out evasions destructive to Morality, and the peace of their own minds. Some have subscribed them as Articles of Peace, contrary to the very Title, which says, "They are for avoiding the Diversity of Opinions." Others have tortured the words to a meaning contrary to the known sense of the Compilers. Some subscribe them with a secret Reserve, "as far as they are agreeable to the Word of God;" and so they may subscribe the Council of Trent, or even Mahomet's Alcoran. Others subscribe them not as Doctrines which they believe, but as Doctrines that they will not openly contradict and preach against; and others, I am informed, put no sense upon the Articles at all, but only subscribe them as a Test of their obedience to their superiors, who require this of them as the legal way to preferment in the Church. How hard must it be for men of learning and probity to submit to these shifts! when no kinds of subscriptions can be a barrier against ignorant or dishonest minds. Of what advantage is uniformity of profession

Art. 13.

Art. 8.

profession without an agreement in Principles? if the fundamental Articles of our Faith were drawn up in the Language of Holy Scriptures; or if those who are appointed to examine into the Learning and other Qualifications of Ministers, were to be Judges of their Orthodox Confessions of Faith, it would answer a better purpose, than Subscription to human Creeds and Articles.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

Though the Commons were forbid to concern themselves with the Discipline of the Church, they ventur'd to present an Address to the Queen, complaining, " That for lack of true Discipline in the Church, " great numbers are admitted Ministers that are infamous in their lives and conversations; and among " those that are of ability, their Gifts in many places " are useless, by reason of Pluralities and Non-Residence, whereby infinite numbers of your Majesty's " Subjects are like to perish for lack of Knowledge. " By means of this, together with the common blaspheming of the Lord's Name, the most wicked licentiousness of Life, the abuse of Excommunication, " the commutation of penance, the great numbers of " Atheists, Schismatics daily springing up, and the increase of Papists, the Protestant Religion is in imminent danger: wherefore in regard first and principally to the glory of God, and next in discharge of " our bounden duty to your Majesty; besides, being " moved with pity towards so many thousands of your " Majesty's Subjects, daily in danger of being lost " for want of the food of the word, and true Discipline, we the Commons in this present Parliament " assembled, are humbly bold to open the griefs, and " to seek the salving of the Sores of our Country, and " to beseech your Majesty, seeing the same is of so " great importance, if the Parliament at this time may " not be so long continued, as that by good and godly laws, provision may be made for supply and Reformation of these great and grievous Wants and Abuses, that yet by such other means, as to your " Majesty's Wisdom shall seem meet, a perfect redress " of the same may be had; by which the number of " your Majesty's faithful Subjects will be encreased, Popery will be destroyed, the glory of God will be promoted, and your Majesty's Renown will be re-

M. S. p. 92.
Address of
the Commons.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

Convoca-
tion.

M. S. p. 92.

Sparrow, p.
223.

Strype's An-
nals, p. 97.

"commended to all posterity." But the Queen broke up the Parliament without taking any notice of the supplication.

The Convocation that began with this Parliament assembled April the 3d. when the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Alcock presented a supplication to them in behalf of the deprived Ministers, praying their interest with the Queen for a redress of their Grievances; "If a godly Minister (says he) omit but the least ceremony, for conscience sake, he is immediately indicted, deprived, cast into prison, and his goods wasted and destroyed; he is kept from his Wife and Children, and at last excommunicated. We therefore beseech your fatherhoods to pity our case, and take from us these Stumbling Blocks." But the Convocation were of another spirit, for instead of removing their burdens they encreased them; by framing certain new Canons of Discipline, against the Puritans; as, that the Bishops should call in their Licences for preaching, and give out new ones to such as were best qualified; and among the Qualifications they insist not only upon Subscription to the Doctrines of the Church enjoined by Parliament, but upon Subscription to the Common-Prayer Book, and Ordinal for Consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, "As containing nothing contrary to the Word of God." And they declare, that all such preachers as do not subscribe, or that disturb peoples minds with contrary Doctrine, shall be excommunicated. But as these Canons never had the sanction of the Queen's Broad Seal, surely the enforcing them upon the Puritans was a stretch of power hardly to be justified. Bishop Grindal confessed they had not the force of a Law, and might possibly involve them in a Præmunire; and yet the Bishops urged them upon the Clergy of their several Dioceses. They cancell'd all the Licences of preachers, and insisted peremptorily on the Subscription above-mention'd.

The complaints of the Ministers under these hardships reached the Ears of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was pleased to order the learned Zanchy, Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelberg, to write to the Queen of England in their behalf, beseeching her Majesty, not to insist upon Subscriptions, or upon wearing the Habits, which gave such offence to
great

great numbers of the Clergy, and was like to make a Schism in the Church. The Letter was inclosed to Bishop Grindal, but when he had read it, he would not so much as deliver it to the Queen, for fear of disobliging her Majesty, whose Resolution was to put an end to all Distinctions in the Church, by pressing the Act of Uniformity. Instead therefore of relaxing to the Puritans, orders were sent to all Church-Wardens, "Not to suffer any to read, pray, preach, or minister the Sacraments in any Churches, Chapels, or private Places, without a new Licence from the Queen or the Archbishop, or Bishop of the Diocese, to be dated since May last." The more resolved Puritans were therefore reduced to the necessity of assembling in private, or of laying down their Ministry.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

Though all the Bishops were obliged to go into these measures of the Court, yet some were so sensible of the want of Discipline, and of "Preaching the Word," that they permitted their Clergy to enter into Associations for the promoting of both. The Ministers of the Town of Northampton, with the Consent and Approbation of Dr. Scambler their Bishop, the Mayor of the Town, and the Justices of the County, agreed upon the following Regulations for Worship and Discipline.

1. "That singing and playing of Organs in the Choir shall be put down, and Common Prayer read in the body of the Church, with a Psalm before and after the Sermon.

Ibid.
Rules for
Discipline.

2. "That every Tuesday and Thursday there shall be a Lecture from nine to ten in the Morning, in the chief Church of the Town, beginning with the Confession in the Book of Common Prayer, and ending with prayer and a Confession of Faith.

3. "Every Sunday and Holiday, shall be a Sermon after Morning Prayer, with a Psalm before and after.

4. "Service shall be ended in every parish Church by nine in the Morning, every Sunday and Holiday, to the end, that people may resort to the Sermon in the chief Church, except they have a Sermon in their own.

5. "None shall walk abroad, or sit idly in the Streets in time of Divine Service.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

6. " The youth shall every Sunday Evening be examined in a portion of Calvin's Catechism, which the reader shall expound for an hour.

7. " There shall be a general communion once a quarter in every parish Church, with a Sermon.

8. " A fortnight before each communion, the Minister with the Church-Wardens shall go from House to House, to take the names of the Communicants, and examine into their lives; and the party that is not in charity with his Neighbour, shall be put from the communion.

9. " After the communion the Minister shall visit every House, to understand who have not received the communion, and why.

10. " Every Communion-day, each parish shall have two Communion, one beginning at five in the morning, with a Sermon of an hour, and ending at eight, for servants; the other from nine to twelve, for Masters and Dames.

11. " The manner of the Communion shall be according to the order of the Queen's Book, saving that the people being in their Confession upon their Knees, shall rise up from their Pews, and so pass to the Communion-Table, where they shall receive the Sacrament in companies, and then return to their Pews, the Minister reading in the Pulpit.

12. " The Communion Table shall stand in the body of the Church, according to the Book, at the upper end of the middle Isle, having three Ministers, one in the middle to deliver the Bread, the other two at each end for the Cup, the Ministers often calling upon the people to remember the poor. The Communion to end with a Psalm.

13. " Excessive ringing of Bells on the Lord's Day is prohibited; and carrying of the Bell before Corpses in the Streets, and Bidding prayers for the Dead, which was used till within these two years, is restrained."

Here was a sort of Association, or voluntary Discipline set up, separate from the Queen's Injunctions, or Canons of the Church; this was what the Puritans were contending for, and would have acquiesced in, if it might have been established by a Law.

Besides

Besides these attempts for discipline, the Clergy, with leave of their Bishop, set up religious Exercises, among themselves, for the Interpretation of some Text of Scripture; one speaking to it orderly after another; these were called Prophesyings from the apostolical direction, 1 Cor. xiv. 31. "Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted." They also conferred among themselves, touching sound doctrine and good life and manners.

Queen Elizabeth, 1571.

Rise of the Prophesyings.

The regulations or orders for these Exercises in Northampton, were these;

1. "That every Minister, at his first allowance to be of this Exercise, shall by subscription declare his consent, in Christ's true Religion with his Brethren, and submit to the discipline and order of the same.

Their Orders.

2. "The names of all the Members shall be written in a Table; three of whom shall be concerned at each exercise; the first, beginning and ending with Prayer, shall explain his Text, and confute foolish interpretations, and then make practical reflection, but not dilate to a common place.

3. "Those that speak after may add any thing they think the other has omitted, tending to explain the Text; but may not repeat what has been said, nor oppose their predecessor, unless he has spoken contrary to the Scriptures.

4. "The Exercise to continue from 9 to 11; the first Speaker to end in 3 quarters of an hour, the second and third not to exceed each 1 quarter of an hour; one of the moderators always to conclude.

5. "After the Exercise is over, and the Auditors dismissed, the President shall call the learned Brethren to him to give their Judgment of the performances, when it shall be lawful for any of the Brethren to propose their objections against them in writing, which shall be answered before the next exercise.

6. "If any break Orders, the President shall command him, in the name of the Eternal God, to be silent; and after the Exercise he shall be reprimanded.

7. "When the Exercise is finished the next Speaker shall be appointed, and his Text given him."

The confession of Faith which the Members of these Prophesyings signed at their admission, was to the following Purpose.

"That

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

Their Con-
fession of
Faith.

“ That they believed the Word of God contained in the Old and New Testament, to be a perfect Rule of Faith and Manners; that it ought to be read and known by all People, and that the authority of it exceeds all authority, not of the Pope only, but of the Church also; and of Councils, Fathers, Men and Angels.

“ They condemned as a tyrannous yoke, whatsoever men have set up of their own invention, to make Articles of Faith, and the binding men’s consciences by their laws and institutes: In sum, all those manners and fashions of serving God, which men have brought in without the authority of the Word for the Warrant thereof, though recommended by custom, by unwritten traditions, or any other names whatsoever; of which sort are the Pope’s Supremacy, Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Man’s Merits, Free-Will, Justification by works, praying in an unknown Tongue, and Distinctions of Meats, apparel, and days, and briefly all the Ceremonies, and whole order of Papistry, which they call the Hierarchy; which are a devilish confusion, established as it were in spite of God, and to the reproach of Religion.

“ And we content ourselves (say they) with the simplicity of this pure Word of God, and doctrine thereof; a summary of which is in the Apostles Creed; resolving to try and examine, and also judge all other doctrines whatsoever by this pure Word, as by a certain rule and perfect Touchstone. And to this Word of God, we humbly submit ourselves, and all our doings, willing and ready to be judged, reformed, or further instructed thereby, in all points of religion.”

Mr. Strype calls this “ A well minded, and religiously disposed combination of both Bishop, Magistrates, and people.” It was designed to stir up an Emulation in the Clergy to study the Scriptures, that they might be more capable of instructing the people in Christian Knowledge; and though men of loose principles censured it, yet the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who had a special letter from the Queen, to inquire into all novelties, and were acquainted with the scheme above-mentioned, gave them as yet neither check nor disturbance; but when her Majesty was informed that they were nurseries of Puritanism, and tended to promote alterations in the Government of the Church, she quickly repressed them, as will be seen in its proper place.

This

This year put a period to the life of the famous John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, author of the famous "Apology for the Church of England." He was born in Devonshire, 1522. and educated in Christ Church College, Oxon, where he proceeded M. A. 1544. In King Edward's Reign he was a zealous promoter of the Reformation; but not having the courage of a Martyr, he yielded to some things against his conscience in the Reign of Queen Mary, for which he asked pardon of God and the Church among the Exiles in Germany, where he continued a Confessor for the Gospel till Queen Elizabeth's accession to the Crown, when he returned home, and was preferred to the Bishoprick of Salisbury, 1459. He was one of the most learned men among the Reformers, a Calvinist in doctrine, but for absolute obedience to his Sovereign in all things of an indifferent nature, which led him not only to comply with all the Queen's injunctions about the Habits, when he did not approve them, but to bear too hard upon the consciences of his Brethren who were not satisfied to comply. He writ several Treatises in his life-time, and others were printed after his death; but that which gained him greatest reputation, was his Apology, which was translated into the foreign languages, and ordered to be chained in all the Churches of England. He was a truly pious man, and died in a comfortable frame of mind. Some of his last words were, "I have not so lived that I am ashamed to die; neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness. Christ is my Righteousness. Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace;" which he did at Monkton Farley, Sept. 23, 1571. in the 50th year of his age, and lies buried in the middle of the choir of the Cathedral of Salisbury.

Queen Elizabeth, 1571. } Bishop Jewel's death and character.

In the same year died the Reverend Mr. David Whitehead, a great Scholar, and a most heavenly Professor of Divinity. He was educated in Oxford, and was Chaplain to Queen Anne Bullen, and one of the four Divines nominated by Archbishop Cranmer to Bishopricks in Ireland. In the beginning of Queen Mary's time he went into voluntary exile, and resided at Frankfort, where he answered the objections of Dr. Horn, concerning Church discipline and worship. Upon his return into England he was chosen one of the disputants against the popish Bishops, and shewed himself so profound a Divine, that the Queen, out of her high esteem for him, offered him the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; but he refused it from puritanical principles, and would accept

The Reverend Mr. Whitehead's death.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1571.

accept of no preferment in the Church, as it then stood : He excused himself to the Queen, by saying, he could live plentifully by preaching the Gospel without any preferment ; and accordingly did so : He went up and down like an Apostle, preaching the word where it was wanted ; and spent his life in Celibacy, which gained him the greater esteem with the Queen, who had no great affection for married Priests. He died this year in a good old age ; but in what Church or Chapel he was buried I know not.

Ath. Ox.
P. 172.

Abp. Par-
ker's zeal
for Unifor-
mity.

Our Archbishop was very busy this Summer, with the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, in harassing the Puritans ; for which purpose he summoned before him the principal Clergy of both Provinces that were disaffected to the Uniformity established by law, and acquainted them, that if they intended to continue their Ministry they must take out new Licences, and subscribe certain Articles, according to a new Act of Parliament, " for reforming certain disorders " in Ministers ;" otherwise they must resign quietly or be deprived. He took in the Bishops above-mentioned to countenance his proceedings, but Grindal declared he would not be concerned, if his Grace proceeded to suspension and deprivation ; upon which Parker writ back, that " He " thought it high time to set about it ; and however the " world might judge, he would serve God and his Prince, " and put her laws in execution ; that Grindal was too timorous, there being no danger of a Præmunire ; that " the Queen was content the late Book of Articles (though " it had not the broad Seal) should be prosecuted ; and in " case it should hereafter be repealed there was no fear of " a Præmunire, but only of a fine at her pleasure, which " he was persuaded her Majesty, out of love to the Church, " would not levy : But Grindal being now at York wisely " declined the affair.

M. S.
P. 117.
Puritans
suspended.

In the Month of June the Archbishop cited the chief Puritans about London to Lambeth, (viz.) Mr. Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburn, Goff, Percival, Deering, Field, Browne, Johnson, and some others. These Divines being willing to live peaceably, offered to subscribe the Articles of Religion " as far as concerned the Doctrine and " Sacraments only," and the Book of Common Prayer, as far as it tended to edification, it being acknowledged on all hands, that there were some imperfections in it ; but they prayed, with respect to the apparel, that neither party might condemn the other, but that those that wore them, and those that

that did not, might live in unity and concord. How reasonable soever this was, the Archbishop told them peremptorily, that they must come up to the Standard of the Queen's injunctions, or be deprived. Goodman was also required to renounce a book that he had writ many years ago, when he was an exile, "against the government of women;" to which he submitted, and signed a protestation before the commissioners at Lambeth, April 23, 1571. Lever quietly resigned his Prebend in the Church of Durham. Brown being domestick chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, his patron undertook to screen him; but the Archbishop writ him word, that no place within her Majesty's Dominions was exempt from the jurisdiction of the commissioners, and therefore if his Grace did not forthwith send up his Chaplain they should be forced to use other methods. This was that Robert Browne who afterwards gave name to that denomination of dissenters called Brownists; but his family and Relations covered him for the present. Johnson was domestick chaplain to Lord Keeper Bacon at Gorumbury, where he used to preach and administer the Sacrament in his family: he had also some place at St. Albans, and was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He appeared before the Commissioners in July, but refusing to subscribe to "the book of Common Prayer as agreeable to the word of God," he was suspended, though he assured them, that he used the book, and thought for charity sake it might be suffered, till God should grant a time of more perfect Reformation; that he would wear the apparel, though he judged it neither expedient nor for edification; and that he was willing to subscribe all the doctrinal Articles of the Church, according to the late act of Parliament: but the Commissioners insisting peremptorily upon an absolute Subscription, as above, he was suspended, and resigned his Prebend in the Church of Norwich; but about two years after he fell into further troubles which cost him his life.

Queen Elizabeth, 1571.
L. of Parker, p. 326, 327.

Ann. Ref. Vol. II. p. 95.

The learned Beza writ to the Bishops not to be the Instruments of such severities; and being informed that a Parliament was shortly to be called, in which a consultation was to be had concerning the establishing of Religion, he excited the Lord Treasurer to endeavour some Reformation of Discipline; "For I will not dissemble (says he) that not a few complain of divers things wanting in the Church; and when I say not a few, I do not mean that worse sort whom nothing pleases but what is perfect, and absolute in all respects; but I understand godly men, learned men,

1572.
Beza's Letter for Reformation.

"and

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

“ and some that are best affected to God’s Church, and
“ lovers of their nation. I look upon the Reformation of
“ Discipline as of great importance to the peace and wel-
“ fare of the nation, and the strengthening of the Reforma-
“ tion ; and therefore there is nothing the Queen’s Majes-
“ ty and her Council should sooner think of than this,
“ however great and difficult the work might be, especially
“ since the English nation affords so many divines of pru-
“ dence, learning and judgment in these affairs : if they,
“ together with the Bishops, to whom indeed especially,
“ but not alone, this care belongs, would deliberate here-
“ upon, I doubt not but such things would follow whence
“ other nations would take example.”

L. of Par-
ker, p. 344.

Thus did this learned divine interceed for the recovery of
Discipline, and the ease of tender and scrupulous consci-
ences. But this was more than our Archbishop thanked him
for (says Mr. Strype) after he had taken so much pains in
pressing the Act of Uniformity.

Attempts in
Parliament
for Reforma-
tion.

The Parliament met May 8. the Lord Keeper opened it
with a Speech, in which he recommended to the Houses in
the Queen’s name, “ To see that the laws relating to the
“ Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church were put in
“ due execution ; and that if any further laws were want-
“ ing, they should consider of them, and so (says his lord-
“ ship) gladius gladium juvabit, the civil Sword will sup-
“ port the ecclesiastical, as before time has been used.”

L. of Par-
ker, p. 394.

But the Parliament seeing the ill use the Queen and Bishops
made of their spiritual power, instead of making new laws
to enforce the ceremonies, ordered two bills to be brought
in to regulate them ; in one of which the hardships that the
Puritans complained of were redressed. The bills past
smoothly through the Commons, and were referred to a
select committee of both Houses, which alarmed the Bi-
shops, and gave the Queen such offence, that two days
after she sent to acquaint the Commons by their Speaker,
that it was her pleasure, that no bills concerning Religion
should henceforth be received, unless the same should be
first considered and liked by the Bishops or Clergy in Con-
vocation ; and further, her Majesty commanded them to
deliver up the two Bills last read in the House, touching
Rites and Ceremonies. This was a high strain of the
prerogative, and a blow at the very root of the Freedom of
Parliaments. But the Commons sent her Majesty the Bills,
with a servile request, that she would not conceive an ill
opinion of the House if she should not like them. Her

Stopt by the
Queen.

Majesty

Majesty sent them word, within a day or two, that she utterly disliked the Bills, and never returned them. This awakened a brave spirit of liberty among some of the Members; many free speeches were made upon this occasion, and among others, Peter Wentworth stood up and said, "That it grieved him to see, how many ways the liberty of free speech in Parliament had been infringed. Two things, says he, do great hurt among us, one is a rumour that ran about the House, when the Bill about the Rites of the Church was depending; 'Take heed what you do, the Queen liketh not such a matter, she will be offended with them that prosecute it.' The other is, that sometimes a message was brought to the House, either commanding or inhibiting our proceedings." He added, "That it was dangerous always to follow a Prince's mind, because the Prince might favour a cause prejudicial to the honour of God, and the good of the State. Her Majesty has forbid us to deal in any matters of Religion, unless we first receive it from the Bishops. This was a doleful message; there is then little hope of Reformation. I have heard from old Parliament Men. that the banishment of the Pope, and the reforming true Religion, had its beginning from this House, but not from the Bishops; few laws for Religion had their foundation from them; and I do surely think (before God I speak it) that the Bishops were the cause of that doleful message." But for this Speech Wentworth was sent to the Tower.

In the mean time the late Act of the 13th Eliz. for subscribing the Articles, was put in execution all over England, together with the Queen's injunctions; and according to Mr. Strype's Computation about a hundred Clergymen were deprived this year for refusing to subscribe. The University of Cambridge was a nest of Puritans; many of the Graduates were disaffected to the Discipline of the Church, as particularly Mr. Browning, Mr. Brown of Trinity College, Mr. Millain of Christ's, Mr. Charke of Peter-house, Mr. Deering of Christ's College, and several in St. John's College, who being men of learning, had great numbers of followers; but Dr. Whitgift the Vice-Chancellor watched them narrowly, and kept them under. The Reverend Mr. Charke in one of his sermons at St. Mary's had said, that "there ought to be a parity among the ministers in the Church; and that the Hierarchical Orders of Archbishops, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, &c. was introduced into the Church by Satan." For which he was summoned

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

Subscription
urged upon
the Clergy.

Strype's An.
p. 187.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

moned before the Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges, and refusing to recant, was expelled the University. Charke writ a handsome Latin Apology to Lord Burleigh their present Chancellor, in which he confesses that it was his opinion, that the Church of England might be brought nearer to the "apostolick Character or Likeness;" but that this must not be said either in the pulpit or desk, under the severest penalties. The Chancellor knowing him to be a good scholar, and in consideration that he had been hardly dealt with, interceded for him, but to no purpose. Mr. Browning, Mr. Deering, and others, met with the like usage. Deering was a man of good learning, and made a chief figure in the University; he was also reader at St. Paul's, London, and a most popular preacher; but being an enemy to the superior order of Bishops, he fell into the hands of the Commissioners and was silenced.

Puritans ap-
ply to Par-
liament.

The Puritans finding it in vain to hope for a Reformation from the Queen or Bishops, resolved for the future to apply to Parliament, and stand by the Constitution; for this purpose they made interest among the members, and compiled a treatise setting forth their chief grievances in one view; it was drawn up by the Reverend Mr. Field, minister of Aldermary, London, assisted by Mr Wilcox, and was revised by several of the brethren. It was intitled an "Admonition

Their first
Admonition.

"to the Parliament;" with Beza's letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gualter's to Bishop Parkhurst for Reformation of Church Discipline, annexed. It contains the Platform of a Church; the manner of electing Ministers; their several duties, and their equality in Government. It then exposes the corruptions of the Hierarchy, and the proceedings of the Bishops, with some severity of language. When Mr. Pearson, the Archbishop's chaplain, taxed the authors with this in prison, Mr. Field replied, "This concerns me; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament use such vehemency; we have used gentle words too long, which have done no good; the wound grows desperate and wants a corrosive; 'tis no time to blanch or sew pillars under mens elbows, but God knoweth we meant to touch no man's Person, but their Places, and Abuses."

The Admonition concludes with a petition to the Houses, that a Discipline more consonant to the word of God, and agreeing with the foreign reformed Churches, may be established by Law. The authors themselves, viz. the Reverend Mr. Field and Wilcox, presented it to the House, for which they were sent for into custody, and by the influence

Ministers
that present-
ed it impris-
oned.

of

of the Bishops committed to Newgate, October 2. Upon this the book already printed was suffered to go abroad, and had three or four Editions within the compass of two years, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Bishops to find out the Press.

Queen Elizabeth, 1572.

M. S.

P. 119. 135.
L. of Parker, p. 347.
Second Admonition.

The imprisonment of the two Ministers occasioned the drawing up a second Admonition; by Mr. Cartwright lately returned from beyond sea, with an humble petition to the two Houses, for relief against the Subscription required by the ecclesiastical Commissioners, which had no foundation in law, but was an Act of Sovereignty in the Crown, and was against the peace of their consciences; many having lost their places and livings for not complying; they beseech their Honours to take a view of the causes of their Non-subscribing, that it might appear they were not disobedient to the Church of God, or to their Sovereign; and they most humbly entreat for the removal and abolishing of such corruptions and abuses in the Church as with-held their compliance. "The matters (say they) contained in the Admonition, how true soever they be, have found small favour; the persons that are thought to have made it are laid up in no worse prison than Newgate; the men that set upon them are no worse than Bishops; the name that goeth of them is no better than Rebels; and great words there are, that their danger will yet prove greater. Well, whatsoever is said or done against them, that is not the matter, but the equity of the cause, that is the matter; and yet this I will say, that the State sheweth not it self upright, if it suffers them to be molested for that, which was spoken only by way of Admonition to the Parliament, which was to consider of it, and receive or reject it, without further matter to the Authors, except it contained some wilful maintenance of Treason or Rebellion, which it cannot be proved to do." Two other pamphlets were published on this occasion, one entitled, "An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their Brethren." The other, "An Exhortation to the Bishops and Clergy to answer a little Book that was published last Parliament; and an Exhortation to other Brethren to judge of it by God's word, till they saw it answered."

Pierce's Vindic. p. 85.

The Prisoners themselves writ an elegant Latin Apology to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in which they confess their writing the Admonition, but that they attempted not to correct or change any thing in the Hierarchy of themselves,

Apology of the Prisoners.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

Strype's
Ann. p. 186.

Their Sup-
plication.

And Confes-
sion of Faith.

but referred all to the Parliament, hoping by this means that all differences might be composed in a legal way, and the corruptions which the most learned foreign Divines complained of might be removed, to the preventing any Schism or Separation in the Church. But the Treasurer had not courage to intermeddle with an affair which might embroil him with the Queen, or at least with her ecclesiastical Commissioners, though it was well enough known he had a good-will to the Cause. But the Commissioners not content with the severity of the law, sported themselves in an arbitrary Manner with the miseries of their fellow-creatures; detained them in prison beyond the time limited by the Statute, as appears by their humble Supplication to the Earl of Leicester, representing "That they had been condemned according to the Act of Uniformity, to a year's imprisonment, which they had now suffered patiently in the common goal of Newgate, besides four months close Imprisonment before their conviction, which they apprehend to be contrary to law: That by this means they and their poor wives and children were utterly impoverished; their health very much impaired, by the unwholsome favour of the place, and the cold weather; and that they were like to suffer yet greater extremities: They therefore humbly beseech his Lordship, for the tender mercies of God, and in consideration of their poor wives and children, to be a Means to the most honourable Privy-Council, that they may be enlarged; or, if that could not be obtained, that they might be confined in a more wholesome prison." They sent another Petition of the same nature to the Lords of the Council; and a third was sent in the names of their wives and children. They also writ a Confession of their Faith, dated from Newgate, December 4. 1572. with a Preface, in which they complain of the Reproaches and Calumnies of their Adversaries; "Because (say they) we would have Bishops unlorded, according to God's word, therefore 'tis said, we seek the overthrow of civil Magistrates: because we say, all Bishops and Ministers are equal, and therefore may not exercise sovereignty over one another; therefore they say, when we have brought this in among the Bishops, we shall be for levelling the Nobility of the Land. Because we find fault with the regimen of the Church as drawn from the Pope, therefore they say, we design the Ruin of the State. Because we say the Mi-
nistry

“ nistry must not be a bare reading Ministry, but that
 “ every Minister must be learned, able to preach, to con-
 “ fute Gainfayers, to comfort, to rebuke, and to do all the
 “ duties of a Shepherd, a Watchman, and a Steward;
 “ therefore they bear the World in hand that we condemn
 “ the Reading of the Holy Scriptures in Churches. Be-
 “ cause we are afraid of joining with the Church in all her
 “ Rites and Ceremonies, therefore we are branded with the
 “ odious names of Donatists, Anabaptists, Aerians, Arians,
 “ Hinckfeldians, Puritans, &c.”

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

M. S.
p. 120.

The Confession itself is Orthodox, according to the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and must give a general satisfaction to them that read it; 'tis written “ by
 “ the Authors of the first Admonition to the Parliament,
 “ to testify their perswasion in the Faith, against the un-
 “ charitable surmises of Dr. Whitgift, uttered in his an-
 “ swer to their Admonition, in defence both of themselves
 “ and their Fautors;” and is subscribed Johannes Fieldus.
 I have the whole before me, but shall only transcribe a few passages relating to the present Controversy.

“ We hold and believe, that we ought to keep inviola-
 “ bly that kind of Government that is left us in the Gos-
 “ pel.—That the Office of a Pastor is to preach the
 “ Word, and administer the Sacraments, and therefore
 “ that bare Readers, or single Service-fayers, are no more
 “ fit for Pastors, than women or children that can read
 “ well; yet we deny not the Reading of the Scriptures in
 “ all Congregations; but this is not a part of the Minister’s
 “ Office.

“ We think it unlawful to withdraw from a Church
 “ where the Word is truly preached, the Sacraments
 “ sincerely ministered, and true ecclesiastical Discipline
 “ exercised. We are not for an unspotted Church on
 “ earth, and therefore, though the Church of England
 “ has many Faults, we would not willingly withdraw
 “ from it; and yet we believe that God’s Children,
 “ when they are threatened with Persecution, and the
 “ Church Doors are shut against them, may draw them-
 “ selves into private Assemblies, separating from cursed
 “ Idolatry and pestilent Popery, though the Laws of
 “ Princes are against it; and whosoever refused to be
 “ subject to these Congregations separating themselves,
 “ resisteth the Ordinance of God.

“ We affirm, that the Church of God is a Company
 “ or Congregation of the Faithful, called and gathered

Queen
Elizabeth
172.

“ out of the world, by the preaching of the Gospel, united
“ in the true Faith, and resolving to form their Lives,
“ Government, Order and Ceremonies, according to the
“ Word of God.

“ We hold, that there ought to be joined to the
“ Pastors of the Church Elders and Deacons, for the
“ bridling of Vices, and providing for the Poor: That
“ no Pastor ought to usurp Dominion over another;
“ nor no Church exercise Lordship or Rule over another.

“ We believe, that the Pastor should be chosen by the
“ Congregation, and being chosen, should be confirmed
“ in his vocation by the Elders, with publick Prayer and
“ imposition of Hands.

“ Concerning Ceremonies we hold, that they ought
“ to be few, and such as have no shew of Evil, but manifestly tend to Decency and good Order. We reject
“ therefore all the popish Ceremonies and Apparel.—
“ We hold, that Churches may differ in Order and Ceremonies, and yet keep the Unity of the Faith; and
“ therefore we condemn not other Churches that have
“ ceremonies different from ours.—Concerning publick
“ Worship; we hold, that there ought to be places appointed for this purpose, and that there may be a Præscript Form of Prayer, and Service in the known
“ Tongue, because all have not the gift of Prayer, but
“ we would not have it patched out of the Pope's Portuises:
“ But be the Form of Prayer never so good, we affirm
“ that Ministers may not think themselves discharged when
“ they have said it over, for they are not sent to say Service, but to preach Deliverance through Christ: Preaching therefore must not be thrust out of doors for Reading.
“ Neither ought the Minister so to be tied to a Præscript Form, that at all Times he must be bound of necessity
“ to use it; for who can draw a Form of Prayer, necessary
“ for all Times, and fit for all Congregations. We deny
“ not, but it is well that there be various manners of
“ Prayers, but we must take heed that they be not long
“ and tedious; wherefore Preaching, as it is the chief
“ part of a Minister's Office, so all other Things must give
“ place to it.

“ Concerning singing of Psalms, we allow of the people's joining with one Voice in a plain Tune, but not of
“ tossing the Psalms from one side to the other, with the
“ intermingling of Organs.

“ Touching

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

“ Touching Holidays we say, That Religion is tied to
“ no time ; nor is one day more holy than another ; but
“ because time must be had to hear the Word of God, and
“ to administer the holy Sacraments, therefore we keep
“ the Lord’s Day as we are commanded, but without all
“ Jewish superstition.——We think, that those Feast
“ Days of Christ, as of his Birth, Circumcision, Passover,
“ Resurrection, and Ascension, &c. may by Christian Li-
“ berty be kept, because they are only devoted to Christ,
“ to whom all days and times belong. But Days dedicated
“ to Saints, with fasts on their eves, we utterly dislike,
“ though we approve of the reverend memory of the Saints,
“ as Examples to be propounded to the people in sermons ;
“ and of publick and private fasts, as the Circumstances of
“ nations or private persons require.

The Confession concludes with an article concerning the
office of the Civil Magistrate. “ We hold, that Christi-
“ ans may bear office ; that Magistrates may put Offenders
“ to death lawfully ; that they may wage war, and require
“ a lawful oath of the subject ; that subjects are bound to
“ obey all their just and lawful commands ; to pray for
“ them, to give them all honour, to call them by their
“ lawful titles, and to be ready with their Bodies and
“ Goods, Lives, and all that they have, to serve them
“ with bodily service ; yea, all these Things we must do
“ though they be infidels, and obtain their Dominion, ei-
“ ther by inheritance, by election, by conquest, or other-
“ wise. On the other hand, ’tis the Magistrates duty to M. S. p. 131.
“ provide for the publick peace and quiet of their subjects ;
“ and to set forth Christ’s pure Religion, by advancing the
“ preaching of the Gospel, and rooting out all superstition
“ and idolatry.”

The Authors of this Confession lay in prison a considera-
ble time ; for though the inhabitants of Aldermary, Lon-
don, presented two supplications for the enlargement of
their valuable Pastor, and learned and faithful Preacher,
as they called Mr. Field ; and though some great friends
interceded for them, they could not obtain their release.
The Archbishop sent his Chaplain to confer with them in
prison, after they had been there 3 months, for which
they were thankful. The conference began with a suitable
prayer, which Mr. Field made, and was carried on with
such decency, as moved the Chaplain’s compassion ; but
nothing would prevail with the inexorable Commissioners to
release them, till they had suffered the extremity of the

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

Law, and paid their fees, though the Keeper gave it under his hand, that they were so poor as not to have money to pay for their lodgings or victuals.

To return to the Admonition, which consisted of twenty three chapters, under the following Titles.

Heads of the
Admonition
to the Par-
liament.

- Chap. I. " Whether Christ forbiddeth Rule or Superiority to Ministers.
- II. " Of the Authority of the Church in things indifferent.
- III. " Of the Election of Ministers.
- IV. " Of Ministers having no pastoral Charge; " and of Ceremonies used in ordering Ministers.
- V. " Of the Residence of the Pastors.
- VI. " Of Ministers that cannot preach, and of " Licences to preach.
- VII. " Of the Apparel of Ministers.
- VIII. " Of Archbishops, Metropolitans, Bishops, " Archdeacons, &c.
- IX. " Of the Communion Book.
- X. " Of Holidays.
- XI. " What kind of Preaching is most effectual.
- XII. " Of preaching before the Administration " of the Sacraments.
- XIII. " Of reading the Scriptures.
- XIV. " Of ministering and preaching by Deacons.
- XV. " Of matters touching the Communion.
- XVI. " Of matters touching Baptism.
- XVII. " Of Seniors, or Government by Elders.
- XVIII. " Of certain matters concerning Disci- " pline of the Church.
- XIX. " Of Deacons and Widows.
- XX. " Of the Authority of the Civil Magistrate " in Ecclesiastical Matters.
- XXI. " Of subscribing the Communion Book.
- XXII. " Of Cathedral Churches.
- XXIII. " Of Civil Offices in Ecclesiastical Persons."

Answer'd by
Whitgift.

These were the chief heads of complaint, which the Puritans having laid before the world, the Bishops thought themselves obliged to answer. Dr. John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College, and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, was appointed to this work, which he performed with great labour

labour and study, and dedicated it to the Church of England. His method was unexceptionable; the whole Text of the Admonition being set down in paragraphs, and under each paragraph the Doctor's answer. Before it was printed it was revised and corrected by Archbishop Parker, Dr. Cooper Bishop of Lincoln, and Pern Bishop of Ely; so that in this book (says Mr. Strype) may be seen all the arguments for and against the Hierarchy, drawn to the best advantage.

Queen Elizabeth, 1572.
L. of Whitgift, p. 42.

Dr. Whitgift's book was answered by Mr. Cartwright, whose performance was called a masterpiece in its kind, and had the approbation of great numbers in the University of Cambridge, as well as foreign Divines. Whitgift replied again to Cartwright, and had the thanks of the Bishops and of the Queen; who, as a reward for his excellent and learned pains, made him Dean of Lincoln, while Cartwright to avoid the rigour of the Commissioners, was forced to abscond in friends houses, and at length retire into Banishment.

Cartwright replies.

But it was impossible for these Divines to settle the controversy, because they were not agreed upon one and the same standard or rule of judgment. Mr. Cartwright maintained, that "The Holy Scriptures were not only a Standard of Doctrine, but of Discipline and Government; and that the Church of Christ in all Ages was to be regulated by them." He was therefore for consulting his Bible only, and for reducing all things as near as possible to the apostolick standard. Dr. Whitgift went upon a different principle, and maintained, "That though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect Rule of Faith, they were not designed as a Standard of Church Discipline or Government; but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil Government we live under; that the apostolical Government was adapted to the Church in its infancy, and under persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the Church grew to maturity, and had the civil Magistrate on its side." The Doctor therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the Church to Scripture, takes into his standard the four first Centuries after Christ; and those customs that he can trace up thither, he thinks proper to be retained, because the Church was then in its mature state, and not yet under the power of Antichrist.

The reader will judge of these principles for himself. One is ready to think, that the nearer we can come to the apostolical practice the better; and the less our Religion is incumber'd

Remarks.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

ber'd with Rites and Ceremonies of later invention, the more it must resemble "the Simplicity that is in Christ." If our blessed Saviour had designed that his worship should be set off with pomp and grandeur, and a multitude of ceremonies, he would have told us so; and it may be have settled them, as he did for the Church of the Jews; but nothing of this appearing, men should be cautious of inserting the commandments or traditions of men into the Religion of Christ, lest they cast a reflection upon his Kingly Office.

The temper
and behavi-
our of the
Disputants.

The dispute between Whitgift and Cartwright was managed with some sharpness, the latter thought he had reason to complain of the hardships himself and his brethren suffered; and Whitgift having the Government on his side, thought he stood upon higher ground, and might assume a superior air; when Cartwright and his friends pleaded for indulgence because they were brethren, the Doctor replies, "What signifies their being Brethren; Anabaptists, Arians and other Hereticks, would be accounted Brethren; their haughty spirits will not suffer them to see their Error; they deserve as great punishment as Papists, because both conspire against the Church. If they are shut up in Newgate 'tis a meet reward for their disorderly doings; for ignorance may not excuse Libels against a private man, much less when they slander the whole Church."—How would the Doctor have liked this language in the mouth of a Papist sixteen years before? But this has been the method of warm and zealous disputants; the knots they cannot untie with their fingers they would cut asunder with the sword.

Whitgift's
severe usage
of his Ad-
versary.

Thus Dr. Whitgift routed his Adversary; he had already deprived him of his Professor's Chair, and of his Degree of Doctor of Divinity, and being now Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, he got him expell'd the University upon this pretence: Mr. Cartwright being Senior Fellow of his College, was only in Deacon's Orders; the Doctor being informed of this, and that the Statute requiring such to take upon them the Order of Priesthood, might be interpreted to Priests Orders, concluded he was perjured; upon which he summoned the Heads of Colleges together, and declared, that Mr. Cartwright had broken his Oath, and without any further admonition, push'd his interest among the Masters, to rid the College of a Man, whose popularity was too great for his ambition, insomuch that he declared he could not establish Order in the University while a Person of his principles was among them; after this he

Life of
Whitgift
p. 64.

writ

writ to the Archbishop, Sept. 21st, 1572. and begged his Grace to watch at Court, that Cartwright might get no advantage against him, for (says he) he is flatly perjured, and it is God's just Judgment that he should be so punished for not being a full Minister. A pitiful triumph!

Queen Elizabeth, 1572.

The Queen also, and her Commissioners, brandished their Swords against Cartwright and his followers; her Majesty by proclamation called in the Admonition, commanded all her subjects, that had any in their possession, to bring them to the Bishop of the Diocese, and not to sell them, upon pain of imprisonment; upon which Mr. Stroud the publisher brought in 34, and his wife burnt the rest that were unfold: This Mr. Stroud was the suspended Minister of Cranbrook, an excellent preacher, and universally beloved; but being reduced to poverty, he was forced to condescend to the low offices of correcting the Press, and of publishing books for a livelihood; when he appeared before the Bishop of London upon this occasion, his Lordship reproached him for laying down the Ministry, tho' Parker had actually deprived him, and forbid him to preach six years before.

The Queen's

M. S. P. 125.

The Bishops were no less careful to crush the favourers of the Admonition; for when Mr. Wake of Christ Church had declared in favour of it, in a Sermon at Paul's Cross, the Bishop of London sent for him next Morning into custody; but he made his escape; Mr. Crick, Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, having also commended the Book in a Sermon at the same place, the Archbishop sent a special messenger to apprehend him; and though he escaped for the present, he afterwards fell into the hands of the Commissioners and was deprived; the like misfortune befel Dr. Aldrich, an eminent Divine, and Dignitary of the Church, with many others; notwithstanding which, Dr. Sandys Bishop of London, in his letter to the Treasurer, calls for further help; "The City (says he) will never be quiet, till these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as Gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the City; the people resort to them, as in Popery they were wont to run on Pilgrimages; if these Idols, who are honoured as Saints, were removed from hence, their honour would fall into the dust, and they would be taken for Blocks as they are. A sharp letter from her Majesty would cut the courage of these men. Good, my Lords, for the love you bear to

And the Bishops.

L. of Whitgift, P. 53.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

“ to the Church of Christ, resist the tumultuous enterprizes
“ of these new fangled fellows. These were the weapons
with which the Doctor’s answer to the Admonition were en-
forced ; so that we may fairly conclude with Fuller the His-
torian, “ That if Cartwright had the better of his adver-
“ sary in learning, Whitgift had more Power to back his
“ arguments ; and by this he not only kept the Field, but
“ gained the Victory.”

L. of Par-
ker, p. 427.

On the other hand ’tis certain, vast numbers of the
Clergy both in London and the two Universities, had a high
opinion of Cartwright’s writings ; he had many admirers ;
and if we may believe his adversaries, wanted nor for pre-
sents and gratuities : Many hands were procured in appro-
bation and commendation of his reply to Whitgift ; and
some said, they would defend it to death. In short, though
Whitgift’s writings might be of use to confirm those who
had already conformed, they made no converts among the
Puritans, but rather confirmed them in their former senti-
ments.

Conclusion
of the con-
troversy.

Whitgift’s
L. p. 56.

To pursue this controversy to the end : In the year 1573.
Dr. Whitgift published his defence against Cartwright’s
reply ; in which he states the difference between them thus,
“ The question is not, whether many things mentioned in
“ your Platform of Discipline were fitly used in the Apost-
“ les time, or may now be well used in sundry reformed
“ Churches, this is not denied ; but whether, when there
“ is a settled order in Doctrine and Government esta-
“ blished by law, it may stand with godly and christi-
“ an Wisdom to attempt so great alteration as this Plat-
“ form must needs bring in, with disobedience to the Prince
“ and laws and unquietness of the Church, and offence of
“ many consciences.” If this were the whole question,
surely it might stand with the Wisdom of the Legislature in
settled times, to make some concessions in favour of pious
and devout men ; nor can it be inconsistent with “ Godly
“ and Christian Wisdom,” for subjects to attempt it by
lawful and peaceable methods.

Two years after [1575.] Mr. Cartwright published a se-
cond reply to Whitgift’s defence ; it consisted of two parts ;
the first was intituled, “ The second Reply of T. C. against
“ Dr. Whitgift’s second Answer touching the Church Dis-
“ cipline ;” with these two sentences of Scripture in the
Title Page, “ For Zion’s sake I will not hold my tongue ;
“ for Jerusalem’s sake I will not rest, till the Righteousness
“ thereof break forth as the Light, &c.—Ye are the Lord’s
Remem-

“ Remembrancers : Keep not silence,” Isa. lxii. 1, 6, 7. Queen Elizabeth, 1572.
 ’Tis dedicated to the Church of England, and all that love the truth in it. In his preface he answers divers personal matters between the Doctor and himself : He remembers him of his illegal depriving him of his Fellowship, and pronouncing him perjured. He says, he never opened his lips for the divinity Chair, as he had falsely charged him : That he had never desired the degree of a Doctor, but by the advice of more than a dozen learned Ministers, who, considering his office of Divinity Reader, thought he ought to assume the title. He added, that he never refused a private conference with him [Whitgift], but that he offered it, and the other refused it, saying, he was incorrigible ; indeed, he did refuse private conference by writing, having had experience of his adversary’s unfaithfulness ; and because he thought that the doctrine he had taught openly should be defended openly. Whitgift charged him, that after he was expelled the College, he went up and down doing no good, but living at other men’s tables. How ungenerous was this ! After the Doctor had taken away his adversary’s bread, and stopt his Mouth, that he might not preach, to reproach him with “ doing no good,” and being beholden to his friends for a dinner. Cartwright owned, that he was poor ; that he had no wife nor house of his own ; and that it was with small delight that he lived upon his friends, but that he still did what little good he could, in instructing their children. Whitgift charged his adversary further, with want of learning, though he had filled the Divinity Chair with vast reputation, and had been stiled by Beza, Sol, the very Sun of England : He taxes him with making extracts of other men’s notes, and that he had scarce read one of the antient Authors he had alledged. To which Cartwright modestly replied, that as to great reading he would let it pass ; for if Whitgift had read all the Fathers, and he scarce one, it would easily appear to the learned world by their writings ; but that it was sufficiently known that he had hunted him with more hounds than one.

The strength of his Reply lies in reducing the policy of the Church as near as possible to the Standard of Scripture ; for when Dr. Whitgift alledged some of the Fathers of the 4th and 5th Century on his side, Cartwright replied, “ That forasmuch as the Fathers have erred, and that corruptions crept early into the Church, therefore they ought to have no further credit than their authority is warranted by the Word of God and good Reason ; to press
 “ their

Queen Elizabeth,
1572.

Whitgift's
L. p. 64.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

Strype's
Ann.

“ their bare authority without relation to this, is to bring
“ an intolerable tyranny into the Church of God.”

The second part of Cartwright's Reply was not published till 2 years forward, when he was fled out of the Kingdom; it is intitled, “ The rest of the second Reply of Thomas Cartwright against Master Doctor Whitgift's Answer, touching the Church discipline, imprinted 1577.” in which he shews, “ that Church-government by an Eldership is by “ Divine appointment, and of perpetual obligation.” He then considers the defects of the Church of England, and treats “ of the power of the civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Matters; of Ecclesiastical Persons bearing Civil Offices; and of the Habits.” He apologizes for going through with the controversy at such a distance of time, but he thought it of importance, and that it need not be ashamed of the Light. Speaking of his own poverty, disgrace and banishment, for appearing in this cause, he says, “ It were an intolerable delicacy, if he could not give up “ a little ease and commodity, for that whereunto his life “ was due, if it had been asked; or that he should grudge “ to dwell in another corner of the world, for that cause “ for which he ought to be ready altogether to depart out “ of it.” But he was sensible he strove against the stream, and that his work might be thought unseasonable, his adversary being now advanced so much above him; for this year Whitgift was made a Bishop, when poor Cartwright was little better than a wandering beggar.

Strype's
Ann.

Remarks.

Thus ended the controversy between these two Champions; so that Fuller, Heylin, and Collier, must be mistaken, when they say, Whitgift kept the Field, and carried off a complete Victory, when Cartwright had certainly the last word. But whoever had the better of the argument, Whitgift got most by it; and when he was advanced to the pinnacle of Church-preferment acted an ungenerous part towards his adversary for many years, prosecuting him with continual vexations and imprisonments, and pointing all his Church artillery against him, not suffering him so much as to defend the common cause of Christianity against the Papists, when he was called to it; but at length, being wearied out with the importunities of great men, or growing more temperate in his old age, he suffered him to govern a small hospital in Warwick, given him by the great Earl of Leicester, where this great and good man's grey hairs came down with sorrow to the grave.

To

To return, notwithstanding all this Opposition from the Queen and her Commissioners, the Puritans gained ground; and though the Press was restrained, they galled their Adversaries with Pamphlets, which were privately dispersed both in City and Country. Parker employed all his Emisaries to discover their printing Presses, but to no purpose; whereupon he complained to the Treasurer in these Words, "I understand throughout all the Realm (says he) how the Matter is taken; the Puritans are justified, and we judged to be extreme Persecutors; I have observed this for seven years; if the Sincerity of the Gospel should end in such judgments, I fear the Council will be overcome. The Puritans slander us with Books and Libels, lying they care not how deep, and yet the more they write the more they are applauded and comforted." The Scholars of Cambridge were generally with the Puritans, but the Masters and Heads of Colleges were against them; so that many who ventured to preach for the Discipline were deprived of their Fellowships, and expelled the University or obliged to a publick Retraction.

Queen Elizabeth,
1572

L. of Parker, p. 389.

There being no further prospect of a publick Reformation by the Legislature, some of the leading Puritans agreed to attempt it in a more private way; for this purpose they erected a Presbytery at Wandsworth, a Village 4 Miles from the City, conveniently situated for the London Brethren, as standing on the Banks of the River Thames. The Heads of the Association were, Mr. Field Lecturer of Wandsworth, Mr. Smith of Mitcham, Mr. Crane of Roehampton, Mr. Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintloe, and Edmonds, to whom afterwards were joined Mr. Travers, Charke, Barber, Gardiner, Crook, Egerton, and a number of very considerable Laymen. On the 20th of November 11 Elders were chosen, and their Offices described in a Register, intitled, "The Orders of Wandsworth." This was the first Presbyterian Church in England. All imaginable Care was taken to keep their proceedings private, but the Bishop's eye was upon them, who gave immediate intelligence to the High Commission, upon which the Queen issued out a Proclamation, for putting the Act of Uniformity in execution; but though the Commissioners knew of the Presbytery, they could not discover the Members of it, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring Counties.

First Presbytery at Wandsworth.

While the Queen and Bishops were defending the Out-works of the Church against the Puritans, and bracing up the

Growth of Popery.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1572.

Strype's An-
nals, p. 98.

the Building with Articles, Canons, Injunctions, and penal Laws, enforced by the Sword of the Civil Magistrate, the Papists were sapping the very Foundation; for upon publishing the Pope's Bull of Excommunication against the Queen, great Numbers deserted the publick Worship, and resorted to private Conventicles to hear Mass, while others that kept their Stations in the Church, were secretly undermining it. "There were at this Time (says a learned Writer) certain Ministers of the Church that were Papists, who subscribed and observed the Orders of the Church, wore a side Gown, a square Cap, a Cope and Surplice. They would run into Corners, and say to the People, believe not this new Doctrine, it is nought, it will not long endure; although I use Order among them outwardly, my heart is not with them, but with the Mother Church of Rome. No, no, we do not preach, nor yet teach openly; though we read their new divided Homilies for a Colour to satisfy the Time for a Season." In Yorkshire they went openly to Mass, and were so numerous, that the Protestants stood in awe of them. In London there was a great resort to the Portugal Ambassador's Chapel; and when the Sheriff, by order of the Bishop of London, sent his Officers to take some of them into Custody, the Queen was displeased, and ordered them immediately to be released.

Sad State of
Religion.

L. of Parker,
p. 395.

Sad was the State of Religion (says Mr. Strype) at this Time; "the Substantials being lost in contending for Externals; the Churchmen heaped up many Benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none; neglecting their Cures. Many of them alienated their Lands, made unreasonable Leases, and Waste of Woods, and granted Reversions, and Advowsons to their wives and children. ——— Among the Laity there was little Devotion; the Lord's Day greatly profaned, and little observed; the Common Prayers not frequented; some lived without any service of God at all; many were mere Heathens and Atheists; the Queen's own Court an harbour for Epicures and Atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no Parish; which things made good men fear some sad Judgments impending over the Nation." The Governors of the Church expressed no concern for suppressing of Vice, and encouraging Virtue; there were no Citations into the Commons for Immoralities: But the Bishops were every Day shutting the Mouths of the most pious, useful and industrious Preachers in the Nation,

Nation, at a time when the Queen was sick of the small pox, and troubled with fainting fits, and the whole Reformation depended on the single Thread of her Life.

Queen Elizabeth, 1572.

This uncertain state of Religion was the more terrible, because of the Parisian Massacre, which happened this very Summer on the 24th of August, being Bartholomew Day, when great numbers of Protestants having been invited to Paris, on pretence of doing honour to the King of Navarre's Marriage to the King's Sister, ten thousand were massacred in one night, and twenty thousand more in other parts of the Kingdom, within the compass of a few weeks, by his Majesty's Commission; no distinction being made between Lords, Gentlemen, Justices, Lawyers, Scholars, Physicians, and the meanest of the People; they spared neither Women, Maids, Children in the Cradle, nor Infants in their Mother's Womb. Many fled to Geneva and Switzerland, and great numbers into England, to save their Lives. The Protestant Princes of Germany were awakened with this Butchery; and the Queen put the Coasts into a posture of defence, but made no concessions for uniting her Protestant Subjects among themselves.

Parisian Massacre.

Strype's Ann. p. 160.

This year died the Reverend and learned Mr. John Knox, the Apostle, and chief Reformer of the Kirk of Scotland. This Divine came into England in the Reign of Edward VI. and was appointed one of the itinerant Preachers for the year 1552. he was afterwards offered a parochial Living in London, but refused it; upon King Edward's death he retired beyond Sea, and became Preacher to the English Exiles at Frankfort, till he was artfully spirited away by the Contrivance of Mr. Cox, now Bishop of Ely, for not reading the English Service. He afterwards preached to the English at Geneva; but upon the breaking up of that Congregation in the Year 1559, he returned to Scotland, and was a great Instrument in the Hand of Providence for the Reformation of that Kirk. He was a Son of Thunder, and feared not the face of any Man in the Cause of Religion, which betrayed him sometimes into too coarse treatment of his Superiors. However, he had the respect of all the Protestant Nobility and Gentry of his Country; and after a Life of great Service and Labour, he died comfortably in the midst of his friends, in the 67th year of his Age, being greatly supported in his last hours from the 17th Chapter of St. John, and 1 Cor. 15th Chapter, which he ordered to be frequently read to him: His body was attended to the Grave with great Solemnity and Honour.

Death of Mr. Knox.

L. of Parker, p. 366.

The

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

Ibid p. 479.
A severe Per-
secution.

The Queen being incensed against the Puritans for their late Applications to Parliament, reprimanded the Bishops for not suppressing them, and resolved now herself to bend all the Powers of the Crown that way. Accordingly Commissioners were appointed under the great Seal, in every Shire to put in execution the penal Laws by way of Oyer and Terminer, and the Queen published a Proclamation in the Month of October, declaring her Royal Pleasure, that all Offenders against the Act of Uniformity should be severely punished. Letters were also sent from the Lords of the Council to the Bishops, dated Nov. 7th, 1573: to enforce her Majesty's Proclamation, in which, after having reproached them with holding their Courts only to get Money, or for such like purposes, they now require them in her Majesty's Name, either by themselves, which is most fit, or by their Archdeacons, personally to visit and see that the Habits with all the Queen's Injunctions; be exactly and uniformly observed in every Church of their Diocese; and to punish all Refusers according to the Ecclesiastical Laws. The Lord Treasurer also made a long Speech before the Commissioners in the Star Chamber, in which by the Queen's Order, "He charged the Bishops
" with Neglect, in not enforcing her Majesty's Proclama-
" tion; he said the Queen could not satisfy her Conscience
" without crushing the Puritans, for she thought none of her
" Subjects worthy of her Protection that favoured Inno-
" vations, or that directly or indirectly countenanced the
" Alteration of any Thing established in the Church:
" that by too much Lenity some might be apt to think
" the Exceptions of these Novelists against the Ceremo-
" nies were reasonable and well founded, or but trifling
" Matters of Disputation; but the Queen was resolved
" that her Orders and Injunctions should not be contemn-
" ed; that the publick Rule should be inviolably observ-
" ed; and that there should be an absolute Obedience, be-
" cause the Safety of her Government depended upon it."

L. of Par-
ker, p. 456.

Strype's
Ann. p. 260.

Life of Grin-
dal, p. 185.

The Treasurer therefore or some other, proposed to the Council, that all Ministers throughout the Kingdom should be bound in a bond of 200*l.* to conform in all things to the Act of Uniformity, and in case of Default their Names to be returned into the Exchequer by the Bishop, and the bond to be sued. If this Project had taken place it would have ruined half the Clergy of the Kingdom.

Another

Another occasion of these extraordinary proceedings of the Court, is said to arise from the accidental madness of one Peter Birchet, of the Middle Temple, who had the name of a Puritan, but was disordered in his senses; this man came out of the Temple in his Gown, Octob. 14. about eleven in the morning, and seeing Mr. Fitzgerald, Lieutenant of the Pensioners, Sir William Winter, and Mr. Hawkins, Officers of the Queen's Navy, riding thro' the Strand, with their servants on foot, came up to them, and suddenly struck Hawkins with a dagger through the right arm into the body about the arm-hole, and immediately ran into the Bell-Inn, where he was taken, and upon examination being ask'd, whether he knew Mr. Hawkins? he answer'd, he took him for Mr. Hatton, Captain of the Guards, and one of the Privy Chamber, whom he was moved to kill by the spirit of God, by which he should do God and his Country acceptable service, "Because he was an enemy of God's word, and a maintainer of papistry." In which opinion he persevered without any signs of repentance, till for fear of being burnt for heresy he recanted before Dr. Sandys Bishop of London, and the rest of the Commissioners. The Queen asked her two chief Justices, and Attorney-General, what corporal punishment the villain might undergo for his offence; it was proposed to put him to death as a Felon, because a premeditated attempt with an intention of killing, had been so punished by King Edward II. though the party wounded did not die; but the Judges did not apprehend this to be law. It was then moved, that the Queen by virtue of her prerogative, should put him to death by martial law; and accordingly a warrant was made out under the great Seal for his execution, though the fact was committed in time of peace. This made some of the Council hesitate, apprehending it might prove a very bad precedent. At length the poor creature put an end to the dispute himself, for on the 10th of November in the afternoon he killed his Keeper Longworth with one blow, striking him with a billet on the hinder part of the head, as he was looking upon a book in the prison window in the Tower; for this crime he was next day indicted and arraigned at the King's-Bench, where he confessed the fact, saying, that Longworth in his imagination was Hatton: there he received judgment for murder, and the next day, Nov. 12. had his right hand first cut off at the place in the Strand where he struck Hawkins, and was then immediately hanged on a Gibbet there purposely set up,

Queen Elizabeth, 1573.

Birchet's Madness and Death.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

M. S. p.
870.

Visitation of
the Dioceſe
of Norwich.

Life of Par-
ker, p. 449.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 452.

between eight and nine of the clock in the morning, and continued hanging there for three days. The poor man talked very wildly, and was by fits downright mad, ſo that if he had been ſhut up in Bedlam after his firſt attempt, as he ought to have been, all further miſchief had been prevented. However, it was very unreaſonable to lay this to the charge of the Puritans, and to take occaſion from hence, to ſpread a general perſecution over the whole Kingdom : but the Queen was for laying hold of all opportunities to ſuppreſs a number of conſcientious men, whom ſhe would often ſay, “ She hated more than the Papifts.”

The Commiſſioners being thus pushed forwards from above, ſent letters to the Biſhops, exhorting them to command their Archdeacons, and other eccleſiaſtical Officers, to give it in charge to their Clergy and Queſt-men, to preſent the names and ſur-names of all Non-conformiſts in their ſeveral pariſhes, before the firſt week in Lent. A letter of this ſort was ſent, among others, by the old Biſhop of Norwich to his Chancellor, dated from Ludham, Jan. 30th.

1573. This was very unacceptable work to a man that was dropping into his Grave ; but he gave orders as he was commanded, and many Miniſters of his Dioceſe being returned unconformable, were ſuſpended from reading common prayer and adminiſtring the Sacraments, but allowed ſtill to catechiſe youth, and continue their parts in the public exerciſes or prophesyings, for which the Biſhop was ſeverely reprimanded, and threaten’d by the Commiſſioners with the Queen’s high diſpleaſure ; whereupon he allowed his Chancellor to ſilence them totally, though it was againſt his judgment ; for in his letter to a gentleman on this occaſion, he writes,——“ I was obliged to reſtrain them, un-

“ leſs I would willingly procure my own danger.—There-
“ fore let not this matter ſeem ſtrange to you, for the mat-
“ ter was of importance, and touched me ſo near, that I
“ could do no leſs if I would avoid extreme danger.” But after all, his Lordſhip being ſuſpected of remiſſneſs, Parker directed a ſpecial commiſſion to Commiſſaries of his own appointing, to viſit his Dioceſe parochially ; which they did, and reported, that ſome Miniſters were abſent, and ſo could not be examined ; other Churches had no Surplices, but the Miniſters ſaid they would wear them when provided ; but that there were about 300 Non-conformiſts whom they had ſuſpended ; one of whom, as the good old Biſhop writ, “ Was godly and learned, and had done much good.”

The

The heads of the Puritains being debarr'd the Liberty of preaching and printing, challenged their adversaries to a publick disputation : this had been allowed the Protestants in Queen Mary's Reign, and the Papists at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth ; but the Queen and Council would not now admit, that what was established by Law should be exposed to question, and referr'd to the hazard of a dispute. Instead therefore of a conference they took a shorter way, by summoning the Disputants before the ecclesiastical Commission, to answer to sundry articles exhibited against them, and among others to this, " Whether the Common Prayer Book is every part of it grounded upon holy Scripture ?" an honour hardly to be allowed to any human composition : and for not answering to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, Mr. Wyburne, Johnson, Brown, Field, Wilcox, Sparrow, and King, were deprived, and the four last committed to Newgate, from whence two of them had been but lately released. They were told further, that if they did not comply in a short time they should be banished ; tho' there was no law for it.

Queen Elizabeth, 1573.
Puritans offer a publick Disputation.

L. of Parker, p. 413.

Mr. Cartwright was summon'd among the rest, but wisely got out of the way, upon which the Commissioners issued out the following order, " To all Mayors, Bailiffs, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and all others the Queen's Officers, to be aiding and assisting to the Bearer [their Messenger] with the best means they can devise to apprehend one Thomas Cartwright, Student in Divinity, wheresoever he be within the Realm, and to bring him up to London with a sufficient guard, to appear before us her Majesty's Commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, for his misdemeanors in matters of Religion. Decemb. 15th, 1573. signed by John Rivers, Mayor, Edwin, Bishop of London, Alex. Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, together with the Attorney General, Solicitor General, Recorder, Master of the Rolls, and Master of the Requests." But Mr. Cartwright lay concealed among his friends till he got an opportunity to leave the Kingdom.

Proclamation against Cartwright.

Strype's An. p. 279.

The Reverend Mr. Deering, Reader of St. Paul's, was also suspended for some trifling words spoken against the Hierarchy in conversation ; and in order to his restoration was obliged to subscribe four Articles, (viz.) " To the Supremacy ; to the 39 Articles ; to the Book of Common Prayer ; and that the word and Sacraments are rightly

Mr. Deering deprived.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

“administer’d in the Church of England;” which he did, with some few exceptions. The Commissioners then examined him upon 15 or 20 Articles more, of which these were some.

(1.) “Whether we be tied by God’s word to the order and use of the Apostles and of the primitive Church in all things?”

(2.) “Whether nothing may be in the Church, concerning Ceremonies or Regimen, but only that which Christ himself has commanded in his word?”

(3.) “Whether every particular Parish Church, of necessity, and by the order of God’s word, ought to have their Pastors, Elders, and Deacons chosen by the people, and they only to have the whole Government of the Church in ecclesiastical matters?”

(4.) “Whether there should be an equality among the Ministers of this Realm, as well concerning Government and Discipline, as the Ministrations of the Word and Sacraments?”

(5.) “Whether the Patrimony of the Church, as Glebe Lands and Tithes, &c. ought to be taken from them?”

(6.) “Whether the present Ministers of the Church of England are true Ministers, and their Administrations effectual?”

(7.) “Whether it be more agreeable to God’s word, and more for the profit of the Church, to use a form of Common Prayer; or that every Minister pray publickly, as his own spirit shall direct him?”

(8.) “Whether the Children of Papists ought to be re-baptized?”

(9.) “Whether an ecclesiastical Person may have more Livings than one?”

(10.) “Whether a Minister of Christ may exercise a civil Function?”

The rest of the Articles, making in all above 20, were about the “Obligation of the Judicial Laws of Moses, and the power of the civil Magistrate in matters of Religion. To all which Mr. Deering gave wise and modest answers, yielding as much as his principles, and the nature of things would admit; but being called, as it were, before an Inquisition, as he thought himself not bound to be his own accuser, he prayed their Honours, that what he had said might not be interpreted to his prejudice; but the Commissioners took advantage of his answers, and deprived him of his Lecture.

Mr.

Mr. Deering appealed from the Commissioners to the Council, who were pleased to restore him, which galled the Archbishop, as appears, by his letter to one of the Commissioners, dated July 6th, 1573. in which are these words, Queen Elizabeth, 1573.
He is restored.

“ We have sent you certain articles taken out of Cartwright’s Book, by the Council propounded to Mr. Deering, with his answers to the same; and also a Copy of the Council’s letter to Mr. Deering, to restore him to his former Reading and Preaching, notwithstanding our advices never required thereunto. These proceedings puff them up with pride, make the people hate us, and magnify them with great triumphing, that her Majesty and her Privy Council have good liking of this new building—but we are persuaded her Majesty has no liking thereof, howsoever the matter be favoured by others.”

Mr. Deering was a learned, pious, and peaceable Non-conformist; his printed Sermons are polite and nervous. In his letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh on this occasion, he offered to shew before any body of learned Men, the difference between Bishops of the primitive Church, and those of the present Church of England, in the following particulars:

1. Bishops and Ministers then were in one degree, now they are divers.

2. There were then many Bishops in one Town, now there is but one in a whole Country.

3. No Bishop’s authority was more than in one City, now it is in many Shires.

4. Bishops then used no bodily punishments, now they imprison, fine, &c.

5. The primitive Bishops could not excommunicate, or absolve, merely by their own authority, now they may.

6. Then, without consent of Presbyters, they could make no Ministers, now they do.

7. They could confirm no Children in other parishes, they do now in many Shires.

8. They had then but one Living, now they have divers.

9. They had neither Officials, Commissaries nor Chancellors.

10. They dealt in no civil Government by any established authority. Collier’s Ch. History, p. 543.

11. They had no right to alienate any parsonage, or let it in Lease.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

12. Then they had a Church where they served the Cure, as those we call parish Priests, though they were Metropolitans or Archbishops; so that Ambrose, St. Austin, and others, who lived as late as the 4th or 5th Century, and were called Bishops, had very little agreement with ours. But for this our Archbishop never left him till he was silenced again and deprived.

Other Mini-
sters depri-
ved.

On the 29th of Jan. 1573. the Reverend Mr. Arthur Wake Parson of Great Willing, value 100 l. a year; Eusebius Paget Parson of Owld, 100 l. a year; Thurston Mosely, Parson of Hardington, 40 l. a year; George Gilder, Parson of Collingtrowge, and William Dawson Parson of Weston Favel, 100 Marks, all in the Diocese of Peterborough, of which Dr. Scambler was Bishop, and James Ellis Doctor of the civil Law Chancellor, were first suspended for three weeks, and then deprived of their Livings. They were all Preachers; four of them were licensed by the University as learned and religious Divines, and three of them had been moderators in the exercises: The reasons of their Deprivation were not for errors in Doctrine, or Depravity of Life, but for not subscribing two Forms of the Commissioner's devising, one called "Forma Promissionis," the other "Forma Objurationis." In the Forma Promissionis they swear and subscribe, "To use the Service and Common Prayer Book, and the publick Form of Administration of Sacraments, and no other; that they will serve in their Cures according to the Rites, Orders, Forms and Ceremonies prescribed; and that they will not hereafter preach or speak any thing tending to the derogation of the said Book, or any part thereof, remaining authorized by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm." In the Forma Objurationis they subscribe and protest upon oath, "That the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and of the ordering of Deacons, set forth in the time of King Edward VI. and confirmed by authority of Parliament, doth contain in it all things necessary for such Consecration and Ordering, having in it nothing that is either superstitious or ungodly, according to their Judgment; and therefore that they which be consecrated and ordered according to the same Book, be duly, orderly, and lawfully ordained and consecrated, and that they do acknowledge their duty and obedience to their ordinary and Diocesan as to a lawful Magistrate under the Queen's Majesty, so far forth as the Laws and Statutes do require; which

“ which obedience they do promise, according as the laws
 “ shall bind them to perform. In Testimony whereof
 “ they do hereunto subscribe their names.”

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1573.

The Ministers offered to use the Book of Common Prayer and no other ; and not to preach against the same before the meeting of the next Parliament ; but they apprehended the Oath and Subscription to be contrary to the Laws of God and the Realm, and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury ; but their Appeal was denied. They presented a Supplication to the Queen, and another to the Parliament, but could not be heard, though their Case was most compassionate, for they had Wives and large Families of Children, which were now reduced to poverty and want, so that (as they say in their Supplication) if God in his providence does not help they must beg. Ibid p. 202

In the room of the deprived Ministers certain Outlandish Men succeeded that could hardly read so as to be understood ; the people were left untaught ; instead of having two Sermons every Lord's Day, there was now but one in a quarter of a year, and for the most part not that. The Parishioners sign'd petitions to the Bishop for their former Preachers, but to no purpose ; they must swear and subscribe, or be buried in silence.

On the 20th of September the Reverend Mr. Robert Johnson, already mentioned, sometime domestick Chaplain to the Lord-keeper Bacon, now Parson of St. Clements near Temple-Bar, was tried at Westminster-Hall for Non-conformity ; it was alledg'd against him, that he had married without the Ring ; and that he had baptized without the Cross. Mr. Peirce says, he was also accused of a misdemeanor, because when once he was administering the Sacrament, the Wine falling short, he sent for more, but did not consecrate it afresh, accounting the former Consecration sufficient for what was to be applied to the same use ; but nothing of this kind appears in his two indictments which are now before me, with the names of all the witnesses ; but for the other offences (viz.) for omitting these words in the Office of Baptism, “ I receive this Child into
 “ the Congregation of Christ's Flock, and do sign him with
 “ the sign of the Cross, in token, &c.” And for omitting these words in the marrying of Leonard Morris and Agnes Miles, “ With this Ring I thee wed, with my Body I thee
 “ worship, and with all my worldly Goods I thee endow,
 “ in the name of the Father, &c.” and for refusing to sub-
Mr. Johnson's Sufferings.
 M. S. p.
 199.
 Vindicat.
 p. 83.

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Elizabeth,
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Form of
Subscription
for the
Clergy.
M. S. p.
200.

scribe, he was shut up in close prison for seven weeks, till he died in great poverty and want.

The Forms of Subscription varied in the several Dioceses, but the usual subscription and protestation for such Clergymen as were cited before the Commissioners for Non-conformity, was this, “ I promise unfeignedly by these presents, and subscribe with my hand, that I will teach the word of God soberly, sincerely and truly, according to the Doctrine established by Law, without moving unnecessary contentions; and that I will never suffer any person to use my Licence of preaching, by raising out the name, or abusing the Seal; and that I will deliver up my Licence, being so required by that authority from whence I had it.”

1. “ I acknowledge the Book of Articles agreed on in the Synod of 1563. and confirmed by the Queen to be sound, and agreeable to the word of God.

2. “ That the Queen’s Majesty is supreme Governor of the Church of England next under Christ, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil Causes.

3. “ That in the Book of Common Prayer there is nothing evil, or repugnant to the word of God, and that it may be well used in this our christian Church of England.

4. “ That as the publick preaching of the word in the Church of England, is sound and sincere, so the publick order of Administration of Sacraments, is consonant to the word of God.

“ And whereas I have in public Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, neglected and omitted the order by publick authority set down, following my own fancy in altering, adding, or omitting of the same, not using such Rites as by law and order are appointed; I acknowledge my fault therein, and am sorry for it, and humbly pray pardon for that disorder. And here I do submit my self to the Order and Rites set down; and I do promise that I will from henceforth in publick prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, use and observe the same. The which I do presently and willingly testify with the Subscription of mine own hand.”

But this not reaching the Laity, many of whom deserted their own parish Churches, and went to hear the Non-conformists, the Commissioners framed the following Subscription for such of them as should be presented as Defaulters.

1. “ I acknowledge the Queen’s Majesty to be chief Governor of the Church of England under Christ.

2. —

Form of
Subscription
for the Lai-
ty.

2.—“ That in the Book of Common Prayer there is nothing repugnant to the Word of God.

Queen Elizabeth,
1573.

3.—“ That as the publick preaching in this Church of England is found, so the publick administration of the Sacraments is consonant to the Word of God.

“ And whereas I have absented myself from my parish Church, and have refused to join with the congregation in publick prayer, and in receiving the Sacrament, according to the publick order set down, and my duty in that behalf, I am right sorry for it, and pray that this my fault may be pardoned; and do promise, that from henceforth I will frequent my Parish Church, and join with the Congregation there, as well in Prayer as in the administration of the Sacraments, according to such order as by publick authority is set down and established; and to witness this my promise I do hereunto willingly subscribe my name.”

M. S. p.
201.

The Officers of the Spiritual Courts planted their spies in all suspected parishes, to make observation of those who came not to Church, and cause them to be summoned into the Commons, where they were punished at pleasure. The Keepers were charged to take notice of such as came to visit the prisoners, or bring them relief; and upon notice given, spies were set upon them to bring them into trouble. Complaints have been made of their rude language to the Bishops, and the rest of the Commissioners; and 'tis possible that their Lordly Behaviour, and arbitrary Proceedings, might sometimes make their passions overflow. “ Oppression will make a wise man mad.” But I have the Examinations of several before me, in which nothing of this kind appears. On the other hand, 'tis certain the conduct of the Commissioners was high and imperious; their under Officers were ravenous, and greedy of gain; the fees of the Court were exorbitant, so that if an honest Puritan fell into their hands he was sure to be half ruined before he got out, though he was clear'd of the Charge. In short, the Commissioners treated those that came before them neither like Men nor Christians, as will appear, among many others, by the following examination of Mr. White, a substantial Citizen of London, Jan. 18. 1573. who had been fined, and tossed from one prison to another, contrary to law and justice, only for not frequenting his Parish Church. His Examiners were the Lord Chief Justice; the Master of the Rolls; the Master of the Requests; Mr. Gerard; the Dean of Westminster; the Sheriff of London, and the Clerk

M.S. p. 176.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

Clerk of the Peace. After sundry others had been dispatch'd Mr. White was brought before them, whom his Lordship accosted after this manner;

Mr. White's
examination,

L. C. J. Who is this?

White. White, an't please your Honour.

L. C. J. White, as black as the Devil.

White. Not so my Lord; one of God's Children.

L. C. J. Why will you not come to your Parish Church?

White. My Lord, I did use to frequent my Parish Church before my troubles, and procured several godly men to preach there, as well as in other places of preaching and prayer; and since my troubles I have not frequented any private assemblies, but as I have had leave and liberty have gone to my Parish Church; and therefore those that presented me have done it out of malice; for if any of these things can be proved against me simply, or that "I hold all things in common," your Lordship may dismiss me from hence to the gallows.

Mr. Ger. You have not usually frequented your own Parish Church.

White. I allow I have more used other places, where I was better edified.

Mr. Ger. Then your presentment is in part true?

White. Not, an't please you, for I am presented for not coming at all to my Parish Church.

Ger. Will you then come to Prayers when there is no Sermon?

White. I would avoid those things that are an offence to me and others, and disturb the peace of the Church; however, I crave the liberty of a Subject, and if I do not publickly frequent both Preaching, Prayer, and the Sacraments, deal with me accordingly.

Dean West. What fault find you in the Common Prayer?

White. Let them answer to whom it appertains; for being in prison almost a year about these matters, I was upon a Statute relating to that Book indicted, and before I came to liberty almost out-lawed, as your Worship, Mr. Gerard, knows.

Mast. Req. What Scripture have you to ground your Conscience against these Garments?

White. The whole Scriptures are for destroying Idolatry, and every thing that belongs to it.

Mast. Req. These things never served to Idolatry.

White.

White. Shough; they are the same which heretofore were used to that purpose.

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Elizabeth,
1573

Mast. Req. Where is the place where these are forbidden?

White. In Deuteronomy, and other places, the Israelites are commanded, not only to destroy the Altars, Groves, and Images, with all thereto belonging, but also to abolish the very names; and God by Isaiah commandeth not to pollute ourselves with the Garments of the Image, but to cast it away as a menstruous clout.

Mast. Rolls. These are no part of Idolatry, but are commanded by the Prince for civil order, and if you will not be ordered you shew your self disobedient to the Laws.

White. I would not willingly disobey any Law, only I would avoid those things that are not warranted by the Word of God.

Mast. Req. These things are commanded by Act of Parliament, and in disobeying the Laws of your Country you disobey God.

White. I do it not of contempt but of conscience; in all other things I am an obedient subject.

L. C. J. Thou art a contemptuous Fellow, and wilt obey no Laws.

White. Not so, my Lord, I do and will obey Laws, and therefore refusing but a Ceremony, out of Conscience, and not refusing the penalty for the same, I rest still a true Subject.

L. C. J. The Queen's Majesty was overseen not to make you of her Council, to make Laws and Orders for Religion.

White. Not so, my Lord, I am to obey Laws warranted by God's Word.

L. C. J. Do the Queen's Laws command any thing against God's Word?

White. I do not so say, my Lord.

L. C. J. Yes, marry do you, and there I will hold you.

White. Only God and his Laws are absolutely perfect: All men and their laws may err.

L. C. J. This is one of Shaw's darlings; I tell thee what, I will not say any thing of affection, for I know thee not, saving by this occasion; thou art the wickedest, and most contemptuous person that has come before me, since I sat in this Commission.

White.

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Elizabeth,
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White. Not so, my Lord, my Conscience witnesseth otherwise.

Maſt. Req. What if the Queen ſhould command to wear a grey Frize Gown, would you come to Church then ?

White. That were more tolerable, than that God's Miniſters ſhould wear the Habit of his Enemies.

L. C. J. How, if ſhe ſhould command to wear a Fool's Coat and a Cock's Comb ?

White. That were very unſeemly, my Lord, for God's Miniſters.

Dean Weſt. You will not then be obedient to the Queen's commands.

White. I would only avoid thoſe things that have no Warrant in the Word of God, that are neither decent nor edifying, but flatly the contrary, and are condemned by the foreign Reformed Churches.

L. C. J. You would have no Laws.

White. If there were no Laws I would live a Chriſtian and do no wrong ; if I received any, ſo it were.

L. C. J. Thou art a Rebel.

White. Not ſo, my Lord, a true Subject.

L. C. J. Yea, I ſwear by God, thou art a very Rebel ; for thou wouldſt draw thy ſword, and liſt up thine hand againſt thy Prince if time ſerved,

White. My Lord, I thank God, my Heart ſtandeth right towards God and my Prince ; and God will not condemn, though your Honour hath ſo judged.

L. C. J. Take him away.

White. I would ſpeak a word which I am ſure will offend, and yet I muſt ſpeak it ; I heard the Name of God taken in vain ; if I had done it, it had been a greater offence than that which I ſtand here for.

Ger. White, White, you don't behave yourſelf well.

White. I pray your Worſhip, ſhew me wherein, and I will beg pardon and amend it.

L. C. J. I may ſwear in a matter of Charity.

White. There is no ſuch occaſion ; but becauſe it is bruited, that at my laſt being before you, I denied the Supremacy of my Prince, I deſire your Honours and Worſhips, with all that be preſent, to bear witneſs, that I acknowledge her Maſteſty the chief Governor next under Chriſt, over all Perſons and Cauſes within her Dominions, and to this I will ſubſcribe. I acknowledge the Book of Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer, as far as they agree
with

with the Word of God. I acknowledge the Substance of the Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church to be found and sincere; and so I do of Rites and Orders, as far as they agree with the Word of God.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

Dean of West. You will not then allow, that all things in the Book of Common Prayer are taken out of the Word of God?

White. Though they should be so, yet being done by Man, I cannot give them the same warrant as to the Writings of the Holy Ghost.

L. C. J. Take him away.

White. I would to the Lord Jesus, that my two years Imprisonment might be a means of having these matters fairly decided by the Word of God, and the judgment of other reformed Churches.

L. C. J. You shall be committed, I warrant you.

White. Pray, my Lord, let me have justice; I am unjustly committed; I desire a Copy of my Presentment.

L. C. J. You shall have your Head from your Shoulders; have him to the Gate-house.

White. I pray you commit me to some prison in London, that I may be near my house.

L. C. J. No, Sir, you shall go thither.

White. I have paid Fines and Fees in other Prisons; send me not where I shall pay them over again.

L. C. J. Yes, marry shall you, : This is your Glory.

White. I desire no such Glory.

L. C. J. It will cost you twenty—I warrant you, before you come out.

White. God's Will be done.

These Severities against zealous Protestants, of pious and sober lives, raised the compassion of the common people, and brought them over to their interests. “It was a great grief to the Archbishop (says Mr Strype) and to other good Bishops, to see persons going off from the first Establishment of the Protestant Religion among us, making as if the Service Book was unlawful, and the ecclesiastical State Antichristian; and labouring to set up another Government and Discipline——” But who drove them to these Extremities? Why were not a few Amendments in the Liturgy yielded to at first, whereby conscientious men might have been made easy; or liberty given them to worship God in their own Way?

Notwith-

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

Puritan
Ministers
cens'd by
the People.
L. of Par-
ker, p. 227.
Separate
Communi-
o: s.

Notwithstanding the dangers already mentioned, "People resorted to the suffering Puritans in Prison, as in Popery they were wont to run on Pilgrimage: (They are the Bishop of London's Words.) Some Aldermen, and several wealthy Citizens, gave them great and stout Countenances, and persuaded others to do the like."

Separate Communions were established, where the Sacrament was administer'd privately after the Manner of the foreign reformed Churches; and those that joined with them, according to Archbishop Parker, signed the following Protestation.

Protestation
of the mem-
bers.

L. of Par-
ker, p. 435.

"**B**EING thoroughly persuaded in my Conscience, by the Working and by the Word of the Almighty, that these Relicks of Antichrist are abominable before the Lord our God; and also, for that by the Power, Mercy, Strength, and Goodness of the Lord our God only, I am escaped from the filthiness and Pollution of these detestable Traditions, through the Knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: and last of all, in as much as by the working also of the Lord Jesus his Holy Spirit, I have joined in Prayer and hearing God's Word, with those that have not yielded to this idolatrous Trash, notwithstanding the Danger for not coming to my Parish Church, &c. therefore I come not back again to the preaching of them that have received these Marks of the Romish Beast.

1. "Because of God's Commandment to go forward to Perfection, Heb. vi. 1. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Psalm lxxxiv. 1. Ephes. iv. 15. Also to avoid them, Rom. xvi. 17. Ephes. v. 11. 1 Thess. v. 22.

2. "Because they are an Abomination before the Lord our God, Deut. xxvii. 25, 26. and xiii. 17. Ezek. xiv. 6.

3. "I will not beautify with my presence those filthy Rags, which bring the heavenly Word of the Eternal our Lord God into Bondage, Subjection and Slavery.

4. "Because I would not communicate with other Mens Sins, John ii. 9, 10, 11. 1 Cor. vi. 17. Touch no unclean Thing, &c. Sirach xiii. 1.

5. "They give Offence both to Preacher and Hearers, Rom. xvi. 17. Luke xvii. 1.

6. "They glad and strengthen the Papists in their Errors, and grieve the Godly, Ezek. xiii. 21, 22. Note this 21st Verse.

7. "They

7. " They do persecute our Saviour Jesus Christ in his Members, Acts ix. 4, 5. 2 Cor. i. 5. Also they reject and despise our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Luk. x. 16. Moreover, those Labourers, who at the Prayer of the Faithful, the Lord hath sent forth into his Harvest, they refuse and also reject, Matth. ix. 38.

8. " These popish Garments are now become very Idols indeed, because they are exalted above the Word of the Almighty.

9. " I come not to them because they should be ashamed, and so leave their idolatrous Garments, &c. 2 Thess. iii.

14. " If any man obey not our Sayings, note him."

" Moreover, I have now joined myself to the Church of Christ, wherein I have yielded myself subject to the discipline of God's Word, as I promised at my Baptism, which if I should now again forsake, and join myself with their Traditions, I should forsake the Union wherein I am knit to the Body of Christ, and join myself to the discipline of Antichrist; for in the Church of the Traditionaries there is no other Discipline than that which has been maintained by the antichristian Pope of Rome, whereby the Church of God has always been afflicted, and is until this day, for the which cause I refuse them.

" God give us grace still to strive in suffering under the Cross, that the blessed Word of our God may only rule, and have the highest Place, To cast down strong holds, to destroy or overthrow policy, or imaginations, and every high Thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity or subjection, every Thought to the obedience of Christ, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. That the Name and Word of the Eternal our Lord God may be exalted, and magnified above all things, Psalm viii. 2. Finis."

To this Protestation the Congregation singularly did swear, and then received the Communion for the ratification of their Assent; if we may believe the relation of Archbishop Parker, who writ this last Paragraph with his own Hand; though his Grace had not always the best information, nor was sufficiently careful to distinguish between Subscribing and Swearing.

Sundry Non-conformists who were willing to be at ease, and avoid the hazard of Persecution, took shelter in the French and Dutch Churches, and joined themselves to their Communion: There were not many of this sort, because they

Queen
Elizabeth,
1573.

Dutch and
French
Churches
forbid to re-
ceive Puri-
tans to their
Communi-
on.

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Elizabeth.
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they understood not their Language. But the Queen and Council had their eye upon them, and resolved to drive them from this Shelter; for this purpose a Letter was writ from the Council-board, to the Ministers and Elders of the Dutch Church in London, bearing date April 1573. in which they say, "That they were not ignorant, that from the beginning of the Christian Religion various Churches had various and divers Rites and Ceremonies; that in their Service and Devotions some stood, some kneeled, and others lay prostrate, and yet the Piety and Religion was the same, if they directed their Prayers to the True God, without Impiety and Superstition. They added further, "That they contemned not their Rites; nay, that they approved their Ceremonies as fit and convenient for them, and that State whence they sprang. They expected therefore, that their Congregation should not despise the Customs of the English Church, nor do any thing that might create a Suspicion of disturbing its Peace; and in particular, that, 'they should not receive into their Communion any of this Realm that offered to join with them, and leave the Customs and Practice of their native Country least the Queen should be moved to banish them out of the Kingdom."

L. of Parker, p. 334.

Endeavours had been used to bring these Churches under the jurisdiction or superintendency of the Bishop of the Diocese for the time being; but they pleaded their Charter, and that Grindal, while Bishop of London, was their Superintendant only by their own consent; but there happening a quarrel sometime after in the Dutch Church at Norwich, the Queen's Commissioners interposed; and because the Elders refused to own their Jurisdiction, they banished all their three Ministers; which struck such a terror into those of London, that when they received the Council's Letter they were perfectly submissive, and after returning thanks for their own Liberties, they promised to expel all such out of their Church; and for the future not to receive any English, who from such Principles should separate themselves from the Customs of their own Country.

Strype's An.
p. 284.

Gualter, Bullinger, and other foreign Divines, writ again this Year to the Bishops their Correspondents for Moderation, but nothing could be obtained; only Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, lamented the Case, and wished to God, that all the English People would follow the Church of Zurich, as the most absolute Pattern. "The Papists (says he)
" lift

“ lift up their crests, while Protestants walk about the
 “ Streets dejected and sorrowful; for at this time there are
 “ not a few Preachers that have laid down their Cures of
 “ Souls and left them to fools and idiots, and that for this
 “ reason, because they would not use the linen garment
 “ called a Surplice. New and severe Edicts are lately pub-
 “ lished here against such as refuse to observe our ceremo-
 “ nies: Pray God give a good Issue, and have mercy upon
 “ all the Churches of Christ.”

Queen
Elizabeth,
1574.

The Prophefying of the Clergy, begun in the year 1571. had by this time spread into the Dioceses of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely; the Bishop of London set them up in several parts of his Diocese; as did most of the other Bishops. The Clergy were divided into Classes, or Associations, under a Moderator appointed by the Bishop; their meetings were once a fortnight; the people were present at the Sermon; and after they were dismissed, the Members of the Association whose names were subscribed in a Book, censured the performance. These Exercises were of great service to expose the errors of Popery, and spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among the people.

1574.
Prophefying of the
Clergy in-
crease.

But the Queen was told by the Archbishop, that they were no better than Seminaries of Puritanism; that the more averse the People are to Popery, the more they were in danger of Non-conformity: That these Exercises tended to popularity, and made the people so inquisitive, that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors, as they ought. It was said further, that some of the Ministers disused the Habits, and discoursed on Church discipline; and that others were too forward to shew their abilities, to the discouragement of honest men of lower capacities; and that all this was notorious in the Diocese of Norwich. Upon this the Queen gave the Archbishop private orders to put them down every where, and to begin with Norwich; his Grace accordingly writ to Matchet, one of his Chaplains in that Diocese, requiring him to repair to his Ordinary, and shew him, how the Queen had willed him to suppress those vain Prophefying; and that thereupon he should require the said Ordinary, in her Majesty's name, immediately to discharge them from any further such doings.

Suppressed
in the Dio-
cese of
Norwich.

This was very unacceptable News to the good old Bishop, who taking hold of the word Vain, writ to the Archbishop, desiring to be resolved, whether he meant thereby the Abuse, or some vain Speeches used in some

Queen
Elizabeth,
1574.

of these conferences; or in general, the whole order of those Exercises? Of which he freely declared his own approbation, saying, "That they had, and still did bring singular benefit to the Church of God, as well in the Clergy as in the Laity, and were right necessary exercises to be continued, so the same were not abused, as indeed they had not been, unless in one or two places at the most; whereof after he had knowledge he writ an earnest letter to his Chancellor, that such persons as were over busy speakers should be put to silence, unless they would subscribe to the Articles of Conformity in Religion, or else promise not to intermeddle with any matter established and commanded by her Majesty; which was performed accordingly, since which time he had not heard, but all things had succeeded quietly without offence to any."

The Archbishop was vexed at this letter, and writ back to his Chaplain, "That it was one of his old Grievances that this Bishop had shewn his letter to his Friends, who had eluded its true meaning, by standing upon the word Vain. It is pity, says he, "That we should shew any Vanity in our obedience." In the mean time the Bishop of Norwich writ to the Privy Council, who knew nothing of this Affair; but were surprized at the Archbishop's order, and gave his Lordship instructions to uphold the Prophecys. Their letter was as follows:

Council's
Letter to
continue
them.
Life of
Parker, p.
460, 461.

"**S**alutem in Christo. Whereas we understand that there are certain good Exercises of Prophecys, and expounding of Scriptures in Norfolk, as namely, at Holt town, and other places, whereby both Speakers and Hearers do profit much in the knowledge of the Word of God. And whereas some not well minded towards true Religion, and the Knowledge of God, speak evil and slanderously of these Exercises, as commonly they used to do against the sincere preaching of God's holy Word: These are to require your Lordship, that so long as the Truth is godly and reverently uttered in their Prophecys, and that no seditious, heretical, or schismatical Doctrine, tending to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, can be proved to be taught or maintained in the same, that so good an help and means to further true Religion may not be hindered and stayed, but may proceed and go forward to God's Glory, and the edifying of the People. Thus not doubting of your
"for-

“forwardness herein, your office and calling dutifully requiring the same at your hands, we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell.”

Queen Elizabeth,
1574.

Your Lordship's loving Friends,

From London, this 6th of May,
1574.

T. Smith, Edwin Bp. London,
Wa. Mildmay, Fran. Knollys.

The Archbishop was surprized to see his orders countermanded by the Privy Council ; but his Grace took no notice of it to them, but acquainted the Queen with it ; by whose direction he writ again to the Bishop ; that whereas he understood he had received letters from the Council to continue the Prophesyings, contrary to the Queen's express command, he desired to know, what warrant they had given him for their Proceedings : Upon this the Bishop of Norwich writ back to the Bishop of London, who was one of those that had signed the letter, for advice ; but his Lordship and the Council were afraid to meddle any further.

The Abp. prevails.

Parker being thus supported by the Queen writ again to Norwich, commanding the Bishop peremptorily to obey the Queen's orders, upon pain of her Majesty's high displeasure ; and advised him not to be led by fantastical folk, nor take such young men into his Counsels, who when they had brought him into danger could not bring him out of it.

“Of my care I have for you and the Diocese (says the Archbishop) write thus much.”

Life of Parker, p. 462.

Upon this the good old Bishop submitted, and writ to his Chancellor from Ludham, June the seventh, ———, “Whereas by the Receipt of my Lord of Canterbury's letter I am commanded by him in the Queen her Majesty's name, that the Prophesyings throughout my Diocese should be suppressed, These are therefore to will you, that conveniently as you may, you give notice to every of my commissaries, that they in their several circuits may suppress the same. And so I leave you to God.” Thus were these religious Exercises suppressed in one Diocese, which was but the prologue to their downfall over the whole Kingdom.

But his Lordship did not long survive this distinguishing mark of the Archbishop's displeasure, for towards the latter end of the year he departed this life, to the great loss of his Diocese, and of the whole Church of England. John

Death of Parkhurst
Bishop of Norwich.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1574.

Strype's
Ann. p. 343.

Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, was born a Guilford in Surrey, 1511. and educated in Merton College, Oxon. He had been domestick Chaplain to Queen Katherine Parr, Tutor to Bishop Jewel, and Rector of the rich Parsonage of Clive; all which he forsook in the Reign of Queen Mary, and was an Exile at Zurich in Switzerland all her Reign: He was so delighted with the order and discipline of that Church, that he would often wish the Church of England was modelled according to it. He was an open favourer of the Puritans, and never entered willingly into any methods of severity against them. "I find (says he, in one of his letters to Archbishop Parker) that rough and severe methods do the least good, and that the contrary has won over divers; and therefore I choose to go in this way, rather than with others, to over-rule by rigor and extremity." He would willingly have allowed a liberty of officiating in the Church, to such as could not conform to the Ceremonies; but upon command from above, he was forced sometimes to obey his superiors, contrary to his judgment. The Bishop was a zealous Protestant, and a great enemy to Popery; a learned Divine, a faithful Pastor, a diligent and constant Preacher, and an example to his flock, "in Righteousness, in Faith, in Love, in Peace, in Word, and in Purity." He was exceeding hospitable, and kept a Table for the poor; and was universally beloved, honoured, and esteemed by his whole Diocese. This character is given him (says Mr. Strype) by one that knew him well, Thomas Becon, a native of Norfolk, and of known eminency in those days. He was made Bishop of Norwich 1560. and died of the stone this year, in the 63d year of his age.

Religious
Assemblies
broke up.

Sundry well disposed People in the parishes of Balsham in Cambridgeshire, and of Strethall in Essex, met together on Holidays, and at other times, after they had done work, to read the Scriptures, and to confirm one another in the Christian Faith and Practice; but as soon as the Commissioners were informed of these Assemblies, the Parsons of the Parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them; tho' the honest people declared themselves conformable to the orders of the Church, and that they only met together after dinner, or after supper, upon Holidays only, for their own and their families instruction; for the Reformation of vice, and for a further acquaintance with the Word of God: The occasion of their Assemblies we have in their own words,
"For

“ For that heretofore (say they) we have at divers times
 “ spent and consumed our Holidays vainly, in drinking at
 “ the Ale-house, and playing at Cards, Tables, Dice, and
 “ other vain Pastimes, not meet for us, and such of our
 “ Calling and Degree, for the which we have been often
 “ blamed of our Parson; we thought it better to bestow
 “ the time in soberly and godly reading the Scriptures,
 “ only for the purposes aforesaid, and no other. We do
 “ not favour or maintain any of the Opinions of the Ana-
 “ baptists, Puritans, Papists or Libertines, but would be
 “ glad to learn our Duty towards God, our Prince, and
 “ Magistrates, towards our Neighbours and our Families,
 “ in such sort as becomes good and faithful, and obedi-
 “ ent Subjects, and it is our greatest and only Desire, to
 “ live, follow, and perform the same accordingly, as God
 “ shall give us Grace.” But our Archbishop had rather
 these poor People should be drinking and carding at an
 Ale-house, than at a religious Assembly not appointed by
 publick Authority.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1574.

I. of Par-
ker, p. 473

The Reverend Mr. Sampson, late Dean of Christ Church,
 Oxon, was this year struck with the dead Palsy on one side,
 which made him resign his Lecture in the Church at Whit-
 tington College, which he had held to this time, and for
 which he had 10 l. a year: It was in the Gift of the
 Cloth-Workers Company, to whom he recommended
 Mr. Deering for his Successor; but Deering being silenced
 for Non-Conformity, the Archbishop utterly refused him,
 which Sampson complained of in a Letter to the Treasurer,
 saying, “ That though my Lord of Canterbury liked not
 “ to take pains in the Congregation himself, yet should he
 “ not forbid others that were both able and willing; that
 “ he could find no fault with Mr. Deering’s Doctrine or
 “ Manner of Life; and that this was no great Promo-
 “ tion.” He therefore humbly desired, that if the Cloth-
 workers chose him, that his Lordship would use his interest
 with the Archbishop not to refuse him; but his Grace was
 inflexible, and so the Business miscarried.

Sampson re-
signs his Lec-
ture.

I. of Par-
ker, p. 478.

This Mr. Sampson was a most exact Man in his Princi-
 ples and Morals; and having suffered the loss of all things
 for a good Conscience, he took the Liberty to write freely
 to his Superiors upon proper Occasions; and among others
 to Grindal Archbishop of York, who had been his Com-
 panion in Exile, but was now advanced to the dignity of a
 Lord Archbishop. Sampson in one of his Letters put him
 in mind of his former low Condition, and cautioned him

Writes to
Grindal in
favour of
Puritanism.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1574.

against being too much exalted with his high Title. Grindal told him, he did not value the Title of a Lord, but that his great care was, to discharge his Function faithfully until the great Day of the Lord. Sampson replied, "that if he whom worldly Policy had made a Lord, kept the Humility of an humble Brother and Minister of the Gospel, he was a Phoenix; but his Port, his Train of Waiting-men in the streets, his Gentlemen-Ushers going before him with bare heads, and his family full of idle serving men, looked very lordly." He adds, "That his own and his Brethren's Revenues should not be laid out in maintaining a parcel of lazy idle Servants, but rather upon those who were Labourers in the Harvest of the Lord Jesus. That whereas the Archbishop had called them Puritans, it was a name unjustly imposed on Brethren with whose Doctrine and Life none could find fault: If by Puritans such were meant as following Novatus, dissembled themselves to be Teachers, and wished the Ceremonies might be observed, while they hated the Custom of the antient Church, then might a number of Church Men be called Puritans; and he prayed God to purge them and make them more pure.----" And whereas the Archbishop in his Letter had pitied his Complaints of Poverty and Lameness, he said, "He complained of nothing; if he should complain of the former it would be before he had need; but when he had need he would complain to those to whom he might complain. Concerning his Lameness, he was so far from complaining of that, that he humbly thanked God for it; and these Chains he would would chuse to carry before the Clogs and Cares of a Bishoprick." Such was the Plain-dealing of this Confessor to one of the highest Dignitaries in the Church.

L. Parker, p. 469.

A sham Plot
father'd on
the Puritans.

Parker's zeal against the Puritans betrayed him sometimes into great Inconveniencies; like a true Inquisitor, he listened to every idle story of his Scouts, and sent it presently to the Queen or Council; and the older he grew the more did his Jealousies prevail. In the Month of June one of his Servants acquainted him, That there was a design of the Puritans against the Life of the Lord Treasurer and his own; and that the chief Conspirator was one Undertree, encouraged by the great Earl of Leicester: The old Archbishop was almost frighted out of his wits at the news, as appears by the following passage in his Letter to the Treasurer; "This horrible Conspiracy (says he) has

Queen
Elizabeth,
1574.

“ has so astonished me, that my Will and Memory are quite gone ; I would I were dead before I see with my corporal eyes that which is now brought to full Ripeness.” He then prays, that the Detector of the Conspiracy may be protected and honourably considered, and the Conspirators punished with the utmost Severity, otherwise the end would be worse than the beginning. And that he might not seem to express all this concern for his own Safety, he tells the Treasurer, That it was for his sake and the Queen’s that he was so jealous, “ for he feared, that when Rogues attempted to destroy those that were so near her Majesty’s Person, they would at last make the same attempt upon her too ; and that even some that lay in her Bosom [Leicester] when opportunity served would sting her.” The Archbishop sent out his Scouts to apprehend the Conspirators that his Steward had named, who pretended a secret Correspondence with Undertree ; and among others that were taken into custody, the Reverend Mr. Bonham, Brown, and Stonden, Divines of great Name among the Puritans : Stonden had been one of the Preachers to the Queen’s Army, when the Earl of Warwick was sent against the Northern Rebels. Many Persons of Honour were also accused, as the Earl of Bedford, Leicester, and others. But when Undertree came to be examined before the Council, the whole appeared to be a Sham, between Undertree and the Archbishop’s Steward, to disgrace the Puritans, and punish them as Enemies to the State as well as the Church. So early was the vile Practice of fathering sham Plots upon the Puritans begun, which was repeated so often in the next Age. Undertree had forged Letters in the names of Bonham, Stonden, and others ; as appeared to a Demonstration when they were produced before the Council, for they were all written with one hand. When he was examined about his Accomplices he would accuse no body, but took the whole upon himself ; so that their Honours writ immediately to the Archbishop to discharge his Prisoners. But, which is a little unaccountable, neither Undertree nor the Archbishop’s Steward received any Punishment.

L. of Parker,
P. 466.

His Grace’s Reputation suffered by this Plot ; all impartial Men cried out against him, for shutting up Men of Character and Reputation in Prison upon such idle Reports. The Puritans reflected upon his Honour and Honesty ; and in particular the Bishop of London, and Dr. Chatterton Master of Queen’s College Cambridge, whom in his wrath

Parker defends his
Conduct in
the Plot.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1574.

he called a Chatterer; and in his Letter to Grindal Archbishop of York, said, "That he cared not three chips for
"ought that could be proved as to his Allegiance; he doing it
"so secretly, faithfully and prudently as he did; and would
"do the same again, if he knew no more than he did at
"that time." The Earl of Leicester could not but resent
his ill usage of him, which he had an opportunity to repay
had he been so minded; the Archbishop having executed
an Act of Justice [as he called it] upon a person in the late
Plot, after he had received a Letter from Court forbid-
ding him to do it; which was not very consistent with his
Allegiance. But the Archbishop braved out his Conduct
against every body, after his own Brethren the Bishops,
and all the World had abandoned him. He told the Lord
Treasurer, "That he cared not for Leicester, though he
"was informed he took Council with the Precisians to un-
"do him: That though he had writ to the Earl, and
"to another Puritan Courtier, it was not in way of Sub-
"mission, as some of the crew reported and took it.-----
"That the Earl had peaceably writ again to him, dissem-
"bling his malice like a right Courtier; but he notwith-
"standing understood what was proposed against him, for
"Religion sake he took it." This was the Spirit and
Language of our Archbishop!

L. of Par-
ker, p. 477.

1575.
He visits the
Isle of Wight.

One of the last publick Acts in which his Grace was em-
ployed, was visiting the Diocese of Winchester, and in
particular the Isle of Wight; and here he made use of
such methods of severity (says Mr. Strype) as made him
talked against all over the Country. This Island was a
place of Resort for foreign Protestants, and Sea-faring Men
of all Countries, which occasioned the Habits and Cere-
monies not to be so strictly observed as in other places,
their Trade and Commerce requiring a Latitude: When
our Archbishop came thither with his retinue he gave him-
self no trouble about the Welfare of the Island, but turn-
ed out all those Ministers that refused the Habits, and shut
up their Churches. This was so great a Concern to the
Inhabitants, that they sent up their Complaints to the Earl
of Leicester, who made such a Report to the Queen of
the Archbishop's Proceedings, that her Majesty immediate-
ly gave order, that things should return to their former
Channel; and when his Grace came to Court after his
Visitation, her Majesty received him but coldly, and de-
clared her displeasure against his unseasonable Severities.
The Bishop of Winchester also complained, that the Clergy
of

L. of Parker,
p. 491.

of his Diocese had been sifted in an unmerciful manner; all which instead of softning our Prelate drew from him the following angry Letter to the Lord Treasurer, wherein he complains, "Of the strong Interest the Puritans had at Court; and of the Inconstancy of some of the Bishops; that several of that Order lay by and did little, while others endeavoured to undermine him. That the Queen was almost the only person that stood firm to the Church; but if the Precisians had the Advantage, her Majesty would be undone. That he was not so much concerned for the Cap, Tippet, Surplice, Wafer Bread, and such like Ceremonies, as for the Authority of the Laws that enjoined them. The Queen indeed had told him, that he had the supreme Government Ecclesiastical, but upon experiment he found it very much hamper'd and embarrassed. Before God (says he) I fear that her Highness's Authority is not regarded; and if publick Laws are once disregarded the Government must sink at once."

Queen Elizabeth, 1575.
 Lect Parker, Appendix, No. XCIX.

There was but one Corner of the British Dominions that our Archbishop's Arm could not reach, (viz.) the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey; these had been a Receptacle for the French Refugees from the Parisian Massacre; and lying upon the Coasts of France, the Inhabitants were chiefly of that Nation, and were allowed the use of the Geneva or French Discipline, by the Lords of the Council. An Order of the States of France had been formerly obtained, to separate them from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance in Normandy, but no Form of Discipline having been settled by Law since the Reformation, Mr. Cartwright and Snape were invited to assist the Ministers in framing a proper Discipline for their Churches: This fell out happily for Cartwright, who being forced to abandon his native Country, made this the place of his Retreat. The two Divines being arrived, one was made titular Pastor of Mount Orgueil, in the Isle of Jersey; and the other of Castle Cornet in Guernsey. The Representatives of the several Churches being assembled at St. Peter's Port, in Guernsey, they communicated to them a Draught of Discipline, which was debated, and accommodated to the use of those Islands, and finally settled the year following, as appears by the Title of it, which is this; "The Ecclesiastical Discipline observed and practised by the Churches of Jersey and Guernsey, after the Reformation of the same, by the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of

Reformation of Guernsey and Jersey,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1575.

Heylin's Acrius Redivivus, p. 276.

State of Popery.
Strype's Ann. p. 329, 410.

Foreign Seminaries erected.

" the Isles of Gurnsey and Jersey, Sark, and Alderney, confirmed by the Authority, and in the presence of the Governors of the same Isles, in a Synod held in Guernsey, June 28, 1576, and afterwards revived by the said Governors in a Synod, holden in Jersey the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th Days of October, 1577."

The Book consists of 20 Chapters, and each Chapter of several Articles, which were constantly observed in these Islands till the latter end of the Reign of King James the First, when the Liturgy of the Church of England took place.

Though the Papists were the Queen's most dangerous Enemies, her Majesty had a peculiar Tenderneſs for them; ſhe frequently releaſed them out of Priſon, and connived at their Religious Aſſemblies, of which there were above 500 in England at this Time: Many of the Queen's Subjects reſorted to the Portugal Ambaſſador's Houſe in Charter-houſe Yard, where Maſs was publicly ſaid; and becauſe the Sheriffs and Recorder of London diſturbed them, they were committed to the Fleet by the Queen's expreſs Command. At the ſame Time they were practiſing againſt the Queen's Life: And that their Religion might not die with the preſent Age, Seminaries were erected and endowed, in ſeveral Parts of Europe, for the Education of Engliſh Youth, and for providing a Succeſſion of Miſſionaries to be ſent into England for the Propagation of their Faith. The firſt of theſe was erected when the Kingdom was excommunicated; after which many others were founded, to the unſpeakable prejudice of the Proteſtant Religion. To ſet them before the Reader in one View: Colleges were erected at the following Places;

The 1ſt at Douay,	1569. by Philip King of Spain.
2d at Rome,	1579. by Pope Gregory 13th.
3d at Valladolid,	1589. by the King of Spain.
4th at Seville,	1593. by the ſame.
5th at St. Omers,	1596. by the ſame.
6th at Madrid,	1606. by Joſeph Creſwel, Jeſuit.
7th at Louvaine,	1606. by Philip III. of Spain.
8th at Leige,	1616. by the Abp. of that Country.
9th at Ghent,	1624. by Philip IV.

Fuller, B. IX. p. 92.

The Popiſh Nobility and Gentry ſent over their Children to theſe Colleges for Education; and 'tis incredible what a Maſs of Money was collected in England for their Maintenance,

tenance, by their Provincials, Sub-Provincials, Assistants, Agents, Coadjutors, Familiars, &c. out of the Estates of such Catholicks as were possessed of Abbey Lands; the Pope dispensing with their holding them on these Considerations. The Oath taken by every Student at his Admission was this;

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Elizabeth
1575.

“**H**AVING resolved to offer myself wholly up to Divine Service, as much as I may, to fulfil the end for which this our College was founded, I promise and swear in the Presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine Heart, with the Assistance of Divine Grace, in due time to receive Holy Orders, and to return into England, to convert the Souls of my Country-men and Kindred, when, and as often as it shall seem good to the Superior of this College.”

The Number of Students educated in these Colleges may be collected from hence; that whereas according to Saunders an eminent Popish Writer, there were but 30 old Priests remaining in England, this year [1575], the two Colleges of Douay and Rome alone, in a very few years, sent over 300; and 'tis not to be doubted, but there was a like proportion from the rest.

De Schismat.
Aug. p. 365.

About this time began to appear the Family of Love, which derived its pedigree from one Henry Nicolas, a Dutchman. By their Confession of Faith published this year, it appears that they were high Enthusiasts; that they allegorized the Doctrines of Revelation, and under a pretence of attaining to spiritual perfection, adopted some odd and whimsical Opinions, while they grew too lax in their morals, being in their Principles something akin to the Quietists in the Church of Rome, and the Quakers among ourselves. They had their private Assemblies for Devotion, for which they tasted of the Severities of the Government.

Family of
Love.

But the Weight of the penal Laws fell heaviest upon some of the German Anabaptists, who refused to join with the Dutch or English Churches: There were two Sorts of Anabaptists that sprung up with the Reformation in Germany; one was of those who differed only about the Subject and Mode of Baptism, whether it should be administer'd to Infants, or in any other manner than by dipping the whole Body under Water. But others, who carried that Name, were mere Enthusiasts, Men of fierce and barbarous Tempers, who broke out into a general Revolt, and raised the war called the Rustick War. They had an un-

Anabaptists
burnt.

intelligible

Queen
Elizabeth,
1575.

intelligible way of talking of Religion, which they usually turned into Allegory; and these being joined in the common Name of Anabaptists, brought the other under an ill character. Twenty seven of them were apprehended in a private house without Aldersgate-Bars, on Easter Day, 1575, where they were assembled for Worship: Of these, four recanted the following errors, (1.) "That Christ took
"not Flesh of the Substance of the Virgin. (2.) That
"Infants born of faithful Parents ought to be rebaptized.
" (3.) That no Christian Man ought to be a Magistrate.
" (4.) That it is not lawful for a Christian Man to take an
"Oath." But others refusing to abjure, 11 of them all Dutchmen, were condemned in the Consistory of St. Paul's to be burnt, 9 of whom were banished, and two suffered the extremity of the fire in Smithfield, July 22, 1575, (viz.) John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort. Thus the Writ de Hæretico Comburendo, which had hung up only in Terrorem for 17 Years, was taken down and put in execution upon these unhappy Men. The Dutch Congregation interceded earnestly for their Lives; as did Mr. Fox the Martyrologist, in an elegant Latin Letter to the Queen, but she was immoveable; so distant was her Majesty from the tender Spirit of her Brother King Edward.

Death of
Abp Parker,

A little before the burning of these Hereticks Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, departed this Life: He was born at Norwich, 1504, and educated in Bennet College, Cambridge. In the Reign of King Edward VI. he married, and was therefore obliged to live privately under Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession he was advanced to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury; and how he managed in that high Station may be collected from the foregoing History. He writ a Book entitled, Antiquitates Britannicæ, which shows him to have had some skill in Ecclesiastical Antiquity; but he was a severe Churchman; of a rough and uncourtly Temper, and of high and arbitrary Principles both in Church and State; a Slave to the Prerogative and the Supremacy; and a bitter Enemy to the Puritans, whom he persecuted to the Length of his Power and beyond the limits of the Law. His Religion consisted in a servile Obedience to the Queen's Injunctions, and in regulating the publick Service of the Church: But his Grace had too little regard for publick Virtue; his Entertainments and Feastings being chiefly on the Lord's Day: Nor do we read among his Episcopal Qualities; of his diligent Preaching, or pious Example.

Example. Fuller calls him a Parker indeed, careful to keep the Fences, and shut the Gates of Discipline against all such Night-Stealers as would invade the same; and indeed this was his chief excellency. He was a considerable benefactor to Bennet College, the place of his education, where he ordered his MS. papers to be deposited, which have been of considerable service to the Writers of the English Reformation. He died of the Stone on the 17th of May, 1575. in the 72d year of his age, and was interr'd in Lambeth Chapel the 6th of June following; where his body rested till it was removed at the end of the Civil Wars, when Col. Scot, one of the King's Judges, having purchased that palace for a mansion-house, "took down" the monument, and buried the bones (says Mr. Strype) "in a stinking dunghill, where they remained till some years after the Restoration, when they were decently re-posed, near the place where the monument had stood, which was now again erected to his memory." But this single instance of inhumanity to the dead was sufficiently retaliated by the Royalists, at the Restoration, when on the 12th and 14th of September, 1661. the bodies of nineteen or twenty Puritan Divines, and others, many of whom had little or no share in the Civil wars, were dug out of their graves in Westminster-Abbey, and thrown together into one common pit, in St. Margaret's Church-yard, near the back-door of one of the Prebendaries, by the King's express Warrant to the Dean and Chapter; among which were the bodies of Dr. Twiss, Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines; Mr. Stephen Marshal, Mr. Strong, Preacher in the Abbey Church, and others.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1575.

C H A P. VI.

From the Death of Archbishop PARKER to the Death of Archbishop GRINDAL.

DR. Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, succeeded Parker in the See of Canterbury, and was confirmed Feb. 15th, 1575. He was a Divine of moderate Principles, and moved no faster in courses of severity against the Puritans than his Superiors obliged him, being a friend to their preaching and prophesyings. Sandys was translated from London to York, and Aylmer was advanced to the See of London. This last was one of the Exiles, and had been a fa-

Queen
Elizabeth
1576.

a favourer of Puritanism; for in his book against Knox, entitled, "An Harbour for faithful Subjects," he declaims against the wealth and splendor of the Bishops, and speaks with vehemence against their Lordly Dignities and Civil Authority. In the Convocation of 1562. when the Question about the Habits was debated, he withdrew, and would not be concerned in the affair; but upon his advancement to the Episcopal Order he became a new convert, and a cruel persecutor of the Puritans, he was a little man of a quick spirit, and of no extraordinary character in life.

Proceedings
of Parlia-
ment.

The Parliament being now sitting, a bill was brought in to the House of Lords, to tax such as did not come to Church and receive the Sacrament with certain sums of money; but it was thought proper to drop it for the present.

And Convo-
cation.
L. of Grin-
dal, p. 194.

The Convocation was busy in framing Articles touching the admitting able and fit persons to the Ministry, and establishing good Order in the Church. Thirteen of them were published with the Queen's Licence, though they had not the Broad Seal; but the other two, "For marrying at all

All Licences
made void.

times of the year, and for private Baptism by a lawful Minister in cases of necessity," her Majesty would not countenance. One of the Articles "makes void all Licences for preaching dated before the 8th of Feb 1575." but provides, "That such as should be thought meet for that Office should be readmitted without difficulty or charge." This had been practised once and again in Parker's time, and was now renewed, that by disqualifying the whole Body of the Clergy, they might clear the Church of all the Non-Conformists at once; and if all the Bishops had been equally severe in renewing their Licences, the Church would have been destitute of all preaching; for the body of the conforming Clergy were so ignorant and illiterate, that many who had Cure of Souls were incapable of preaching, or even of reading to the edification of the Hearers; being obliged by Law only to read the Service, and administer the Sacrament in Person once in half a year, on forfeiture of 5 pounds to the poor.

Diligence of
the Puritan
Preachers.

The Non-Conformist Ministers, under the Character of Curates or Lecturers, supplied the defects of these idle Drones, for a small recompence from the Incumbent with the voluntary assistance of the Parish; and by their warm and affectionate preaching gained the Hearts of the people: They resided upon their Curacies, and went from house to house visiting their parishioners, and instructing their children; they also inspected their lives and manners, and accord-

ing to the apostolical direction, “reproved, rebuked, and
“exhorted them, with all long-suffering and doctrine,” as
long as they could keep their Licences. Thus most of the
Puritan Ministers remained as yet within the Church, and
their followers attended upon the Word and Sacrament in
such places where there were sober and orthodox preachers.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1576.

But still they continued their Associations and private As-
semblies, for recovering the Discipline of the Church to a
more primitive Standard: This was a grievance to the
Queen and Court Bishops, who were determined against all
innovations of this kind. Strange! that men should confess
in their Publick Service every first day of Lent, “That
“there was a godly Discipline in the primitive Church;
“that this Discipline is not exercised at present in the
“Church of England, but that it is much to be wished that
“it were restor’d;” and yet never attempt to restore it, but
set themselves with Violence and Oppression to crush all en-
deavours that way! for the reader will observe, that this was
one chief occasion of the sufferings of the Puritans in the
following part of this Reign.

Rise of the
Controversy
about Disci-
pline.

Some of the Ministers of Northampton and Warwick-
shire, in one of their associated meetings, agreed upon cer-
tain rules of Discipline in their several parishes; but as soon
as they began to practise them, the Court took the alarm,
and sent Letters to the new Archbishop to suppress them.
His Grace accordingly sent to the Bishops of those Dioceses,
to see things reduced to their former channel; and if need
were, to send for assistance from himself or the Ecclesiasti-
cal Commissioners: Accordingly Mr. Paget and Mr. Ox-
enbridge, the two Heads of the Association, were taken
into custody and sent up to London.

Associations
for this pur-
pose.
L. of Gria-
dal, p. 215.

Some time after there was another Assembly at Mr.
Knewstubb’s Church, at Cockfield in Suffolk, where 60
Clergymen of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, met
together to confer of the Common Prayer Book, and come
to some agreement as to what might be tolerated, and what
was necessary to be refused. They consulted also about
Apparel, Holidays, Fastings, Injunctions, &c. From thence
they adjourned to Cambridge at the time of the next com-
mencement, and from thence to London, where they hop-
ed to be concealed by the general resort of the people to
Parliament: In these Assemblies they came to the following
Conclusions, which were drawn up in an elegant Latin-Style
by Mr. Cartwright and Travers, and given to the Ministers
for their Direction in their several Parishes.

Fuller, B.
IX. P. 135.

Con-

Queen
Elizabeth,
1576.

Conclusions
of the Puri-
tans in their
Synods.

Concerning Ministers.

“LET no man, though he be an University-man,
“ offer himself to the Ministry, nor let any man
“ take upon him an uncertain and vague Ministry, though
“ it be offered unto him.

“ But such as are called by some Church, let them im-
“ part it to the Classis or Conference, of which they are
“ members, or to some greater Church Assemblies; and
“ if the Called be approved, let them be commended by
“ letters to the Bishops, that they may be ordained Mini-
“ sters by him.

“ Those Ceremonies in the Book of Common Prayer,
“ which being taken from Popery are in Controversy,
“ ought to be omitted, if it may be done without Danger
“ of being put from the Ministry; but if there be
“ imminent danger of being deprived, then let the matter
“ be communicated to the Classis in which that Church is,
“ to be determined by them.

“ If subscription to the Articles and Book of Common
“ Prayer shall be again urged, it is thought that the Book
“ of Articles may be subscribed, according to the Stat. of
“ 13 Eliz. that is, “ To such only as contain the sum of
“ the Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments.”
“ But neither the Common Prayer Book, nor the rest of
“ the Articles may be allowed; no, though a man should
“ be deprived of his Ministry for refusing it.”

Concerning Church-Wardens.

“ It seems that Church-Wardens, and Collectors for the
“ Poor, may be thus turn’d into Elders and Deacons.

“ Let the Church have warning of the time of election,
“ and of the ordinance of the realm, 15 days before-hand;
“ but especially of Christ’s Ordinance, touching appointing
“ of Watchmen and Overseers in his Church, who are to
“ take care that no offence or scandal arise in the Church;
“ and if any such happen, that it be duly abolished.”

Of Collectors for the Poor, or Deacons.

“ Touching Deacons of both sorts, (viz.) men and wo-
“ men, the Church shall be monish’d what is required by
“ the Apostles; and that they are not to choose men of
“ custom or course, or for their riches, but for their faith,
“ zeal and integrity; and that the Church is to pray in the
“ mean

“ mean time, to be so directed, that they may choose
“ them that are meet.

“ Let the names of those that are thus chosen, be pub-
“ lished the next Lord’s-day, and after that, their duties
“ to the Church, and the Church’s duty towards them;
“ then let them be received into their office with the gene-
“ ral Prayers of the whole Church.”

Of Classes.

“ The brethren are to be requested to ordain a distribu-
“ tion of all Churches, according to the rules set down in
“ the synodical discipline, touching Classical, Provincial,
“ Comitial, and Assemblies for the whole Kingdom.

“ The Classes are to be required to keep acts of me-
“ morable matters, and to deliver them to the Comitial
“ Assembly, and from thence to the Provincial Assembly.

“ They are to deal earnestly with Patrons to present fit
“ men whensoever any Church falls void in their Classis.

“ The Comitial Assemblies are to be admonished to make
“ collections for the relief of the poor, and of scholars,
“ but especially for the relief of such Ministers as are de-
“ prived for not subscribing the Articles tender’d by the
“ Bishops; also for the relief of Scots Ministers, and o-
“ thers; and for other profitable and necessary uses.

“ Provincial Synods must continually foresee in due time
“ to appoint the keeping of their next provincial Synods;
“ and for the sending of chosen persons with certain In-
“ structions to the National Synod, to be holden whensoe-
“ ver the Parliament for the kingdom shall be called, at
“ some certain time every year.

The design of these conclusions was to introduce a Re- Remarks.
formation into the Church without separating from it. The
chief debate in their Assemblies was, “ How far this or
“ the other conclusion might consist with the peace of the
“ Church, and be moulded into a consistency with Episco-
“ pacy.” They ordained no Ministers.; and tho’ they
maintained the choice of the people to be the Essential Call
to the pastoral charge, yet most of them admitted of Or-
dination and Induction by the Bishop only, as the officer ap-
pointed by law, that the Minister might be enabled to de-
mand his legal dues from the Parish.

In the room of that pacifick prelate Parkhurst, Bishop Ministers
of Norwich, the Queen nominated Dr. Freke; a Divine depriv’d.
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Queen
Elizabeth,
1576.

of a quite different spirit, who in his primary Visitation made sad havock among the Puritan Ministers. Among others that were suspended in that diocese, were, Mr. John More, Mr. Richard Crick, Mr. George Leeds, Mr. Thomas Roberts, and Mr. Richard Dowe, all Ministers in or near the city of Norwich: They addressed the Queen and Council for relief; but were told, that her Majesty was fully bent to remove all those that would not be persuaded to conform to all orders established. The Reverend Mr. Gauton, Minister of Goring, in the same Diocese, being charged with not wearing the Surplice, nor observing the order of the Queen's Book, he confessed the former, but said that in other things he was conformable, though he did not keep exactly to the Rubrick. When the Bishop charged him with holding divers errors, he answered, We are here not above half a dozen unconformable Ministers in this City [Norwich]; and if you will confer with us by learning, we will yield up our very lives if we are not able to prove the Doctrines we hold to be consonant to the Word of God. After his suspension he sent his Lordship a bold Letter, in which he maintained, that Christ was the only Lawgiver in his Church. "If any King or Prince in the World ordain
"or allow other Officers than Christ has allowed, we will
"(says he) rather lay down our necks on the block than
"consent thereunto; wherefore do not object to us so often
"the name of our Prince, for you use it as a cloak to cover
"your cursed enterprizes. Have you not thrust out those
"who preached the lively Word faithfully and sincerely?
"Have you not plucked out those Preachers where
"God set them in? And do you think that this plea
"will excuse you before the high Judge, "I did but
"execute the Law?"

Mr. Harvey. Mr. Harvey, another Minister of the same City, was cited before the Bishop May 13. for preaching against the Hierarchy of Bishops and their Ecclesiastical Officers; and at a Court held at St. George's Church he was suspended from his Ministry, with Mr. Vincent Goodwin and John Mapes.

Mr. Rock-
rey.
M.S. p. 285.

Mr. Rockrey, B. D. of Queen's College, Cambridge, a Person of great learning and merit, was expelled the University for Non-conformity to the Habits. Lord Burleigh the Chancellor got him restored, and dispensed with for a year, at the end of which the Master of his College admonished him 3 times to compose himself to the custom of the University

verſity in the habits, which he refuſing, was finally diſcharged, as an example to keep others to their duty.

About the ſame time Mr. Richard Greenham, Miniſter of Drayton, was ſuſpended, a man of a moſt excellent Spirit, who though he would not ſubſcribe or conform to the habits, avoided ſpeaking of them, that he might not give offence; and whoever reads his letter to Cox, Biſhop of Ely, will wonder what ſort of men they muſt be, that could bear hard on ſo peaceable a Divine.

Some time before the death of Parker Mr. Stroud the ſuſpended Miniſter of Cranbrook, returned to his Pariſh Church, but being repreſented to the preſent Archbiſhop as a diſturber of the peace, he was forbid to continue his accuſtomed Exerciſes in the Church, and command to leave the Country; but the good man was ſo univerſally beloved, that the whole country of Kent almoſt ſigned petitions to the Archbiſhop for his continuance among them.

Queen Elizabeth,
1576.

Mr. Greenham.
Peirce's Vindic.
p. 97.

Mr. Stroud's Troubles.

“ WE know, moſt Reverend Father (ſay they) that Mr. Stroud has been ſeveral times beaten and whipt with the untrue reports of ſlanderoſus tongues, and accuſed of crimes whereof he has moſt clearly acquitted himſelf to the ſatiſfaction of others. Every one of us, for the moſt part, Moſt gracious Lord, hath heard him preach Chriſt truly, and rebuke ſin boldly, and have ſeen him hitherto apply to his calling faithfully, and live among us peaceably; ſo that not only by his diligent Doctrine our youth has been informed, and ourſelves confirmed in true Religion and Learning; but alſo by his honeſt converſation and example we are daily allured to a Chriſtian life, and the exerciſes of charity; and no one of us, Reverend Father, hath hitherto heard from his own mouth, or by credible Relation from others, that he has publickly in his Sermons, or privately in converſation, taught unſound Doctrine, or oppoſed the diſcipline, about which great controverſy (alas!) is now maintained; yea, he has given faithful promiſe to forbear the handling any queſtions concerning the Policy of the Church, and we think in our conſciences he has hitherto performed it. In conſideration whereof, and that our Country may not be deprived of ſo diligent a Labourer in the Lord's harveſt; nor that the Enemies of God's Truth, the Papiſts, may find matter of Joy and Comfort; nor the man himſelf in receiving a kind of condemnation without examination,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1576.

" be thus wounded at the Heart and discouraged: We
" most humbly beseech your Grace, for the poor man's
" sake, for your own sake, and the Lord's sake, either to
" take judicial knowledge of his cause, to the end he may
" be confronted with his adversaries; or else of your great
" wisdom and goodness, to restore him to his liberty of
" preaching the Gospel among us. And we as in duty
" bound shall ever pray, &c."

M. S.
P. 196.

This Petition was signed by 19 or 20 hands; another was signed by 24 Ministers; and a third by George Ely Vicar of Tenterden, and 21 Parishioners; Tho. Bathurst, sen. Minister of Staplehurst, and 9 Parishioners; William Walter of Frittenden, and 14 of his Parishioners; Antony Francis Minister of Lamberhurst, and 4 Parishioners; Alexander Love Minister of Rolenden, and 18 Parishioners; Christopher Vinebrook Minister of Helcorne, and 9 Parishioners; William Vicar of Tysherst, and 10 Parishioners; Matthew Wolton Curate of Beneden and 11 Parishioners; William Cocks Minister of Marden, and 13 Parishioners; William Hopkinson of Saleherst, and 8 Parishioners.

Such a Reputation had this good man among all that had any taste for true piety, or the Protestant Religion! He was a peaceable Divine, and by the threatening of Aylmyr, Bishop of London, had been prevailed with to subscribe with some reserve, for the support of a starving family; and yet he was continually molested and vexed in the Spiritual Court.

Death of
Bishop Pilkington.

Two eminent Divines of Puritan principles died this year; one was James Pilkington, B. D. and Bishop of Durham; he was born of a knightly family near Bolton in Lancashire, and was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he was Master. In the Reign of Queen Mary he was an Exile, and Confessor of the Gospel; upon the Accession of Queen Elizabeth he was nominated to the See of Durham, being esteemed a learned man and a profound Divine; but could hardly be prevailed with to accept it on the account of the Habits, to which he expressed a very great dislike; he was always a very great friend and favourer of the Non-conformists, as appears by his letters, and a truly pious and Christian Bishop. He died in peace at his house at Bishops Aucland, Jan. 23, 1578. in the 56th year of his age; Dr. Humphreys, and Mr.

Ath. Ox.

Mr. Fox the Martyrologist, adorning his Tomb with their funeral verses.

Queen Elizabeth, 1576.

The other was Mr. Edward Deering, a Non-conformist Divine, of whom mention has been made already; he was born of an ancient and worthy family in Kent, and bred Fellow of Christ College, Cantab. a pious and painful Preacher (says Fuller) but disaffected to Bishops and Ceremonies; he was a learned man and a fine Orator, but in one of his Sermons before the Queen he took the liberty to say, That when her Majesty was under Persecution her Motto was *Tanquam Ovis*; but now it might be, *Tanquam indomita Juvenca*, As an untamed Heifer: For which he was forbid preaching at Court for the future, and lost all his preferments in the Church.

Death of Mr. Deering.

Fuller, p. 109.

Abp. Grindal had endeavoured to regulate the Prophecys, and cover them from the objections of the Court, by enjoining the Ministers to observe decency and order, by forbidding them to muddle with Politicks and Church Government, and by prohibiting all Non-conformist Ministers and Laymen from being Speakers. The other Bishops also in their several Dioceses published the following regulations.

1577. Prophecys regulated.

1. That the Exercises should be only in such Churches, as the Bishop under his Hand and Seal should appoint.

2. That the Archdeacon, or some other grave Divine, appointed and allowed by the Bishop, should be Moderator.

3. That a list of the names of those that are thought fit to be Speakers in course, be made and allowed of by the Bishop; and the Bishop to appoint such parts of Scripture they shall treat of.

4. That those Ministers that are judged not fit to speak publicly, be assigned some other task by the Moderator, for the increase of their Learning.

5. *Ante omnia*, That no Lay-person be admitted to speak publicly in the Exercises.

6. That if any man glance at affairs of State, the Moderator shall immediately silence him, and give notice to the Bishop.

7. If any man inveighs against the laws concerning rites and ceremonies, and discipline established, he shall immediately be silenced, and not be admitted to speak any more, till he has given satisfaction to the Auditory, and obtained a new admission and approbation of the Bishop.

Lastly, No suspended or deprived Ministers shall be suffered to be Speakers, except they shall first conform to publick order and discipline of the Church, by subscription and daily practice.

Queen
Elizab. th,
1577.

Queen's rea-
sons for put-
ting them
down.

M. S.

P. 203.

But the Queen was resolved to put them down; and having sent for the Archbishop told him, She was informed that the rites and ceremonies of the Church were not duly observed in these Prophesyings; that persons not lawfully called to be Ministers exercised in them; that the Assemblies, themselves were illegal, not being allowed by publick authority; that the laity neglected their secular affairs by repairing to these meetings, which filled their heads with notions, and might occasion disputes and seditions in the State; and it was good for the Church to have but few Preachers, 3 or 4 in a County being sufficient. She further declared her dislike of the Number of these Exercises, and therefore commanded him peremptorily to put them down. Letters of this Tenor were sent to all the Bishops in England: The copy of her Majesty's letter to the Bishop of London, with his Lordship's order thereupon, being before me, I shall impart it to the reader.

“ Salutem in Christo,

“ **H**AVING received from the Queen's Majesty letters of
“ **H**strait Commandment, touching the Reformation of
“ certain disorders and innovations within my Diocese; the
“ tenor whereof I have inserted, as followeth:

E L I Z A B E T H.

“ Right Reverend Father in God,

Her letter
for that pur-
pose.

“ **W**E greet you well. We hear to our great grief, that
“ in sundry parts of our Realm there are no small num-
“ ber of persons presuming to be preachers and teachers in
“ the Church, tho' neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet
“ meet for the same; who contrary to our laws establish-
“ ed, for the publick Divine Service of Almighty God, and
“ the Administration of his Holy Sacraments within this
“ Church of England, do daily devise, imagine, pro-
“ pound, and put in execution, sundry new Rites and
“ Forms in the Church, as well by the inordinate preaching,
“ Reading, and ministring the Sacraments, as by pro-
“ curing unlawful Assemblies, and great numbers of
“ our People, out of their ordinary Parishes, and from
“ Places far distant; and that also of some of our Subjects
“ of good Callings (though therein not well advised) to be
“ Hearers of their Disputations, and new devised Opinions
“ upon Points of Divinity, far unmeet for vulgar People;
“ which manner of Ministrations they in some places term
“ Prophe-

“ Prophefying, and in some other places Exercises ;
 “ by means of which Assemblies great numbers of our
 “ People, especially of the vulgar Sort (meet to be other-
 “ wise occupied with some honest labour for their living)
 “ are brought to idleness, seduced, and in manners schif-
 “ matically divided among themselves into variety of dan-
 “ gerous Opinions, not only in Towns and Parishes ; but
 “ even some Families are manifestly thereby encouraged
 “ to the violation of our Laws, and to the breach of com-
 “ mon Orders, and not smally to the Offence of all our
 “ quiet Subjects, that desire to live and serve God according
 “ to the uniform Orders established in the Church, whereby
 “ these [Exercises] cannot but be dangerous to be suffered.
 “ Wherefore considering it should be the duty of Bishops,
 “ being the principal ordinary Officers in the Church of
 “ God (as you are one) to see these Disorders against the
 “ Honour of God, and the Quietness of the Church re-
 “ formed, and that by the increase of these through
 “ sufferance, great Danger may arise, even to the decrease
 “ of Christian Faith, whereof we are by God appointed
 “ the Defender ; besides the other Inconveniencies, to the
 “ Disturbance of our peaceable Government.

“ We therefore, according to the Authority which we
 “ have, do charge and command you, as Bishop of that
 “ Diocese, with all manner of Diligence to take Or-
 “ der throughout your Diocese, as well in all places
 “ exempt, or otherwise, that no manner of Publick and
 “ Divine Service, nor other Form of Ministration of
 “ the Holy Sacraments, or any other Rites and Ceremo-
 “ nies be in any sort used in the Church, but directly ac-
 “ cording to the Order established by our Laws : Neither
 “ that any manner of person be suffered in your Diocese to
 “ teach, preach, read, or exercise any Function in the
 “ Church, but such as shall be lawfully approved and
 “ licensed, as Persons able by their Knowledge, and
 “ conformable to the Ministrations, in the Rites and Ce-
 “ remonies of this Church of England. And where there
 “ shall not be sufficient able Persons for Learning in any
 “ Cure, to preach and instruct their Cures, as are requi-
 “ site, then shall you limit the Curates to read the pub-
 “ lick Homilies, according to the Injunctions heretofore
 “ by us given for like Cause.

“ And furthermore, considering the great Abuses that
 “ have been in sundry places of our Realm, by reason of
 “ the aforesaid Assemblies called Exercises ; and for that

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Elizabeth,
1577.

“ these are not, nor have been appointed or warranted by
“ us or our Laws ; we will and straitly charge you, that
“ you do cause the same forthwith to cease, and not to
“ be used ; but if any shall attempt to continue or renew
“ the same, we will you not only to commit them to pri-
“ son, as Maintainers of Disorders, but also to advertise
“ us or our Council of the Names and Qualities of them,
“ and of their Maintainers and Abettors ; that thereupon
“ for better example their punishment may be made more
“ sharp for their Reformation. And in these Things we
“ charge you to be so careful and vigilant, as by your
“ Negligence (if we shall hear of any person attempting
“ to offend in the Premises without your Correction or
“ Information to us) we be not forced to make some Ex-
“ ample in reforming of you according to your Deserts.
“ Given under our Signet at our Manor of Greenwich,
“ the 7th of May, 1577. and in the 19th Year of our
“ Reign.”

M.S. p.283.

“ Therefore I will and straitly charge you, in her Ma-
“ jesty’s Name, that immediately upon the Receipt hereof,
“ you do diligently and carefully put in execution in every
“ Point, all such Things as therein be contained, through-
“ out and in every place within your whole Archdeacon-
“ ry ; so that at my Visitation, which God willing shall
“ be shortly, sufficient Account may be given of that
“ your Doing and Diligence in that behalf accordingly.
“ Fail you not so to do, as you will answer the contrary
“ at your Peril.”

Your loving Brother,
John London.

Most of the Bishops complied readily with the Queen’s
Letter, and put down the Prophesyings ; but some did it
with Reluctance, and purely in Obedience to the Royal
Command ; as appears by the following Letter of the Bi-
shop of Lichfield and Coventry, to his Archdeacon.

Bp. of Lich.
and Cov.
letter.

M.S. p. 284.

“ Salutem in Christo,
“ **W**HEREAS the Queen has been informed of
“ some matters handled and abused in the Exercise
“ at Coventry, and thereupon hath written to me a strait
“ Charge to inhibit the said Exercise ; these are therefore
“ to will and require you, and nevertheless in her Ma-
“ jesty’s Name to charge you to forbear and stay yourselves
“ from that Exercise, till it shall please God we may either
“ by

‘ by earnest Prayer, or humble Petition, obtain the full use
 “ thereof with her good Pleasure and full Authority; and
 “ in the mean time so to use the heavenly and most
 “ comfortable Gift of Preaching, that you may seek and
 “ set forth Jesus Christ and his Kingdom without Contempt
 “ and Controulment of the State and Laws under which
 “ we ought to live in unity and peace; which I beseech
 “ God grant unto you and me, and all that look for the
 “ coming of our Saviour Christ, to whose Direction I com-
 “ mit you, this 18th of June, 1577.”

Queen
Elizabeth,
1577.

Your loving Friend and Brother in Christ,
 Thomas Cov. and Lich.

To my very loving Friend and
 Brother in Christ, Thomas
 Lever, Archdeacon of Cov. or
 in his Absence to the Censors
 of the Exercise there.

But our Archbishop could not go this length; he that had
 complied with all the Queen's Injunctions, and with the Se-
 verities of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners against the Puri-
 tans hitherto, is now distressed in Conscience, and forced to
 disobey the Commands of his Royal Mistress in an affair of
 much less consequence than others that he had complied
 with. Instead therefore of giving directions to his Archdea-
 cons to execute the Queen's Commands, he writes a long
 and earnest Letter to her Majesty, dated Dec. 10, 1576. to
 inform her of the Necessity and Usefulness of Preaching,
 and of the Subserviency of the Exercises to this purpose.

Grindal re-
fuses to com-
ply.

“ With regard to Preaching nothing is more evident
 “ from Scripture (says his Grace) than that it was a great
 “ Blessing to have the Gospel preached, and to have plenty
 “ of Labourers sent into the Lord's Harvest. That this was
 “ the ordinary means of Salvation, and that hereby Men
 “ were taught their duty to God and their civil Governors.
 “ That though reading the Homilies was good, yet it was
 “ not comparable to preaching, which might be suited to
 “ the diversity of Times, Places, and Hearers; and be de-
 “ livered with more Efficacy and Affection. That Homi-
 “ lies were devised only to supply the Want of Preachers,
 “ and were by the Statute of King Edward VI. to give place
 “ to Sermons whensoever they might be had: He hoped
 “ therefore her Majesty would not discountenance an Or-
 “ dinance so useful, and of Divine Appointment.

M.S. p. 245.

“ For

Queen
Elizabeth,
1577.

“ For the second Point, concerning the Exercises, he apprehended them profitable to the Church ; and it was not his judgment only but that of most of the Bishops, as London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Lichfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, and St. David’s, who had signified to him by Letter, that by means of these Exercises the Clergy were now better versed in the Scripture than heretofore ; that they had made them studious and diligent ; and that nothing had beat down Popery like them. He affirms that they are Legal, for as much as by the Canons and Constitutions of the Church now in force, every Bishop has authority to appoint such Exercises for inferior Ministers to encrease their knowledge in the Scriptures, as to him shall seem most expedient.” Towards the close of this letter his Grace declares himself willing to resign his Bishoprick ; if it should be her Majesty’s pleasure, and then makes these two Requests, “ (1.) That your Majesty would refer ecclesiastical Matters to the Bishops and Divines of the Realm, according to the practice of the first Christian Emperors. And, (2.) That when your Majesty deals in matters of Faith and Religion, you would not pronounce so peremptorily as you may do in Civil Matters ; but remember that in God’s Cause, His Will, and not the will of any earthly Creature, is to take place. ’Tis the Antichristian Voice of the Pope, *Sic volo sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.*” He then puts her in mind, that though she was a great and mighty Princess, she was nevertheless a mortal Creature, and accountable to God ; and concludes with a Declaration, That whereas before there were not three able Preachers, now there were thirty fit to preach at Paul’s Cross, and forty or fifty besides able to instruct their own Cures. That therefore he could not without offence of the Majesty of God send out Injunctions for suppressing the Exercises.

He is sequestered and confined.

The Queen was so inflamed with this Letter, that she determined to make an Example of the honest Archbishop, as a terror to the whole Bench : She would not suffer her Commands to be disputed by the Primate of all England, but by an Order from the Star-Chamber confined him immediately to his House, and sequestered him from his Archiepiscopal Function for six Months. This was a high Display of the Supremacy, when the Head of the Church, being a Woman, without consulting the Bishops, or any of the Clergy in Convocation assembled, shall pronounce so peremptorily in a Matter purely respecting Religion ; and for Non-compliance tie up the Hands of her Archbishop, who is the first Mover under the Prince in all ecclesiastical Affairs.

Before

Before the expiration of the six months, which was in December, Grindal was advised to make his submission, which he did so far as to acknowledge the Queen's mildness and gentleness in his restraint, and to promise obedience for the future ; but he could not be persuaded to retract his opinion, and confess his sorrow for what was past ; there was therefore some talk of depriving him, but that being thought too severe, his sequestration was continued till about a year before his death ; but his Grace never recovered the Queen's favour. Thus ended the prophesyings, or religious Exercises of the Clergy, an useful institution for promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety, at a Time when both were at a very low ebb in the Nation. The Queen put them down chiefly because they enlighten'd the people's minds in the Scripture, and encourag'd their enquiries after Truth ; her Majesty being always of opinion, that Knowledge and Learning in the Laity would only endanger their peaceable submission to her absolute Will and Pleasure.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1577.

This year put an end to the Life of that eminent Divine Mr. Thomas Lever, a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth till he refused the habits. He was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the Reign of King Edward VI. and was reckon'd one of the most eloquent Preachers in those Times. He had a true zeal for the protestant Religion; and was an Exile for it all the Reign of Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession, he might have had the highest preferment in the Church, but could not accept it upon the Terms of Subscription and wearing the habits ; he was therefore suspended by the ecclesiastical Commissioners ; but his great name and singular merits, reflecting an odium upon those who had deprived the Church of his Labours, and expos'd him a second time to poverty and want after his Exile, he was at length dispensed with, and made Archdeacon of Coe, and Master of Sherburne Hospital near Durham; where he spent the remainder of his Days in great Reputation and Usefulness : he was a resolute Non-conformist, and writ letters to encourage the deprived Ministers to stand by their principles, and wait patiently for a further Reformation. He was buried in the Chapel of his own Hospital, having this plain Inscription on a flat Marble Stone over his Grave, " Thomas Lever, Preacher to King Edward " VI." Had he lived a little longer he had been persecuted by the new Bishop as his Brother Whittingham was ; but God took him away from the evil to come. He died in
July,

Death of
Mr. Lever.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1577.

July, 1577. and was succeeded in the Hospital by his Brother, Ralph Lever.

Puritans or-
dained at
Antwerp.

Mr. Cartwright, upon his return from the Isle of Guernsey, was chosen Preacher to one of the English Factories at Antwerp: these Factories submitted to the Discipline of the Dutch Churches among whom they lived, and their Ministers became Members of their Consistories. While Cartwright was here many of the English, who were not satisfied with the terms of Conformity, or the English manner of giving orders, went over thither, and were ordained by the Presbyters of those Churches; nay, some that had received Deacons Orders in the Church of England, chose to be made full Ministers by the foreign Consistories; among these were Mr. Cartwright, Fenner, Ash-ton and Travers, Travers was Batchelor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge before he left England, and was ordained at Antwerp, May 14th, 1578. The copy of his Testimonials is to this effect;

Strype's An.
P. 513.

Traver's
Testimoni-
als.

Fuller, B.
X p. 214.

“ **F**Orasmuch as it is just and reasonable, that such as
“ are received into the number of the Ministers of
“ God’s Word, should have a Testimonial of their Voca-
“ tion; we declare, that having called together a Synod
“ of twelve Ministers of God’s Word, and almost the same
“ number of Elders at Antwerp on May 8th, 1578. our
“ very learned pious, and excellent Brother, the Reve-
“ rend Doctor Gualter Travers, was by the unanimous
“ Votes and ardent desires of all present, received and insti-
“ tuted into the Ministry of God’s Holy Word, and con-
“ firmed according to our accustomed Manner, with pray-
“ er and imposition of hands; and the next day after the
“ Sabbath, having preached before a full Congregation of
“ English, at the request of the Ministers, he was acknow-
“ ledged and received most affectionately by the whole
“ Church. That Almighty God would prosper the Mini-
“ stry of this our Reverend Brother among the English,
“ and attend it with great Success, is our most earnest
“ Prayer, thro’ Jesus Christ. Amen.

Given at Antwerp, May 14, 1578.
and sign’d,

Joannes Taffinus, V. D. M.
Logelerius Vilerius, V. D. M.
Joannes Hocheleus, V. D. M.
Pilkington

Pilkington late Bishop of Durham was succeeded by Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle, a Prelate of severer principles than his Predecessor; who having in vain attempted to reduce the Clergy of his Diocese to an absolute conformity, complained to his Metropolitan of the lax Government of his Predecessor, and of the numbers of Non-conformists whom he could not reduce to the established orders of the Church. Upon this Sandys, the new Archbishop of York, resolved to visit his whole Province, and to begin with Durham, where Dean Whittingham was the principal man under the Bishop; he was a Divine of great Learning, and of long standing in the Church, but not ordained according to the Form of the English Service Book. The Accusation against him was branched out into 35 Articles, and 49 Interrogatories, but the chief was his Geneva Ordination. The Dean, instead of answering the Charge, stood by the Rights of the Church of Durham, and denied the Archbishop's power of Visitation, upon which his Grace was pleased to excommunicate him; but Whittingham appealed to the Queen, who directed a commission to the Archbishop, to the Lord President of the Council in the North, and to the Dean of York, to hear and determine the validity of his Ordination, and to enquire into the other misdemeanors contained in the Articles. The President of the North was a favourer of the Puritans, and Dr. Hutton Dean of York, was of Whittingham's Principles, and boldly averr'd, "That the Dean was ordained in a better sort than even the Archbishop himself;" so that the commission came to nothing. But Sandys vexed at the disappointment, and at the calling in question his Right of Visitation, obtained another Commission directed to himself, the Bishop of Durham, the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Diocese, and some others whom he could depend upon, to visit the Church of Durham. The chief design was to deprive Whittingham for a Layman; when the Dean appeared before the Commissioners, he produced a Certificate under the hands of eight persons, for the manner of his Ordination, in these words; "It pleased God, by the Suffrages of the whole Congregation [at Geneva] orderly to choose Mr. W. Whittingham, unto the office of preaching the Word of God and ministring the Sacraments; and he was admitted Minister, and so published, with such other Ceremonies as here are used and accustomed." It was objected, that here was no mention of a Bishop or Superintendent, nor of any external Solemnities,

Queen Elizabeth, 1578.

Dean Whittingham's Troubles.

Strype's Ann.p. 481.

The Validity of his Ordination disputed.

Strype's Annals, p. 523.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1578.

lemnities, nor so much as of Imposition of Hands; the Dean replied, there was mention in general of the Ceremonies of that Church, and that he was able to prove his Vocation to be the same that all the Ministers of Geneva had; upon which the Lord President rose up and said, that he could not in conscience agree to deprive him for that cause only, for (says he) it will be ill taken by all the Godly and Learned both at home and abroad, that we should allow of the popish massing Priests in our Ministry, and disallow of Ministers made in a reformed Church; whereupon the Commission was adjourn'd Sine Die. These proceedings of the Archbishop against the Dean were invidious, and lost him his Esteem both in City and Country. The calling his Ordination in question was expressly contrary to the Statute 13 Eliz. by which (says Mr. Strype) "The Ordinations of foreign reformed Churches were declared valid; and those that had no other orders were made of the like Capacity with others, to enjoy any place of Ministry within England."

p. 524.

His Death.

But the death of Mr. Whittingham, which happened about six Months after, put an end to this and all his other troubles: he was born in the City of Chester, 1524. and educated in Brazen Nose College Oxon; he was afterwards translated to Christ Church, when it was founded by King Henry VIII. being reckon'd one of the best Scholars in the University; in the year 1550. he travell'd into France, Germany, and Italy, and returned about the latter end of King Edward VI. In the Reign of Queen Mary he was with the Exiles at Franckfort, and upon the division there went with part of the Congregation to Geneva, and became their Minister. He had a great Share in translating the Geneva Bible, and the Psalms in Metre, as appears by the first Letter of his Name [W] over many of them. Upon his return home he was preferr'd to the Deanry of Durham, 1563. by the interest of the Earl of Leicester, where he spent the remainder of his Life. He did good Service, says the Oxford Historian, against the popish Rebels in the North, and "In repelling the Archbishop of York from visiting the Church of Durham;" but he was at best but a lukewarm Conformist, an enemy to the habits, and a promoter of the Geneva Doctrine and Discipline. However, he was a truly pious and religious man, an excellent Preacher, and an ornament to Religion. He died while the cause of his Deprivation, for not being ordained according to the Rites of the English Church, was depending, June 10, 1579. in the 56th year of his Age.

Ath. Ox. p.
195.

We

We have mentioned the Bishop of Norwich's Severity in his primary Visitation; his Lordship went on still in the same Method, not without some marks of unfair Designs; for the Incumbent of Sprowton being suspected to be of the Family of Love, his Lordship deprived him, and immediately begg'd the Living for his Son-in-law Mr. Maplesdon, who was already Archdeacon of Suffolk. He shewed no mercy to his suspended Clergy, though they offered to subscribe as far as the Laws of the Realm required. At length they petitioned their Metropolitan Grindal, who though in Disgrace, licensed them to preach throughout the whole Diocese of Norwich, 'durante bene placito,' provided they did not preach against the established Orders of the Church, nor move contentions about Ceremonies; but still they were deprived of their Livings.

Queen Elizabeth, 1578.
Strype's Ann. p. 284.
p. 286.
M. S.

The Reverend Mr. Lawrence, an admired Preacher, and Incumbent of a Parish in Suffolk, was suspended by the same Bishop, for not complying with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. Mr. Calthorp a Gentleman of Quality in the County, applied to the Lord Treasurer in his behalf; and the Treasurer writ to the Bishop, requesting him to take off his Sequestration; but his Lordship replied, that what he had done was by virtue of the Queen's Letter to him, requiring him to allow of no Ministers, but such as were perfectly conformable. Mr. Calthorp writ again, and urged the great Want the Church had of such good Men as Mr. Lawrence, for whose fitness for his Work he would undertake the chief Gentlemen of Credit in the County should certify; but his Sequestration was still continued. The like Severities were used in most other Dioceses.

Mr. Lawrence deprived.
Strype's Ann. p. 585.

The Bishop of London came not behind the chief of his Brethren the Bishops, in his persecuting zeal against the Puritans; he gave out Orders for Apparitors and other Officers to go from Church to Church in Time of divine Service, to observe the Conformity of the Minister, and to make report to her Majesty's Commissioners. As this Prelate had no Compassion in his Nature, he had little or no regard to the Laws of his Country, or the Cries of the people after the Word of God.

Great was the scarcity of Preachers about England at this Time; in the large and populous Town of Northampton there was not one, nor had been for a considerable time, though the people applied to the Bishop of the Diocese, by most humble Supplication for the Bread of Life. In the County of Cornwall there were 140 Clergymen, not one

Scarcity of Preachers in divers parts of England.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1578.

In London,

of which was capable of preaching a Sermon, and most of them were Pluralists and Non-residents. Even the City of London was in a lamentable Case, as appears by their Petition to the Parliament which met this Winter, in which are these Words. “—May it please you therefore, for
“ the tender Mercies of God, to understand the woful
“ estate of many Thousands of Souls dwelling in deep
“ Darkeness, and in the Shadow of Death, in this famous
“ and populous City of London; a Place, in respect of
“ others, accounted as the Morning Star, or rather as the
“ Sun in its brightness, because of the Gospel, supposed to
“ shine gloriously and abundantly in the same; but being
“ near looked into, will be found forely eclipsed and dar-
“ ken’d through the dim clouds of unlearned Ministers,
“ whereof there be no small Number. There are in this
“ City a great number of Churches, but the one half of
“ them at the least are utterly unfurnished of preaching
“ Ministers, and are pestered with Candlesticks not of Gold
“ but of clay, unworthy to have the Lord’s Lights set in
“ them, with Watchmen that have no Eyes, and Clouds
“ that have no Water;—In the other half, partly by
“ means of Non-residents, which are very many; partly
“ through the poverty of many meanly qualified, there is
“ scarce the Tenth Man that makes Conscience to wait
“ upon his charge, whereby the Lord’s Sabbath is oft-
“ times wholly neglected, and for the most part miserably
“ mangled; Ignorance increaseth, and Wickedness comes
“ upon us like an armed Man. — As Sheep therefore
“ going astray, we humbly on our knees, beseech this
“ honourable Assembly, in the Bowels and Blood of Jesus
“ Christ, to become humble Suitors to her Majesty, that
“ we may have Guides; as hungry Men bound to abide by
“ our empty Rack-staves, we do beg of you to be Means,
“ that the Bread of Life may be brought home to us;
“ that the Sower may come into the Fallow Ground;
“ that the Pipes of Water may be brought into our As-
“ semblies; that there may be food and refreshing for us,
“ our poor wives and forlorn children: So shall the Lord
“ have his due Honour; you shall discharge good duty to
“ her Majesty; many languishing Souls shall be com-
“ forted; Atheism and Heresy banished; her Majesty
“ have more faithful Subjects; and you more hearty
“ Prayers for your prosperity in this Life, and full hap-
“ piness in the Life to come, through Jesus Christ our
“ alone Saviour. Amen.”

M.S. p. 302.

In

In the Supplication of the People of Cornwall it is said,
 “ We are above the number of fourscore and ten Thou-
 “ sand Souls, which for want of the Word of God are in
 “ extreme Misery and ready to perish, and this neither for
 “ want of Maintenance nor Place ; for besides the Impro-
 “ priations in our Shire, we allow yearly above nine Thou-
 “ sand two Hundred Pounds, and have about 160 Churches,
 “ the greatest part of which are supplied by Men who are
 “ guilty of the grossest Sins ; some Fornicators, some
 “ Adulterers, some Felons, bearing the Marks in their
 “ Hands for the said Offence ; some Drunkards, Game-
 “ sters on the Sabbath Day, &c. We have many Non-
 “ residents, who preach but once a Quarter ; so that be-
 “ tween Meal and Meal the silly Sheep may starve. We
 “ have some Ministers who labour painfully and faithfully
 “ in the Lord’s Husbandry ; but these men are not suf-
 “ fered to attend their Callings, because the Mouths of
 “ Papists, Infidels, and filthy Livers, are open against
 “ them, and the ears of those who are called Lords over
 “ them, are sooner open to their Accusations, though it
 “ be but for Ceremonies, than to the others Answers.
 “ Nor is it safe for us to go and hear them ; for though
 “ our own Fountains are dried up, yet if we seek for the
 “ Waters of Life elsewhere, we are cited into the Spiritual
 “ Courts, reviled, and threatened with Excommunication.
 “ Therefore from far we come, beseeching this honourable
 “ House to dispossess these dumb Dogs and ravenous
 “ Wolves, and appoint us faithful Ministers, who may
 “ peaceably preach the Word of God, and not be dis-
 “ quieted by every Apparitor, Register, Official, Commis-
 “ sioner, Chancellor, &c. upon every light occasion——.”

Queen
Elizabeth,
1578.

In Cornwall.
M.S. p. 300.

The ground of this Scarcity was no other but the Seve-
 rity of the High Commission, and the narrow terms of
 Conformity. Most of the old Incumbents, says Dr. Kelt-
 ridge, are disguised Papists, fitter to sport with the Tim-
 brel and Pipe, than to take into their hands the Book of the
 Lord ; and yet there was a rising Generation of valuable
 Preachers ready for the Ministry, if they might have been
 encouraged ; for in a Supplication of some of the Students
 of Cambridge to the Parliament about this Time, they ac-
 knowledge, that there were Plenty of able and well-furnish’d
 Men among them, but that they could not get into Places
 upon equal Conditions ; but unlearned Men, nay the Scum
 of the people were preferred before them ; so that in this
 great want of Labourers, we (say they) stand idle in the

Reasons of it.

L. of Aylm.
P. 32.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1579.

Market-Place all the day, being urged with Subscriptions before the Bishops, to 'approve the Romish Hierarchy, 'and all the effects of that Government to be agreeable to 'the Word of God,' which with no safety of Conscience we can accord unto. They then offer a Conference or Disputation, as the Queen and Parliament shall agree, to put an amicable end to these Differences, that the Church may recover some Discipline, that Simony and Perjury may be banished, and that all that are willing to promote the Salvation of Souls may be employed; but the Queen and Bishops were against it.

All the publick Conversation at this Time ran upon the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of Anjou, a French Papist, which was thought to be as good as concluded; the Protestant part of the Nation were displeased with it, and some warm Divines expressed their dark Apprehensions in the Pulpit. The Puritans in general made a loud Protest against the Match, as dreading the Consequences of a Protestant Body being under a Popish Head. Mr. John Stubbs, a Student of Lincoln's-Inn, whose Sister Mr. Cartwright had married, a Gentleman of excellent Parts, published a Treatise this Summer entitled, "The Gaping Gulph" wherein England will be swallowed up with a French "Marriage;" with which the Queen was so incensed, that she immediately issued out a Proclamation to suppress the Book, and to apprehend the Author and Printer. At the same time the Lords of the Council writ circular Letters to the Clergy, to remove all surmises about the Danger of the Reformation, in case the Match should take place, assuring them the Queen would suffer no Alterations in Religion by any Treaty with the Duke, and forbidding them in their Sermons or Discourses to meddle with such high Matters. Mr. Stubbs the Author, Singleton the Printer, and Page the Disperser of the above-mentioned Book, were apprehended, and sentenced to have their right Hands cut off, by virtue of a Law made in Queen Mary's Reign, against the Authors and Dispersers of seditious Writings: The Printer was pardoned, but Mr. Stubbs and Page were brought to a Scaffold, erected in the Market-place at Westminster, where with a terrible Formality their right Hands were cut off, by driving a Cleaver through the Wrist with a Mallet; but I remember (says Cambden) being present, that as soon as Stubbs's right Hand was cut off, he pulled off his Hat with his Left, and said with a loud voice, "God save the Queen;" to the amazement of the Spectators, who stood silent, either
out

Mr. Stubbs's
right Hand
cut off.

out of horror of the Punishment, or pity to the Man, or hatred of the Match. Mr. Stubbs proved afterwards a faithful Subject to her Majesty, and a valiant Commander in the Wars of Ireland.

Queen Elizabeth,
1579.

At the beginning of the next Sessions of Parliament, which was Jan. 10. the Commons voted, "That as many of their Members as conveniently could, should on the Sunday fortnight, assemble and meet together in the Temple Church, there to have Preaching, and to join together in Prayer, with Humiliation and Fasting, for the Assistance of God's Spirit in all their Consultations during this Parliament; and for the Preservation of the Queen's Majesty and her Realms." The House was so cautious as not to name their Preachers, for fear they might be thought Puritanical, but referred it to such of her Majesty's Privy-Council as were Members of the House. There was nothing in this Vote contrary to Law or Equity, but the Queen was no sooner acquainted with it, but she sent word by Sir Christopher Hatton, her Vice-Chamberlain, that "She did much admire at so great a Rashness in that House, as to put in Execution such an Innovation without her Privy and Pleasure first made known to them." Upon which it was moved by the Courtiers, that "the House should acknowledge their Offence and Contempt, and humbly crave Forgiveness, with a full Purpose to forbear committing the like for the future;" which they did accordingly. A mean and abject Spirit in the representative Body of the Nation!

1580.
Heylin,
p. 287.
Commons
vote a Fast.

Queen forbids it.

Her Majesty having forbid her Parliament to appoint Times for Fasting and Prayer, took hold of the opportunity, and gave the like Injunctions to her Clergy; some of whom, after the putting down of the Prophesyings, had ventured to agree upon Days of private Fasting and Prayer for the Queen and Church; and for exhorting the People to Repentance and Reformation of Life, at such Times and Places where they could get a Pulpit. All the Puritans, and the more devout part of the conforming Clergy, fell in with these Appointments; sometimes there was one at Leiceſter; sometimes at Coventry and at Stamford, and in other places; where six or seven neighbouring Ministers joined together in these Exercises; but as soon as the Queen was acquainted with them, she sent a warm Message to the Archbishop to suppress them, as being set up by private Persons, without Authority, in defiance of the Laws, and of her Prerogative.

Private
Fasting of
the Clergy
put down.

Heylin's
Aerius
Redivivus.
p. 286.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1580.

Mr. Prowd, the Puritan Minister of Burton upon Dunmore, complains in a melancholy Letter to Lord Burleigh, of the sad State of Religion by putting down the Exercises; and by forbidding the Meeting of a few Ministers and Christians to pray for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion in this dangerous Crisis of the Queen's marrying with a Papist. He doubted whether his Lordship dealt so plainly with her Majesty as his Knowledge of these things required, and begs him to interpose. But the Queen was determined against all Prayers but what herself should appoint.

We have already taken notice of the Petitions and Supplications to Parliament from London, Cornwall, and some other Places for Redress of Grievances; but the House was so intimidated by the Queen's harsh behaviour, that they durst not interpose, any further than in conjunction with some of the Bishops, to petition her Majesty as Head of the Church to redress them. The Queen promised to take order about it with all convenient speed; putting them in mind at the same time, that "all Motions for Reformation in Religion ought to" arise from none but herself.

Queen re-
quires full
Conformity.

But her Majesty's Sentiments differed from the Parliament's; her greatest Grief was the Increase of Puritans and Non-conformists, and therefore instead of easing them, she girt the Laws closer about them, in order to bring them to an exact Conformity. Information being given, that some that had Livings in the Church, and preached weekly, did not administer the Sacrament to their Parishioners in their own Persons, her Majesty commanded her Bishops in their Visitations, to enquire after such Half Conformists, as disjoined one part of their Function from the other, and to compel them by ecclesiastical Censures to perform the whole, at least twice a year. The Puritan Ministers being dissatisfied with the promiscuous access of all persons to the Communion, and with several Passages in the Office for the Lord's Supper, some of them used to provide qualified Clergymen to administer the Ordinance in their room; but this was now made a handle for their Ejection; Inquisition was made, and those that after Admonition would not conform to the Queen's Pleasure were sent for before the Commissioners and deprived.

Tho' the springs of Discipline moved but slowly in the Diocese of Canterbury, because the Metropolitan, who is the first Mover in ecclesiastical Causes under the Queen was suspended and in disgrace; yet the Sufferings of the Puritans were

were not lessen'd; because the other Bishops that were in the High Commission, doubled their diligence; the Reverend Mr. Nash was in the Marshalsea; Mr. Drewet in Newgate, and several others were shut up in the prisons in and about London. Those that were at liberty had nothing to do, for they might not preach in publick without full conformity; nor assemble in private to mourn over their own and the Nation's sins without the danger of a prison.

Queen Elizabeth, 1580.

This exasperated their spirits, and put them upon writing satyrical pamphlets against their adversaries; in some of which there are severe expressions against the unpreaching Clergy, calling them in the language of Scripture "Dumb Dogs," because they took no pains for the instruction of their parishioners; the authors glanced at the severity of the laws; at the pride and ambition of the Bishops; at the illegal proceedings of the High Commission, and at the unjustifiable rigors of the Queen's Government; which her Majesty being informed of, procured a Statute this very Parliament, by which it is enacted, that "If any person or persons, forty days after the end of this Session, shall devise, or write, or print, or set forth any manner of Book, Rhime, Ballad, Letter, or Writing, containing any false, seditious, or slanderous matter, to the defamation of the Queen's Majesty, or to the encouraging, stirring, or moving of any insurrection or rebellion within this Realm or any of the dominions to the same belonging: Or if any person or persons shall procure such Books, Rhimes, or Ballads, to be written, printed, or published (the said offence not being within the compass of treason, by virtue of any former Statute) that then the said offenders, upon sufficient proof by two witnesses, shall suffer death and loss of goods, as in case of felony." The Statute was made with limitation to the life of the present Queen; but within that compass of Time sundry of the Puritans were put to death by virtue of it.

Seditious Libellers to suffer death.

23 Eliz. cap. 2.

In the same Session of Parliament another severe law was made, which like a two-edged Sword cut down both Papists and Puritans; it was entitled, "An Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in their due obedience:" By which it is made "Treason for any Priest or Jesuit to seduce any of the Queen's Subjects from the Established to the Romish Religion. If any shall reconcile themselves to that religion they shall be guilty of Treason: And to harbour such above 20 days is Misprision of Treason. If any one shall say Mass, he shall forfeit 200 marks, and suffer a Year's imprisonment;

Statute against seducing the Queen's subjects to Popery.

23 Eliz. cap. 1.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1580

And to ob-
lige all per-
sons to come
to Church.

Fuller,
B. IX.
P. 131.

“ and they that are present at hearing Mass shall forfeit 100
“ marks and a year’s imprisonment.” But that the act might
be more extensive, and comprehend Protestant Non-confor-
mists, as well as Papists, it is further enacted, “ That all
“ persons that do not come to Church or Chappel, or other
“ place where Common Prayer is said, according to the Act
“ of Uniformity, shall forfeit 20*l.* per month to the Queen,
“ being thereof lawfully convict, and suffer imprisonment
“ till paid. Those that are absent for 12 months shall, up-
“ on certificate made thereof into the King’s Bench, besides
“ their former Fine, be bound with two sufficient sureties in
“ a bond of 200*l.* for their good behaviour. Every School-
“ Master that does not come to Common Prayer, shall for-
“ feit 10*l.* a month, be disabled from teaching School, and
“ suffer a year’s imprisonment.” This was making merchan-
dize of the souls of men (says a reverend author) for ’tis a
sad case, to sell men a licence to do that which the receivers
of their money conceive to be unlawful. Besides the Fine
was unmerciful; by the Act of Uniformity, it was 12*d.* a
Sunday for not coming to Church, but now 20*l.* a month;
so that the meaner people had nothing to expect but to
rot in prison; which made the Officers unwilling to ap-
prehend them. Thus the Queen and her Parliament tacked
the Puritans to the Papists, and subjected them to the
same penal Laws, as if they had been equal enemies to
her Person and Government, and to the Protestant religion.
A practice followed by several Parliaments in the succeeding
Reigns.

The Convocation did nothing but present an humble peti-
tion to the Queen, to take off the Archbishop’s sequestration,
which her Majesty was not pleased to grant.

1581.
Visitation in
London.

This summer Aylmer Bishop of London held a Visitation
of his Clergy at the Convocation House of St. Paul’s, and
obliged them to subscribe the following articles; 1. Exactly
to keep the book of Common Prayer and Sacraments. 2.
To wear the Surplice in all their ministrations. 3. Not to add
or diminish any thing in reading divine service. He then made
the following enquiries, 1. Whether all that had Cure of souls
administer’d the Sacraments in Person? 2. Whether they
observ’d the ceremonies to be used in Baptism and Mar-
riage? 3. Whether the youth were catechised? 4. Whe-
ther their Ministers read the Homilies? 5. Whether any of
them called others that did not preach by ill names, as
Dumb Dogs? Those that did not subscribe and answer the
the

the Interrogatories to his Lodship's Satisfaction, were immediately suspended and silenced.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1581.

But these violent Measures, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Church, drove them further from it. Men that act upon Principles will not easily be beaten from them with the Artillery of Canons, Injunctions, Subscriptions, Fines, Imprisonments, &c. much less will they be in love with a Church that fights with such weapons. Multitudes were by these methods carried off to a total Separation, and so far prejudiced as not to allow the Church of England to be a true Church, nor her Ministers true Ministers; they renounced all Communion with her, not only in the Ceremonies, but in hearing the Word and the Sacraments. These were the People called Brownists, from one Robert Brown, a Preacher in the Diocese of Norwich, descended of an antient and honourable Family in Rutlandshire, and nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Cecil; he was educated in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and preached sometimes in Bennet Church, where the vehemence of his Delivery gained him Reputation with the People. He was first a School-Master, then a Lecturer at Islington; but being a fiery hot-headed young Man, he could not settle, but went about the Countries inveighing against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, and exhorting the People by no means to comply with them. He was first taken notice of by the Bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the Custody of the Sheriff of the County in the Year 1580, but upon acknowledgment of his offence he was released. In the year 1582, he published a Book called, "The Life and Manners of true Christians;" to which is prefix'd, "A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any; and of the Wickedness of those Preachers who will not reform themselves and their Charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them." For this he was sent for again into Custody, and upon Examination confessed himself the Author, but denied that he was acquainted with the publication of the Book; whereupon he was dismissed a second time at the Intercession of the Lord Treasurer, and sent home to his Father with whom he continued four years; after this he travell'd up and down the Countries in Company with his Assistant Richard Harrison, preaching against Bishops, Ceremonies, Ecclesiastical Courts, ordaining of Ministers, &c. for which, as he afterwards boasted, he had been committed to 32 prisons, in some of

Rise of the
Brownists.

History of
Robert
Brown.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1581.

B. X. p. 168.

which he could not see his hand at noon-day. At length he gathered a separate Congregation of his own Principles; but the Queen and her Bishops watched them so narrowly, that they were quickly forced to leave the Kingdom. Several of his Friends shipped off themselves and their effects for Holland; and having obtained leave of the Magistrates to worship God in their own way, settled at Middleburgh in Zealand. Here Mr. Brown formed a Church according to his own model; but when this handful of People were delivered from the Bishops, their Oppressors, they crumbled into Parties among themselves, insomuch that Brown being weary of his office, returned into England in the year 1589, and having renounced his Principles of Separation, became Rector of a Church in Northamptonshire: Here he lived an idle and dissolute Life (according to Fuller) far from that Sabbatarian Strictness that his Followers aspired after. He had a wife with whom he did not live for many years, and a Church in which he never preached; at length being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the Constable of his Parish, for demanding a Rate of him; and being beloved by no body, the Officer summoned him before Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring Justice of Peace, who committed him to Northampton Goal; the decrepid old Man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a Feather-bed in a Cart, where he fell sick and died, in the year 1630, and 81st year of his age.

The Revolt of Mr. Brown broke up his Congregation at Middleburgh, but was far from destroying the Seeds of Separation that he had sown in several Parts of England; his Followers encreased, and made a considerable figure towards the latter end of this Reign; and because some of his Principles were adopted and improved by a considerable Body of Puritans in the next age, I shall here give an account of them.

Principles of
the Brown-
ists.

The Brownists did not differ from the Church of England in any Articles of Faith; but were very rigid and narrow in Points of Discipline. They denied the Church of England to be a true Church, and her Ministers to be rightly ordained. They maintained the Discipline of the Church of England to be Popish and Antichristian, and all her Ordinances and Sacraments invalid. Hence they forbade their People to join with them in Prayer, in Hearing, or in any part of publick Worship; nay they not only renounced Communion with the Church of England, but
with

with all other reformed Churches, except such as should be of their own model.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1581.

They apprehended, according to Scripture, that every Church ought to be confined within the limits of a single Congregation; and that the Government should be democratical. When a Church was to be gathered, such as desired to be Members made a Confession of their Faith in the presence of each other, and signed a Covenant, obliging themselves to walk together in the Order of the Gospel, according to certain Rules and Agreements therein contained. The whole power of admitting and excluding Members, with the deciding of all Controversies, was in the Brotherhood. Their Church Officers for preaching the Word, and taking Care of the Poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their several Offices by Fasting and Prayer, and Imposition of the hands of some of the Brethren. They did not allow the Priesthood to be a distinct Order, or to give a Man an indelible Character; but as the Vote of the Brotherhood made him an Officer, and gave him Authority to preach and administer the Sacraments among them; so the same Power could discharge him from his Office, and reduce him to the State of a private Brother.

When the Number of Communicants was larger than could meet in one Place, the Church divided and chose new Officers from among themselves as before, living together as Sister Churches, and giving each other the right Hand of Fellowship. One Church might not exercise Jurisdiction or Authority over another, but each might give the other Counsel, Advice, or Admonition, if they walked disorderly, or abandoned the capital Truths of Religion; and if the offending Church did not receive the Admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a Church of Christ. The Powers of their Church Officers were confined within the narrow Limits of their own Society; the Pastor of one Church might not administer the Sacraments of Baptism or the Lord's Supper, to any but those of his own Communion and their immediate Children. They declared against all prescribed Forms of Prayer. Any Lay-Brother had the liberty of prophesying, or giving a word of Exhortation in their Church Assemblies; and it was usual after Sermon, for some of the Brotherhood to ask questions, and confer with each other upon the Doctrines that had been delivered; but as for Church Censures, they were for an entire Separation of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Sword.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1581.

Sword. In short, every Church or Society of Christians meeting in one place, was, according to the Brownists, a Body corporate, having full power within itself to admit and exclude Members, to choose and ordain Officers; and when the good of the Society required it, to depose them, without being accountable to Classes, Convocations, Synods, Councils, or any Jurisdiction whatsoever.

Reasons of
their Separation.

Some of their Reasons for withdrawing from the Church are not easily answered: they alledg'd, that the Laws of the Realm, and the Queen's Injunctions, had made several unwarrantable additions to the Institutions of Christ. That there were several gross Errors in the Church Service. That these additions and Errors were imposed and made necessary to Communion. That if Persecution for Conscience-sake was the mark of a false Church, they could not believe the Church of England to be a true one. They apprehended further, that the constitution of the Hierarchy was too bad to be mended; that the very pillars of it were rotten, and that the Structure must be begun anew. Since therefore all Christians are obliged to preserve the Ordinances of Christ pure and undefiled, they resolved to lay a new foundation, and keep as near as they could to the primitive pattern, though it were with the hazard of all that was dear to them in the World.

Remarks.

This scheme of the Brownists seems to be formed upon the practice of the Apostolical Churches before the Gifts of Inspiration and Prophecy were ceased, and is therefore hardly practicable in these latter Ages, wherein the Infirmities and Passions of private Church Members too often take place of their Gifts and Graces. This exposed them to frequent quarrels and divisions; but their chief Crime was their Uncharitableness, in unchurching the whole Christian World, and breaking off all manner of Communion in hearing the Word, in publick prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacraments, not only with the Church of England, but with all foreign reformed Churches, which though less pure ought certainly to be owned as Churches of Christ.

Severities
against
them.

The heads of the Brownists were Mr. Brown himself, and his Companion Mr. Harrison, together with Mr. Tyler, Copping, Thacker, and others, who were now in prison, for spreading his Books; the two last being afterwards put to death for it. The Bishop of Norwich used them cruelly, and was highly displeased with those that shewed them any

any countenance. When the prisoners above-mentioned, with Mr. Handson and some others, complained to the Justices at their Quarter Sessions, of their long and illegal imprisonment, their Worthships were pleased to move the Bishop in their favour; with which his Lordship was so dissatisfied, that he drew up 12 Articles of Impeachment against the Justices themselves, and caused them to be summoned before the Queen and Council to answer for their misdemeanors. In the Articles they are charged with countenancing Copping, Tyler, and other disorderly Clergymen. They are accused of contempt of his Lordship's Jurisdiction, in refusing to admit divers Ministers which he had ordained, because they were ignorant, and could only read; and for removing one Wood from his Living on the same account. Sir Robert Jermin and Sir John Higham, Knights, and Robert Ashfield and Thomas Badley, Esquires, Gentlemen of Suffolk and Norfolk, and of the number of the aforesaid Justices, gave in their answer to the Bishop's Articles in the name of the rest; in which, after asserting their own conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, they very justly tax his Lordship with cruelty, in keeping men so many years in prison without bringing them to a trial, according to law; and are ashamed that a Bishop of the Church of England should be a patron of ignorance, and an enemy to the preaching the Word of God. Upon this the Justices were dismissed. But though the Lord Treasurer, Lord North, Sir Robert Jermin and others, writ to the Bishop, that Mr. Handson who was a learned and useful Preacher, might have a licence, the angry Prelate declared peremptorily, that he never should have one, unless he would acknowledge his fault, and enter into Bonds for his good behaviour for the future.

While the Bishops were driving the Puritans out of the pulpits, the nobility and gentry received them into their houses as Chaplains and Tutors to their children; not merely out of compassion, but from a sense of their real worth and usefulness; for they were men of undissembled piety and devotion; mighty in the Scriptures; zealous for the Protestant Religion; of exemplary lives; far remote from the liberties and fashionable vices of the times; and indefatigably diligent in instructing those committed to their care. Here they were covered from their oppressors; they preached in the family and catechised the children; which without all question had a considerable influence upon the next generation.

Queen Elizabeth, 1581.

Strype's Ann. p. 21.

Puritans received into Gentlemen's Families.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1582.

Execution
of Campion
the Jesuit
and others.

The Papists were now very active all over the Country; swarms of Jesuits came over from the Seminaries abroad, in defiance of the laws and spread their books of devotion and controversy among the common people; they had their private Conventicles almost in every market town in England; in the northern Counties they were more numerous than the Protestants. This put the Government upon enquiring after their Priests; many of whom were apprehended, and 3 were put to death (viz.) Edmund Campion, a learned and subtle Jesuit educated in Cambridge, where, he continued till the year 1569. when he travelled to Rome, and entered himself into the society of Jesus, 1573. Some years after he came into England, and travelled the Countries to propagate the Catholick Faith. Being apprehended he was put on the rack to discover the gentlemen that harboured him, and afterwards was hanged, drawn, and quartered, when he was but 41 years of age. The other 2 that suffered with him were Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Bryant. These were executed for an example, but the rest were spared because the Queen's match with the Duke of Anjou was still depending. However, the Protestants in the Netherlands being in distress, the Queen assisted them with men and money, for which they delivered into her Majesty's hands the most important fortresses of their Country, which she garrisoned with English. She also sent relief to the French Protestants, who were at war with their natural Prince; and ordered a collection all over England for the relief of the City of Geneva, besieged by the Duke of Savoy: All which was hardly consistent with her own principles of Government; but as Rapin observes, Queen Elizabeth's zeal for the Protestant Religion was always subordinate to her private interest.

Queen assists
foreign Pro-
testants.

Vol. VIII.
P. 475.

1582.
Commission
of Conceal-
ments.

Strype's
Ann. p. 114.

About this time the Queen granted a Commission of Concealments to some of her hungry Courtiers, by which they were empowered to enquire into the Titles of Church Lands and Livings; all Forfeitures, Concealments, or Lands for which the Parish could not produce a legal Title were given to them: The Articles of Enquiry seem to be levelled against the Puritans, but through their sides they must have made sad havock with the Patrimony of the Church. They were such as these, What right have you to your Parsonage? How came you into it? Who ordained you? And at what age were you ordained? Have you a Licence? Were you married under the hands of two Justices of the Peace? Do you read the whole Service?

Service? Do you use all the Rites, Ceremonies and Ornaments appointed by the Queen's injunctions? Have you publicly read the Articles and subscribed them? The Church Wardens of every Parish had also 24 Interrogatories ministered to them upon oath, concerning their Parson and their Church lands; all with a design to sequester them into the hands of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners. This awakened the Bishops, who fell upon their knees before the Queen, and begged her Majesty, if she had any regard for the Church, to supersede the Commission; which she did, though it is well enough known, the Queen had no scruple of conscience about plundering the Church of its Revenues.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1582.

To return to the Puritans; the Reverend Mr. Robert Wright, domestick Chaplain to the late Lord Rich, of Rochford in Essex, fell into the hands of the Bishop of London last year; he was a learned man, and had lived 14 years in the University of Cambridge; but being dissatisfied with Episcopal Ordination, went over to Antwerp, and was ordained by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery of that place. Upon his return home Lord Rich took him into his family at Rochford in the Hundreds of Essex, where he preached constantly in his Lordship's Chapel, and no where else, because he could obtain no licence from the Bishop. He was an admired Preacher, and universally beloved by the Clergy of the County for his great seriousness and piety. While his Lordship was alive he protected him from danger, but his noble Patron was no sooner dead but the Bishop of London laid hands on him, and confined in the Gate-house, for saying, "that to keep the Queen's Birth Day as an Holiday was to make her an Idol." When the good man had been shut up from his family and friends several months, he petitioned the Bishop to be brought to his trial, or admitted to bail. But all the answer his Lordship gave was, "that he deserved to lie in prison for 7 years." This usage, together with Mr. Wright's open and undisguised honesty and piety, moved the compassion of his Keeper, in so much that his poor wife being in childbed and distress, he gave him leave with the private allowance of the Secretary of State, to make her a visit at Rochford upon his Parole; but it happened that Dr. Ford the Civilian meeting him upon the road, acquainted the Bishop with his Escape, who thereupon fell into a violent passion, and sending immediately for the Keeper, demanded his prisoner. The Keeper pleaded the great

Ibid, p. 123.
Mr.
Wright's
Sufferings.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1582.

great compassion of the case ; but the Bishop threatened to complain of him to the Queen, and have him turned out. Mr. Wright being informed of his Keeper's danger, returned immediately to his prison, and writ to the Lord Treasurer on his behalf. " Oh ! my Lord (says he) I most humbly crave your Lordship's favour, that I may be delivered from such unpitiful minds ; and especially that your Lordship will stand a good Lord to my keeper, that he may not be discouraged from favouring those that profess true Religion." Upon this the Keeper was pardoned.

But the Bishop resolved to take full satisfaction of the prisoner ; accordingly he sent for him before the Commissioners, and examined him upon Articles concerning the Book of Common Prayer ; concerning rites and ceremonies ; concerning praying for the Queen and the Church ; and concerning the established form of ordaining Ministers. He was charged with preaching without a Licence ; and with being no better than a mere Layman. To which he made the following Answers ; That he thought the Book of Common Prayer, in the main, good and godly, but could not answer for every particular. That as to rites and ceremonies, he thought his resorting to Churches where they were used, was a sufficient proof that he allowed them. That he prayed for the Queen, and for all Ministers of God's Word, and consequently for Archbishops and Bishops, &c. That he was but a private Chaplain, and knew no law that required a licence for such a Place. But he could not yield himself to be a mere Layman, having preached 7 years in the University with Licence ; and since that time having been regularly ordained by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbyters at Antwerp. The Bishop having charged him with saying, That the Election of Ministers ought to be by their Flocks, he owned it, and supposed it not to be an error ; and added further, That in his opinion, every Minister was a Bishop, though not a Lord Bishop ; and that his Lordship of London must be of the same opinion, because when he rebuked Mr. White for striking one of his Parishioners, he alledged that Text, " That a Bishop must be no striker." Which had been impertinent, if Mr. White, being only a Minister, had not been a Bishop. When his Lordship charged him with saying, There were no lawful Ministers in the Church of England, he replied, " I will be content to be condemned, if I bring not 200 Witnesses for my discharge of this accusation. I do as certainly believe, " That

“ That there are lawful Ministers in England, as that
 “ there is a Sun in the Sky. In Essex I can bring twenty
 “ godly Ministers, all Preachers, who will testify that
 “ they love me, and have Cause to think that I love and
 “ reverence them. I preached seven years in the Uni-
 “ versity of Cambridge with Approbation, and have a
 “ Testimonial to produce under the Hands and Seals of the
 “ Master and Fellows of Christ College, being all Mini-
 “ sters at that Time, of my good Behaviour.” But all he
 could say was to no purpose, the Bishop would not allow
 his Orders, and therefore pronounced him a Layman, and
 incapable of holding any Living in the Church.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1582.

His Ordina-
tion denied.

The Lord Rich and other honourable Knights and Gen-
 tlemen in Essex, had petitioned the Bishop of London for a
 Licence, that Mr. Wright might preach publicly in any place
 within his Dioceſe; but his Lordſhip always reſuſed it, becauſe
 he was no Miniſter, that is, had only been ordained among the
 foreign Churches. But this was certainly contrary to Law; for
 the Statute of 13 Eliz. cap. 12. admits the Miniſtrations of
 thoſe who had only been ordained according to the manner of
 the Scots, or other foreign Churches: there were ſome ſcores,
 if not hundreds of them now in the Church; and the Arch-
 biſhop of Canterbury at this very Time commanded Dr.
 Aubrey, his Vicar General, to liſenſe Mr. John Morriſon,
 a Scots Divine, who had had no other Ordination than
 what he received from a Scots Preſbytery, to preach over
 his whole Province. The Words of the Licence are as fol-
 low; “ Since you the foreſaid John Morriſon, about five
 “ years paſt in the Town of Garret, in the County of
 “ Lothian, of the Kingdom of Scotland, were admitted
 “ and ordained to ſacred Orders and the holy Miniſtry,
 “ By the impoſition of Hands, according to the laudable
 “ Form and Rite of the reformed Church of Stotland:
 “ And ſince the Congregation of that County of Lothian
 “ is conformable to the Orthodox Faith, and ſincere Re-
 “ ligion now received in this Realm of England, and eſta-
 “ bliſhed by publick Authority: We therefore as much as
 “ lies in us, and as by Right we may, (approving and
 “ ratifying the Form of your Ordination and Preferment
 “ done in ſuch manner aforeſaid) grant unto you a Li-
 “ cence and Faculty, with the Conſent and expreſs Com-
 “ mand of the moſt reverend Father in Chriſt, the Lord
 “ Edmund by the Divine Providence Archbiſhop of Can-
 “ terbury, to us ſignified, That in ſuch Orders by you
 “ taken, you may, and have Power in any convenient
 “ places

Presbyterial
Ordination
admitted by
Abp. Grin-
dal.
L. of Grin-
dal, p. 271.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1582.

“ places in and throughout the whole Province of Canter-
“ bury, to celebrate Divine Offices, to minister the
“ Sacraments, &c. as much as in us lies; and we may
“ De jure, and as far as the Laws of the Kingdom do
“ allow.” This was dated April 6, 1582. and is as full a
Testimonial to the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination as
can be desired. But the other notion was growing into
fashion; all Orders of Men are for assuming some pecu-
liar Characters and Powers above their Neighbours: the
Bishops will be a distinct and superior Order from Priests,
and no Man must be a Minister of Christ but on whom they
lay their Hands.

Complaints
of Bp. Ayl-
mer's Seve-
rities.

The behaviour of the Bishop of London towards the
Puritans moved the Compassion of some of the conforming
Clergy; the Reverend Mr. Wilkin Rector of Danbury in
Essex, in a Letter to the Lord Treasurer, writes thus, —
“ As some might be thought over earnest about trifles, so
“ on the other hand, there had been too severe and sharp
“ punishment for the same. Though I myself think re-
“ verently of the Book of Common Prayer, yet surely it is
“ a Reverence due only to the sacred Writings of Holy
“ Scripture, to say, The Authors of them erred in no-
“ thing, and to none other Books of Men, of what learn-
“ ing soever. I have seen the Letters of the Bishops to
“ Bullinger and Gualter, when I was at Zurich in the
“ year 1567. in which they declare, That they had no
“ hand in passing the Book, and had no other Choice, but
“ to leave their places to Papists, or accept them as they
“ were; but they professed and promised never to urge
“ their Brethren to those Things; and also, when oppor-
“ tunity should serve, to seek Reformation.” But how
different was the practice of these Prelates from their for-
mer Professions!

Justices of
the Peace
Supplica-
tion.

But not only the Clergy, but the whole Country ex-
claimed against the Bishops for their high Proceedings; the
Justices of Peace of the County of Suffolk were so moved,
that notwithstanding his Lordship's late Citation of them
before the Council, they writ again to their Honours, pray-
ing them to interpose in behalf of the Injuries that were
offered to divers godly Ministers. The Words of their
Supplication are worth remembring, because they disco-
ver the Cruelty of the Commissioners, who made no dis-
tinction between the vilest of Criminals and conscien-
tious Ministers. “ The painful Ministers of the Word (say
“ they) are marshalled with the worst Malefactors, pro-
“ sented,

Strype's
Ann. p. 184.

“ sented, indicted, arraigned, and condemned, for mat-
 “ ters, as we presume, of very slender moment: some for
 “ leaving the Holidays unbidden; some for singing the
 “ Psalm Nunc dimittis in the morning; some for turning
 “ the questions in Baptism concerning Faith, from the In-
 “ fants to the God father, which is but You for Thou;
 “ some for leaving out the Crofs in Baptism; some for
 “ leaving out the Ring in Marriage. A most pitiful thing
 “ it is, to see the Back of the Law turned to the Adversa-
 “ ry [the Papists] and the edge with all the sharpness laid
 “ upon the sound and true hearted Subject——

“ We grant Order to be the Rule of the Spirit of God,
 “ and desire Uniformity in all the duties of the Church,
 “ according to the Proportion of Faith; but if these weak
 “ Ceremonies are so indifferent, as to be left to the dis-
 “ cretion of Ministers, we think it (under correction) very
 “ hard to have them go under so hard handling, to the utter
 “ discredit of their whole Ministry, and the profession of
 “ Truth.

“ We serve her Majesty and the Country [as Magi-
 “ strates and Justices of the Peace] according to law; we
 “ reverence the Law and Law-maker; when the Law
 “ speaks we keep silence; when it commandeth we obey.
 “ By Law we proceed against all Offenders; we touch
 “ none that the Law spareth, and spare none that the Law
 “ toucheth; we allow not of Papists; of the Family of
 “ Love; of Anabaptists or Brownists. No, we punish all
 “ these.

“ And yet we are christen’d with the odious name of
 “ Puritans; a term compounded of the Heresies above-
 “ mentioned, which we disclaim. The Papists pretend to
 “ be pure and immaculate; the Family of Love cannot
 “ sin, they being deified (as they say) in God. But we
 “ groan under the burden of our Sins, and confess them to
 “ God; and at the same time we labour to keep ourselves
 “ and our profession unblameable; this is our Puritanism;
 “ a name given to such Magistrates and Ministers, and o-
 “ thers that have a strict eye upon their jugling.

“ We think ourselves bound in duty to unfold these
 “ matters to your Lordships, and if you shall please to
 “ call us to the proof of them it is the thing we most
 “ desire.”

This supplication produced a letter from the Council to the Judges of the Assizes, commanding them not to give

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

ear to malicious informers against peaceful and faithful Ministers, nor to match them at the Bar with Rogues, Felons, or Papists, but to put a difference in the face of the world, between those of another faith, and they who differ only about Ceremonies, and yet diligently and soundly preach true Religion. The Judges were struck with this Letter; and the Bishop of London with his attendants returned from his Visitation full of discontent. Indeed his Lordship had made himself so many enemies, that he grew weary of his Bishoprick, and petition'd the Queen to exchange it for that of Ely, that he might retire and be out of the way; or rather, that he might kindle a new flame in those parts; but her Majesty refused his request.

Mr. Copping
and Thacker,
Ministers,
executed.

Notwithstanding these little appearances in favour of the Puritans, two Ministers of the Brownist persuasion were condemned, and put to death this summer for non-conformity, (viz.) Mr. Elias Thacker hanged at St. Edmundsbury, June 4th. and Mr. John Copping two days after, June 6th. Their indictment was for spreading certain books seditiously penned by Robert Brown against the Book of Common Prayer, established by the Laws of this Realm. The sedition charged upon Brown's book was, that it subverted the constitution of the Church, and acknowledged her Majesty's Supremacy civilly, but not otherwise, as appears by the report which the Judges sent to Court, (viz.) That the prisoners instead of acknowledging her Majesty's supremacy in all Causes, would allow it only in Civil. This the Judges took hold of to aggravate their offence to the Queen, after they had past sentence upon them upon the late Statute of the 23d Eliz. against spreading seditious Libels, and for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. Mr. Copping had suffered a long and illegal imprisonment from the Bishop of his Diocese; his wife being brought to bed while he was under confinement, he was charged with not suffering his child to be baptised; to which he answered, that his conscience could not admit it to be done with Godfathers and Godmothers, and he could get no Preacher to do it without. He was accused further with saying, The Queen was perjured, because she had sworn to set forth God's glory directly, as by the Scriptures are appointed, and did not; but these were only circumstances to support the grand charge of Sedition in spreading Brown's book. However, it seemed a little hard to hang men for spreading a seditious book, at a time when the author of that very book [Brown] was pardoned

Strype's
Ann. p. 186.

pardoned and set at liberty. Both the Prisoners died by their principles; for though Dr. Still the Archbishop's Chaplain, and others, travail'd and conferr'd with them, yet at the very hour of their death they remained unmoveable: They were both found in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and of unblemish'd lives. One Wilford a layman should have suffer'd with them, but upon conference with Secretary Wilfon, who told him the Queen's Supremacy might be understood only of her Majesty's Civil Power over Ecclesiastical persons, he took the Oath and was discharged.

Queen Elizabeth, 1583.
Styve's An. P. 533.

While the Bishops were thus harrassing honest and conscientious Ministers for scrupling the Ceremonies of the Church, practical Religion was at a very low ebb; the fashionable Vices of the time were, "prophane Swearing, "Drunkennes, Revelling, Gaming, and Prophanation of "the Lord's Day;" but there was no Discipline for these offenders, nor do I find any such cited into the Spiritual Courts, or shut up in prisons. If men came to their Parish Churches, and approved of the Habits and Ceremonies, other offences were overlooked, and the Court was easy. At Paris Gardens in Southwark there were publick sports on the Lord's Day, for the entertainment of great numbers of people that resorted thither; but on the 13th of January being Sunday, it happened that one of the scaffolds being crouded with people fell down, by which accident some were killed and a great many wounded, this was thought to be a Judgment from Heaven; for the Lord Mayor in the account he gives of it to the Treasurer says, "That it "gives great occasion to acknowledge the hand of God "for such abuse of his Sabbath-day, and moveth me in "conscience to give order for redress of such contempt of "God's Service; adding, that for this purpose he had "treated with some Justices of Peace in Surrey, who "expressed a very good zeal, but alledged want of "Commission, which he referred to the consideration of "his Lordship." But the Court paid no regard to such Remonstrances; and the Queen had her ends in encouraging the Sports, Pastimes and Revellings of the people on Sundays and Holidays.

Low state of practical Religion.

Styve's Ann. p. 140.

This year died the famous northern Apostle Mr. Bernard Gilpin, Minister of Houghton in the Bishoprick of Durham. He was born at Kentmire in Westmorland, 1517, of an ancient and honourable family, and was enter'd into Queen's College, Oxford, in the year 1533. He continued a Papist

Death and Character of the Reverend Mr. Gilpin.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.
Bishop Car-
leton's Life
of Gilpin.

all the Reign of King Henry VIII. but was converted by the Lectures of Peter Martyr, in the beginning of the Reign of Edward VI. He was remarkably honest, and open to conviction, but did not separate from the Romish Communion till he was persuaded the Pope was Antichrist. Cuthbert Tonstal Bishop of Durham, was his uncle by the mother's side, by whose encouragement he travelled to Paris, Lovain, and other parts, being still for the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, though not for Transubstantiation. Returning home in the days of Queen Mary, his uncle placed him first in the Rectory of Essington, and afterwards at Houghton, a large Parish containing 14 villages; here he laboured in the Work of the Ministry, and was often exposed to danger, but constantly preserved by his uncle Bishop Tonstal, who was averse to burning men for Religion. Miserable and heathenish was the condition of these northern counties at this time with respect to Religion! Mr. Gilpin beheld it with tears of compassion, and resolved at his own expence to visit the desolate Churches of Northumberland, and the parts adjoining, called Ridgedale and Tindale, once every year to preach the Gospel, and distribute to the necessities of the poor, which he continued to his death; this gained him the veneration of all ranks of people in those parts; but though he had such a powerful screen as Bishop Tonstal, yet the fame of his Doctrine, which was Lutheran, reaching the ears of Bonner, he sent for him to London; the reverend man ordered his servant to prepare him a long shirt, expecting to be burnt, but before he came to London Queen Mary died. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Gilpin having a fair estate of his own, erected a Grammar School, and allowed maintenance for a Master and Usher; himself chusing out of the School such as he liked best for his own private instruction. Many learned men who afterwards adorned the Church by their labours and uprightness of life, were educated by him in his domestick academy. Many gentlemens sons resorted to him, some of whom were boarded in the town, and others in his own house; besides, he took many poor mens sons under his care, giving them meat, drink, clothes and education.

In the year 1560, he was offered the Bishoprick of Carlisle, and was urged to accept it by the Earl of Bedford, Bishop Sandys, and others, with the most powerful motives; but he desired to be excused, and in that resolution remained unmoveable: His reasons were taken from the largeness of the Dioceses, which were too great for the inspection
of

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

of one person ; for he was so strongly possessed of the duty of Bishops, and of the charge of Souls that was committed to them, that he could never be persuaded to keep two Livings, over both of which he could not have a personal Inspection, and perform all the offices of a Pastor ; he added farther, that he had so many Friends and Relations in those parts to gratify or connive at, that he could not continue an honest man and be their Bishop. But though Mr. Gilpin would not be a Bishop, he supplied the place of one by preaching, by Hospitality, by erecting Schools, by taking care of the poor, and providing for destitute Churches ; in all which he was countenanced and encouraged by the Learned and Reverend James Pilkington, then Bishop of Durham, by whom he was excused from Subscription, Habits, and a strict observance of Ceremonies, it being his fixed opinion, that “ No human invention “ should take place in the Church, instead of a Divine Institution.” After Bishop Pilkington’s death Dr. Barnes was chosen his Successor, who was disgusted at Mr. Gilpin’s popularity, and gave him trouble : once when he was setting out upon his annual Visitation to Ridgedale and Tindale, the Bishop summoned him to preach before him, which he excused in the handsomest manner he could, and went his progress ; but upon his return he found himself suspended for contempt, from all ecclesiastical Employments. The Bishop afterwards sent for him again on a sudden, and commanded him to preach, but then he pleaded his suspension, and his not being provided ; the Bishop immediately took off his suspension, and would not excuse his preaching, upon which he went into the Pulpit, and discoursed upon the high charge of a Christian Bishop ; and having exposed the corruptions of the Clergy, he boldly addressed himself to his Lordship in these words ; “ Let not “ your Lordship say, these crimes have been committed “ without my Knowledge, for whatsoever you yourself do “ in person, or suffer through your connivance to be done “ by others, is wholly your own ; therefore in the presence of God, Angels and Men, I pronounce your Fatherhood to be the Author of all these evils ; and I and “ this whole Congregation will be a witness in the Day of “ Judgment, that these things have come to your Ears.” All men thought the Bishop would have deprived Mr. Gilpin for this Freedom, as soon as he came out of the Pulpit, but by the good providence of God it had a quite different effect, the Bishop thanked him for his faithful Reproof ;

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

and after this suffered him to go on with his annual progress, giving him no further disturbance. At length his lean body being quite worn out with Labour and Travail, and feeling the approaches of Death, he commanded the poor to be called together, and took a solemn leave of them; afterwards he did the like by his Relations and Friends; then giving himself up to God, he took his Bed about the end of February, and died March 4, 1583, in the 66th year of his age. He was a heavenly man, endued with a large and generous Soul, of a tall Stature of Body with a Roman Nose; his clothes were neat and plain; for he was always frugal in his own Dress though very bountiful to others. His doors were always open for the Entertainment of Strangers. He boarded in his own House 24 Scholars, most of whom were upon Charity. He kept a Table for the Poor every Lord's Day, from Michaelmas to Easter, and expended 500 Pounds for a Free-school for their Children. Upon the whole, he was a pious, devout, and open hearted Divine; a conscientious Non-conformist, but against separation. He was accounted a Saint by his very Enemies, if he had any such, being full of Faith and good Works; and was at last put into his Grave as a Shock of Corn fully ripe.

Death of
Abp. Grin-
dal.

The same year died Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, born at Copland in the County of Cumberland in the year 1519, and educated in Cambridge. He was a famous Preacher in King Edward's Days, and was nominated by him to a Bishoprick, when he was but 33 years of age; but that King dying soon after he went into Exile, and imbibed the Principles of a further Reformation than had as yet obtained in England. Upon Queen Elizabeth's Accession he returned to England, and was advanced first to the See of London, and then to York and Canterbury, though he could hardly persuade himself for some time to wear the habits and comply with the Ceremonies of the Church; nor did he ever heartily approve them, but thought it better to support the Reformation on that foot, than hazard it back into the hands of the Papists. He was of a mild and moderate Temper, easy of Access, and affable even in his highest Exaltation. He is blamed by some for his gentle usage of the Puritans, though he used them worse than he would have done if he had been left to himself. About a year or two after his Exaltation to the see of Canterbury he lost the Queen's favour on the account of the prophesyings, and was suspended for some years,

Grindal's
Life, p. 235.

years, during which time many Puritan Ministers took shelter in the Counties of Kent and Surrey, &c. which made more work for his Successor. The good old Archbishop being blind and broken-hearted, the Queen took off his Sequestration about a year before his death, and sent to acquaint him, that if he would resign he should have her favour and an honourable pension; which he promised to accept within six Months; but Whitgift who was designed for his Successor, refusing to enter upon the See while Grindal lived, he made a shift to hold it till his Death, which happen'd July 6th, 1583, in the 63d year of his age. Camden calls him a religious and grave Divine. "Hollingshead says he was so studious, that his Book was his Bride, and his Study his Bride-chamber, in which he spent his Eye-sight, his Strength and his Health." He was certainly a learned and venerable Prelate, and had a high Esteem for the name and doctrines of Calvin, with whom, and with the German Divines, he held a constant correspondence. His high Stations did not make him proud; but if we may believe his Successor in the See of York, Archbishop Sandys, he must be tainted with avarice (as most of the Queen's Bishops were) because within two Months after he was translated to Canterbury, he gave to his Kinsmen and Servants, and sold for round sums of money to himself, six score Leafes and Patents, even then when they were thought not to be good in Law. But upon the whole, he was one of the best of Queen Elizabeth's Bishops. He lies buried in the Chancel of Croydon Church, where his Effigies is to be seen at length in his Doctor's Robes, and in a praying posture.

Queen Elizabeth, 1583.

Strype's Ann. Vol. ult. Suppl. p. 21.

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Archbishop Grindal, to the Spanish Invasion in 1588.

UPON the Death of Grindal, Dr. John Whitgift Bishop of Worcester, was translated to the See of Canterbury, and confirmed Sept. 23d. 1583. He had distinguished himself in the Controversy against the Puritans, and was therefore thought the most proper person to reduce their numbers. Upon his advancement the Queen charged him "To restore the discipline of the Church, and the Uniformity established by Law, which (says her

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

“ Majesty) through the connivance of some Prelates, the
“ obstinacy of the Puritans, and the power of some Noble-
“ men, is run out of square.” Accordingly the very first
Week his Grace published the following Articles, and sent
them to the Bishops of his Province, for their direction in
the Government of their several Dioceses.

His Articles.
L. of Whit-
gift, p. 118.

Art. 1. “ That all preaching, catechising, and praying
“ in any private Family, where any are present besides the
“ Family, be utterly extinguished.

2. “ That none do preach or catechize except also he
“ will read the whole Service, and administer the Sacra-
“ ments four times a year.

3. “ That all Preachers, and others in ecclesiastical Or-
“ ders, do at all times wear the Habits prescribed.

4. “ That none be admitted to preach unless he be or-
“ dained according to the manner of the Church of Eng-
“ land.

5. “ That none be admitted to preach, or execute any
“ part of the ecclesiastical Function, unless he subscribe the
“ three following Articles.

First, “ To the Queen’s Supremacy over all Persons,
“ and in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil within her Ma-
“ jesty’s Dominions.

Secondly, “ To the Book of Common Prayer, and of
“ the Ordination of Priests and Deacons, as containing
“ nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that they
“ will use it in all their publick Ministrations and no other.

Thirdly, “ To the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church
“ of England, agreed upon in the Synod of 1562, and af-
“ terwards confirmed by Parliament.” And with what
Severity his Grace enforced these Articles will be seen pre-
sently.

Examinati-
on into his
Power of
imposing
them.

’Tis easy to observe, that they were all levell’d at the
Puritans; but the most disinterested civil Lawyers of these
times were of opinion, that his Grace had no legal Autho-
rity to impose those, or any other Articles upon the Clergy
without the Broad Seal; and that all his proceedings upon
them were an abuse of the Royal Prerogative, contrary to
the Laws of the Land, and consequently so many Acts of
Oppression upon the Subjects. Their Reasons were;

M. S.
P. 429.

1. Because the Statute of the 25th of Henry the VIIIth,
chap. 20. expressly prohibits “ the whole Body of the Cler-
“ gy, or any of them, to put in Use any Constitutions, or
“ Canons already made, or hereafter to be made, except
“ they be made in Convocation assembled by the King’s
“ Writ

“ Writ, his Royal Assent being also had thereunto, on pain
“ of Fine and Imprisonment.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

2. Because by the Statute of first Eliz. cap. 3. “ All such
“ Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities, Pre-eminencies,
“ Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power and Authority, which
“ hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be executed or
“ used for the Visitation of the Ecclesiastical State and Per-
“ sons, and for Reformation of the same, and of all man-
“ ner of errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, Contempts,
“ and Enormities, are for ever united to the Imperial Crown
“ of these Realms.” From whence it follows, that all
Power is taken from the Bishops, except that of governing
their Dioceses according to the Laws of the Land, or ac-
cording to any further Injunctions they may receive from
the Crown under the Broad Seal.

3. Because some of the Archbishop’s Articles were direct-
ly “ contrary to the Statute Laws of the Realm,” which
the Queen herself has not Power to alter or dispense with.
By the 13 Eliz. chap. 12. the Subscription of the Clergy is
limited to those Articles of the Church which relate “ To
“ the Doctrines of Faith, and Administration of the Sa-
“ craments only ;” whereas the Bishop enjoined them to sub-
scribe the whole Thirty Nine. And by the preamble of the
same Statute, all Ordinations in the Times of Popery, or
after the manner of foreign reformed Churches, are ad-
mitted to be valid, so that such may enjoy any ecclesiastical
preferment in the Church : but the Archbishop says [Artic.
4th.] “ That none shall be admitted to preach, unless he
“ be ordained according to the manner of the Church of
“ England.” Upon these accounts, if the Queen had fal-
len out with him, he might have been found guilty of a
Præmunire.

To these Arguments it was reply’d by his Grace’s Law-
yers,

1. “ That by the Canon Law the Archbishop has Power
“ to make Laws for the well Government of the Church,
“ so far as they do not encounter the Peace of the Church,
“ and Quietness of the Realm.” To which it was answer-
ed, this might be true in times of Popery, but the case
was very much alter’d by the Reformation, because now
the Archbishops and Bishops Authority is derived from the
person of the Queen only ; for the late Queen Mary hav-
ing surrender’d back all ecclesiastical Jurisdiction into the
Hands of the Pope, the present Queen upon her Accession,
had no Jurisdiction resident in her person till the Statute of
Recognition

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

M. S.
p. 661.

Recognition primo Eliz. by which the Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm, being exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Pope are made subject to the Queen, to govern her people in ecclesiastical Causes, as her other Subjects govern the same (according to their places) in civil Causes; so that the Clergy are no more to be called the Archbishops or Bishops Children, but the Queen's liege People, and are to be governed by them according to the Laws, which Laws are such Canons, Constitutions, and Synodals Provincial, as were in force before 25 Hen. VIII. and are not contrary, nor repugnant to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, nor derogatory to her Majesty's Prerogative Royal; and therefore all Canons made before 25 Hen. VIII. giving to the Archbishops or Bishops an unlimited power over the Clergy, as derived from the See of Rome, are utterly void, because such Canons are directly against the Laws and Customs of the Realm, which do not admit of any Subject executing a Law but by Authority from the Prince; and they are derogatory to her Majesty's Prerogative Royal, because hereby some of her Subjects might claim an unlimited power over her other Subjects, independent from the Crown, and by their private Authority command or forbid what they please. Since then the Archbishop's Articles were framed by his own private Authority, they cannot be justified by any of the Canons now in force. "And as for the Peace of the Church and Quiet of the Realm," they were so far from promoting them, that they were like to throw both into confusion.

2. It was said that "The Queen as head of the Church had power to publish Articles and Injunctions for reducing the Clergy to Uniformity; and that the Archbishop had the Queen's Licence and Consent for what he did." But the Queen herself had no authority to publish Articles and Injunctions in defiance of the Laws; and as for her Majesty's Permission and Consent, it could be no Warrant to the Archbishop, except it had been under the Great Seal. And if the Archbishop had no legal Authority to command, the Clergy were not obliged to obey; the oath of Canonical Obedience does not bind in this Case, because 'tis limited to "Licitis et Honestis, Things lawful and honest; whereas the present Articles were against Law, they were enforced by no legal Authority, and were such as the Ministers could not honestly consent to.

But

But notwithstanding these objections, the Archbishop in his primary metropolitical Visitation insisted peremptorily, that all who enjoyed any Office or Benefice in the Church, should subscribe the three Articles above-mentioned; the second of which he knew the Puritans would refuse: accordingly there were suspended for not subscribing;

Queen Elizabeth, 1583.
Abp's primary Visitation.

	Minist.	
In the County of Norfolk	64	Numbers suspended.
Suffolk	60	
Suffex, about	30	
Essex	38	
Kent	19 or 20	
Lincolnshire	21	
In all	233	

All whose Names are now before me; besides great numbers in the Dioceſe of Peterborough, in the City of London, and proportionable in other Counties; ſome of whom were Dignitaries in the Church, and moſt of them Graduates in the Univerſity; of theſe ſome were allowed time, but 49 were abſolutely deprived at once.

M. S. p. 436.

Among the ſuſpended Miniſters his Grace ſhewed ſome particular favour to thoſe of Suffex, at the interceſſion of ſome great perſons; for after a long diſpute and many arguments before himſelf at Lambeth, he accepted of the Subscription of ſix or ſeven, with their own Explication of the Rubricks, and with a Declaration that their Subscription was not to be underſtood in any other Senſe, than “As far as the Books were agreeable to the word of God, and to the ſubſtance of Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, and to the Analogy of Faith; and that it did not extend to any thing not expreſſed in the ſaid Books.” Of all which the Archbiſhop allowed them an authentick Copy in writing, dated December 6th, 1583, and ordered his Chancellor to ſend letters to Chicheſter, that the reſt of the ſuſpended Miniſters in that County might be indulged the ſame favour.

M. S. p. 323, 405.
L. of Whitgift, p. 129.

Many good and pious men ſtrained their Conſciences on this occaſion; ſome ſubſcribed the Articles with this proteſtation in open Court, “As far as they are agreeable to the Word of God; and others Dempto Secundo, that is, taking away the ſecond.” Many upon better conſideration

Their Hardſhips.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

Fenner's
Answer to
Dr. Bridges,
p. 119, 120.

Motives for
amendments
in the Ser-
vice Book.

M. S. p.
156.

Abp's Rea-
sons for
Subscription.
en.

ration repented their subscribing in this manner, and would have razed out their Names, but it was not permitted. Some that were allured to subscribe, with the promises of Favour and better preferment, were neglected and forgotten, and troubled in the Commissaries Court as much as before. The Court took no notice of their Protestations or Reserves; they wanted nothing but their hands, and when they had got them they were all listed under the same Colours, and published to the World as absolute Subscribers.

The body of the inferior Clergy wished and prayed for some Amendments in the Service Book to make their brethren easy. "I am sure (says a learned Divine of these Times) that this good would come of it, (1.) It would please Almighty God. (2.) The learned Ministers would be more firmly united against the Papists. (3.) The good Ministers and good Subjects, whereof many are now at Weeping Crosses would be cheared; and many able Students encouraged to take upon them the Ministry. And, (4.) Hereby the Papists, and more careless sort of Professors, would be more easily won to Religion. If any object, that excellent men were publishers of the Book of Prayer, and that it would be some Disgrace to the Church to alter it. I answer, (1.) That though worthy men are to be accounted of, yet their oversights in Matters of Religion are not to be honoured by Subscription. (2.) The Reformation of the Service Book can be no disgrace to us nor them, for mens second thoughts are wiser than their first; and the Papists in the late times of Pius V. reformed our Lady's Psalter. To conclude, if amendments to the Book be inconvenient, it must be either in regard of Protestants or Papists; it cannot be in regard of Protestants, for very great numbers of them pray heartily to God for it. And if it be in regard of the Papists, we are not to mind them; for they whose Captains say, that we have neither Church, nor Sacraments, nor Ministers, nor Queen in England, are not greatly to be regarded of us."

But Whitgift was influenced by none of these Arguments; he was against all alterations in the Liturgy, for this general Reason, "Left the Church should be thought to have maintained an Error:" which is surprizing to come from the mouth of a Protestant Bishop, who had so lately separated from the infallible Church of Rome. His Grace's Arguments for Subscription to his Articles are no less remarkable. (1.) If you do not subscribe to the Book

Book of Common Prayer, you do in effect say there is no true service of God, nor Administration of Sacraments in the Land. (2.) If you do not subscribe the Book of Ordination of Priests, &c. then our calling must be unlawful, and we have no true Ministry, nor Church in England. (3.) If you do not subscribe the "Book of the Thirty Nine Articles," you deny true Doctrine to be established among us, which is the main Note of a true Church. Could an honest man, and a great scholar be in earnest with this Reasoning? might not the Puritans dislike some things in the Service Book without invalidating the whole? did not his Grace know, that they offered to subscribe to the use of the Service Book, as far as they could apprehend it consonant to Truth, though they could not give it under their hands, "That there was nothing in it contrary to the Word of God, nor promise to use the whole without the least Variation in their publick Ministry?" But according to the Archbishop's Logick, the Church must be infallible or no Church at all. The Liturgy must be perfect in every phrase and Sentence, or 'tis no true service of God; and "every Article of the Church must be agreeable to Scripture," or they contain no true Doctrine at all. He told the Ministers, that all that did not subscribe his Articles were Schismatics; that they had separated themselves from the Church; and declared peremptorily, that they should be turned out of it.

Queen Elizabeth, 1583.

Life of Whitgift, p. 125.

This conduct of the Archbishop was exposed in a Pamphlet, entitled the Practice of Prelates; which says, that none ever used good Ministers so severely since the Reformation as he; that his severe proceedings were against the Judgment of many of his Brethren the Bishops, and that the Devil the common enemy of mankind, had certainly a hand in it. For who of the Ministers (says he) have been tumultuous or unpeaceable? have they not striven for peace in their Ministry, in their Writings, and by their example; and sought for their Discipline only by lawful and dutiful means? why then should the Archbishop tyrannize over his fellow Ministers, and starve many thousand Souls, by depriving all that refuse Subscription? why should he lay such stress upon popish opinions, and upon an Hierarchy that never obtained till the approach of Antichrist?

Life of Whitgift, p. 122.

Loud were the cries of these poor sufferers and their distressed Families to Heaven for mercy, as well as to their superiors on Earth! their temptations were strong, for as men they were moved with compassion for their Wives and little

Compassionate case of the Non-subscribers.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1583.

little ones ; and as faithful Ministers of Christ they were desirous to be useful, and to preserve the Testimony of a good Conscience. Some through Frailty were overcome and submitted, but most of them cast themselves and Families upon the providence of God ; having writ to the Queen, to the Archbishop, and to the Lords of the Council ; and after some time to the Parliament, for a friendly conference, or a publick Disputation, when and where, and before whom they pleased ; but without success.

1584.
Their Sup-
plications to
the Council.
M. S. p.
328, 330,
&c.

The supplication of the Norfolk Ministers to the Lords of the Council, sign'd with 20 hands ; the supplication of the Lincolnshire Ministers with 21 hands ; the supplication of the Essex Ministers with 27 hands ; the supplication of the Oxfordshire Ministers with——Hands ; the supplication of the Ministers of Kent with 17 hands, are now before me ; besides the supplication of the London Ministers, and of those of the Diocese of Ely and Cambridgeshire ; representing in most moving Language their unhappy circumstances, “ We commend, say they, to your Honours “ compassion our poor Families, but much more do we “ commend “ Our doubtful, fearful, and distressed Con- “ sciences, together with the cries of our poor people, who “ are hungry after the word, and are now as Sheep ha- “ ving no Shepherd. We have applied to the Archbishop “ but can get no relief, we therefore humbly beg it at your “ Honours Hands——” They declare their readiness to subscribe the Doctrinal Articles of the Church, according to the Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 12. and to the other Articles, “ As far as they are not repugnant to the Word of God.” And they promise further, if they may be dispensed with as to Subscription, that they will make no disturbance in the Church, nor separate from it.

M. S. p.
326.

The Kentish Ministers in their supplication to the Lords of the Council, professed their Reverence for the established Church, and their esteem for the Book of Common Prayer, so far as that they saw no necessity of separating from the Unity of the Church on that account : that they believed the word preached, and the Sacraments administer'd according to authority, touching the substance, to be lawful. They promised to shew themselves obedient to the Queen in all causes ecclesiastical and civil ; but then they added, that “ There were many things that needed Re- “ formation, which therefore they could not honestly set “ their hands to.” They conclude with praying for indulgence, and subscribe themselves “ Their Honours daily “ and

“ and faithful Orators, the Ministers of Kent suspended
“ from the execution of their Ministry.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

The London Ministers applied to the Convocation, and
15 of them offered to subscribe to the Queen's Supremacy,
to the use of the Common Prayer Book, and to the Doctrinal
Articles of the Church if they might be restor'd; but
then add, “ We dare not say there is nothing in the three

Petition of
London
Ministers to
Convocation.

“ Books repugnant to the word of God till we are otherwise
“ enlightened; and therefore humbly pray our Brethren in
“ Convocation, to be a means to the Queen and Parlia-
“ ment, that we may not be pressed to an absolute Subscrip-
“ tion, but be suffered to go on in the quiet discharge of
“ the duties of our Calling, as we have done heretofore,
“ to the honour of Almighty God, and the Edification of
“ his Church. We protest before God and our Saviour
“ Jesus Christ, that if by any means, by doing that which
“ is not wicked, we might continue still our labours in the
“ Gospel, we would gladly and willingly do any thing that
“ might procure that Blessing, esteeming it more than all
“ the riches in the World; but if we cannot be suffered to
“ continue in our places and callings, we beseech the Lord
“ to shew greater mercy to those by whom this affliction
“ shall be brought upon us, and upon the people commit-
“ ted to our charge, for whom we will not cease to pray, M. S. p.
“ that the good Work which the Lord has begun by our 595, 623.
“ Labours may still be advanced, to that day when the
“ Lord shall give them and us comfort one in another, and
“ in his presence everlasting happiness and eternal Glory.”

This petition was presented to the Convocation in the first
Sessions of the next Parliament, in the name of the Mini-
sters of London that had refused to subscribe the Articles
lately enforced upon them; with an humble request to have
their doubts satisfied by Conference, or any other way.

Among the suspended Ministers of London was the learn-
ed and virtuous Mr. Barber, who preach'd 4 times a week
at Bow Church: his Parishioners to the number of 120,
sign'd a petition to the Lord Mayor and Court of Alder-
men for his Release, but that Court could not obtain it.
March 4th the learned Mr. Field and Mr. Egerton were
suspended. Mr. Field had been often in Bonds for Non-
conformity; he was Minister of Aldermary, and had ad-
mitted an assembly of Ministers at his House, among whom
were some Scots Divines, who being disaffected to the Hie-
rarchy, the Assembly was declared an unlawful Conventicle,
and Mr. Field was suspended from his Ministry for enter-
taining

Mr. Barber,
Field and
Egerton su-
spended.
M. S. p.
460, 558,
&c.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

Petitions of
Gentlemen
and Pari-
shioners for
their Mini-
sters.

taining them ; but the rest were deprived for not subscri-
bing.

Many Gentlemen of reputation both in City and Coun-
try appeared for the suspended Ministers, as well out of re-
gard to their poor Families, as for the sake of Religion, it
being impossible to fill up so many Vacancies as were made
in the Church upon this occasion. The Gentlemen of
Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Kent, interceded with the
Archbishop, alledging that it was very hard to deal with
men so severely for a few Rites and Ceremonies, when they
were neither Hereticks nor Schismatics, and when the
Country wanted their useful preaching. The Parishioners
of the several places from whence the Ministers were eject-
ed, signed petitions to the Lord Treasurer, and others of
the Queen's Council, beseeching them in the Bowels of
Jesus Christ, that their Ministers being of an upright and
holy Conversation, and diligent preachers of the Word of
God might be restored, or otherwise (their Livings be-
ing but of small value) their souls would be in danger of
perishing for lack of Knowledge.

M. S. p.
457.

Essex Peti-
tion.

The inhabitants of Malden in Essex sent up a complaint
to the Council, " That since their Ministers had been taken
" from them for not subscribing to certain Articles neither
" confirmed by the Law of God, nor of the Land ; they
" had none left but such as they could prove unfit for that
" Office, being altogether ignorant, having been either
" popish Priests or shiftless Men, thrust in upon the Mini-
" stry when they knew not else how to live ; Men of Oc-
" cupation, serving Men, and the basest of all sorts ;
" and which is most lamentable, as they are men of no
" gifts, so they are of no common honesty, but Rioters,
" Dicers, Drunkards, &c. and of offensive Lives. These
" are the men (say they) that are supported, whose reports
" and suggestions against others are readily received and ad-
" mitted ; by reason of which multitudes of Papists, He-
" reticks, and other Enemies to God and the Queen are in-
" creased, and we ourselves in danger of being insulted.
" We therefore humbly beseech your honours in the Bowels
" of Jesus Christ, to be a means of restoring our godly
" and faithful Ministers ; so shall we and many thousands
" of her Majesty's Subjects, continue our daily supplicati-
" ons to Almighty God, &c."

Norwich Pe-
tition.

The petition of the Inhabitants of Norwich, signed with
176 hands, and many letters and supplications from the
most populous Towns in England, to the same purpose
are

are now before me. But these appeals of the Puritans and their friends did them no service; for the watchful Archbishop, whose eyes were about him, writ to the Council to put them in mind, "That the Cause of the Puritans did not lie before them: That he wonder'd at the presumption of the Ministers, to bring his doings in question before their Lordships; and at their proud spirit, to dare to offer to dispute before so great a body against the Religion established by Law and against a Book so painfully penned, and confirmed by the highest authority." He then adds, "That it was not for him to sit in his place, if every Curate in his Diocese must dispute with him; nor could he do his duty to the Queen, if he might not proceed without interruption; but if they would help him he should soon bring them to comply." As to the gentlemen that petitioned for their ministers, he told them to their faces, That he would not suffer their factious Ministers, unless they would subscribe: That no Church ought to suffer its laudable Rites to be neglected: That tho' the Ministers were not Hereticks, they were Schismatics, because they raised a contention in the Church about things not necessary to salvation. And as for lack of preaching, if the gentlemen or parishioners would let him dispose of their livings, he would take care to provide them with able men. Thus this great prelate, who had complied with the popish Religion, and kept his place in the University throughout all the Reign of Queen Mary, was resolved to bear down all opposition, and to display his sovereign Power against all whose consciences were not as flexible as his own.

Queen Elizabeth, 1584.

Abp's Remonstrance against them.

Life of Whitgift, p. 128.

But not content with his Episcopal Jurisdiction, his Grace solicited the Queen for a new Ecclesiastical Commission, and gave her Majesty these weighty reasons for it, among others. (1.) Because the Puritans condemn the Ecclesiastical Censures. (2.) Because the Commission may order a search for seditious Books, and examine the Writers or Publishers upon Oath, which a Bishop cannot. (3.) Because the Ecclesiastical Commission can punish by Fines, which are very commodious to the Government; or by imprisonment, which will strike more terror into the Puritans. (4.) Because a notorious fault cannot be notoriously punished but by the Commission. (5.) Because the whole Ecclesiastical Law is but a Carcase without a Soul, unless it be quickened by the Commission.

He petitions the Queen for a new Ecclesiastical Commission. L. of Whitgift, p. 134.

Queen
Elizab-th,
1584.

Queen
grants it.

The Queen, who was already disposed to methods of severity, easily gave way to the Archbishop's arguments, and order'd a new High Commission to be drawn up, which she put the Great Seal to, in the month of December, 1583. and the 26th year of her Reign. There had been five High Commissions before this, in most of which the powers of the Commissioners had been enlarged; but forasmuch as the Court was now almost at its height, I will give the Reader an Abstract of their Commission from an attested Copy, under the hand and seal of Abrahamus Hartwell, Notarius Publicus, at the special request and command of the Archbishop himself, dated January 7th, 1583 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The preamble recites the Act of the first of the Queen, commonly called the Act for "restoring to the Crown the "antient Jurisdiction of the State Ecclesiastical and Civil, "and the abolishing all foreign Power repugnant to the "same:" And another of the same year, "For uniformity "of Common Prayer and Service of the Church and Administration of the Sacraments:" and a third of the 5th of the Queen, entitled "An Act of Assurance of the Queen's "Powers over all States, &c." And a fourth of the 13 Eliz. entitled "An Act for reforming certain Disorders touching "Ministers of the Church:" As the foundation of her Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Power. Her Majesty then names 44 Commissioners, whereof 12 were Bishops; some were Privy Counsellors, Lawyers, and Officers of State, as Sir Francis Knollys Treasurer of the Household, Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary of State, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Ralph Sadleir Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Gilbert Gerard Master of the Rolls, Sir Robert Manhood Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir Owen Hopton Lieutenant of the Tower of London, John Popham, Esq; Attorney General, Thomas Egerton, Esq; Solicitor General; the rest were Deans, Archdeacons and Civilians. Her Majesty then proceeds;

Copy of the
commission.

"**W**E earnestly minding to have the above-mentioned
" Laws put in execution, and putting special Trust
" and Confidence in your Wisdoms and Discretions, have
" authorized and appointed you to be our Commissioners;
" and do give full power and authority to you, or three of
" you, whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury, or one of
" the Bishops mentioned in the Commission, or Sir Francis
" Walsingham, Sir Gilbert Gerard, or some of the Civi-
" lians to be one, to enquire from time to time during our
" pleasure,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

“ pleasure, as well by the Oaths of 12 good and lawful
“ men, as also by Witnesſes, and all other Means and
“ Ways you can devise; of all Offences, Contempts, Miſ-
“ demeanors, &c. done and committed contrary to the Te-
“ nor of the ſaid ſeveral Acts and Statutes; and alſo to en-
“ quire of all heretical Opinions, ſeditious Books, Con-
“ tempts, Conſpiracies, falſe Rumours or Talks, ſlander-
“ ous Words, and Sayings, &c. contrary to the aforeſaid
“ Laws, or any others ordained for the maintenance of
“ Religion in this Realm, together with their Abettors,
“ Counſellors, or Coadjutors.

“ And further we do give full power to you, or any
“ three of you, whereof the Archbiſhop of Canterbury,
“ or one of the Biſhops mentioned in the Commiſſion to
“ be one, to hear and determine concerning the premiſes,
“ and to order, correct, reform, and puniſh all perſons
“ dwelling in places exempt or not exempt, that willfully
“ and obſtinately abſent from Church, or Divine Service
“ eſtabliſhed by Law, by the Cenſures of the Church, or
“ any other lawful Ways and Means, by the Act of Uni-
“ formity, or any Laws Eccleſiaſtical of this Realm limit-
“ ed and appointed; and to take order, of your Diſcreti-
“ ons, that the Penalties and Forfeitures limited by the ſaid
“ Act of Uniformity againſt the Offenders in that behalf
“ may be duly levied, according to the Forms preſcribed
“ in the ſaid Act, to the uſe of Us and the Poor, upon the
“ Goods, Lands and Tenements of ſuch Offenders, by way
“ of Diſtreſs, according to the true meaning and limitation
“ of the Statute.

“ And we do further empower you, or any three of you,
“ during our pleaſure, to viſit and reform all Errors, Here-
“ ſies, Schiſms, &c. which may lawfully be reformed or
“ reſtrained by Cenſures Eccleſiaſtical, Deprivation or o-
“ therwiſe, according to the Power and Authority limited
“ and appointed by the Laws, Ordinances and Statutes of
“ this Realm.

“ And we do hereby further empower you, or any three
“ of you, to call before you ſuch perſons as have Eccleſiaſtical
“ Livings, and to deprive ſuch of them as wilfully and ad-
“ verſely maintain any Doctrine contrary to ſuch Articles of
“ Religion of the Synod of 1562. which only concern the
“ Confeſſion of the true Faith and Doctrine of the Sa-
“ craments, and will not revoke the ſame.

“ And we do further empower you, or any three of you,
“ to puniſh all Inceſts, Adulteries, Fornications, Outrages,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

“ Misbehaviours and Disorders in Marriage ; and all grievous Offences punishable by the Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the tenor of the Laws in that behalf, and according to your Wisdoms, Consciences, and Discretions, commanding you, or any three of you, to devise all such lawful Ways and Means for the searching out the premises, as by you shall be thought necessary : And upon due proof thereof had, by confession of the party, or lawful Witnesses, or by any other due means ; to order and award such punishment by Fine, Imprisonment, Censures of the Church, or by all or any of the said Ways, as to your Wisdom and Discretions shall appear most meet and convenient.

“ And further we do empower you, or any three of you, to call before you all persons suspected of any of the premises, and to proceed against them, as the quality of the offence and suspicion shall require, to examine them on their corporal Oaths, for the better trial and opening of the Truth ; and if any persons are obstinate and disobedient, either in not appearing at your command, or not obeying your orders and decrees, then to punish them by Excommunication, or other Censures Ecclesiastical, or by Fine according to your Discretions ; or to commit the said Offenders to ward, there to remain, till he or they shall be by you, or three of you, enlarged or delivered ; and shall pay such costs and expences of suit as the cause shall require, and you in justice shall think reasonable.

“ And further we give full power and authority to you, or three of you as aforesaid, to command all our Sheriffs, Justices, and other Officers, by your Letters, to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such persons as you shall think meet to be convened before you ; and to take such Bond as you shall think fit, for their personal appearance, and in case of refusal to commit them to safe Custody, till you shall give order for their enlargement : And further, to take such securities for their performance of your Decrees as you shall think reasonable. And further, you shall keep a Register of your Decrees, and of your Fines, and appoint Receivers, Messengers, and other Officers, with such Salaries as you shall think fit ; the receiver to certify into the Exchequer, every Easter and Michaelmas Term, an account of the Fines taxed and received, under the Hands of three of the Commissioners.

“ And

“ And we do further empower you, or any Six of you,
 “ whereof some to be Bishops, to examine, alter, review
 “ and amend the Statutes of Colleges, Cathedrals, Gram-
 “ mar Schools, and other publick Foundations, and to pre-
 “ sent them to us to be confirmed.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1584.

“ And we do further empower you, to tender the Oath
 “ of Supremacy to all Ministers, and others compellable
 “ by Act of Parliament, and to certify the names of such
 “ as refuse it into the King’s Bench.

“ And lastly, we do appoint a Seal for your Office,
 “ having a Crown and a Rose over it, and the Letter E
 “ before, and R after the same; and round about the Seal
 “ these Words, Sigill. Commiss. Regiæ Maj. ad Causas
 “ Ecclesiasticas.”

M. S.
 p. 524.

The Court of High Commission was so called, because it
 claimed a larger Jurisdiction, and higher Powers than the
 ordinary Courts of the Bishops; its Jurisdiction reached
 over the whole Kingdom, and was the same in a manner
 with that which was lodged in the single Person of Lord
 Cromwel, Vicar General to King Henry VIII. but now
 put into Commission. The Court was erected upon the
 Authority of the Acts mentioned in the Preamble, and
 therefore its Powers must be limited by those Statutes;
 though the Council for Mr. Cawdrey, whose Case was ar-
 gued before all the Judges in Trinity Term, 1591. ques-
 tioned whether the Court had any Foundation at all in Law;
 because it was doubtful whether the Queen could delegate
 her Ecclesiastical Authority, or the Commissioners act by
 virtue of such Delegation.

Remarks.
 p. 318.

But admitting the Court to be legal, it will appear that
 both the Queen and her Commissioners exceeded the Powers
 granted them by Law; for it was not the intendment of the
 Act of Supremacy, to vest any new Powers in the Crown,
 but only to restore it to what was supposed to be its ancient
 and natural Right. Nor do the Acts above recited autho-
 rize the Queen to dispense with the Laws of the Realm, or
 act contrary to them; or to set aside the ordinary legal Me-
 thods of proceeding in other Courts of Judicature by Indi-
 cements, by Witnesses, and Jury of twelve Men; nor do
 they empower her to levy Fines, and inflict what corporal
 Punishments she pleases upon Offenders; but in all criminal
 Cases, where the precise punishment is not determined by
 the Statute, her Commissioners were to be directed and go-
 verned by the Laws of the Land.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.
Power of the
Commission
debated.

But contrary to the Proceedings in other Courts, the Queen empowered her Commissioners to "enquire into all Misdemeanors, not only by the Oaths of twelve Men, and Witnesſes, but by all other Means and Ways they could deviſe;" that is, by Inquiſition, by the Rack, by Torture, or by any ways and means that 44 ſovereign Judges ſhall invent. Surely this ſhould have been limited to lawful Ways and Means.

Of the Oath
ex Officio.

Further, her Maſteſty empowers her Commissioners "to examine ſuch Perſons as they ſuſpected upon their Corporal Oaths, for the better Trial and Opening of the Truth, and to puniſh thoſe that reſuſed the Oath by Fine and Imprisonment, according to their Diſcretion." This refers to the Oath Ex Officio mero, and was not in the five firſt Commiſſions.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 340.

It was ſaid in behalf of this Oath by Dr. Aubrey the Civilian, that though it was not warrantable by the Letter of the Statute of 1ſt Elizabeth, yet the Canon Law being in force before the making of that Statute, and the Commiſſion warranting the Commissioners to proceed according to the Law Eccleſiaſtical, they might lawfully adminiſter it according to an ancient Cuſtom. To which it was answered, That ſuch an Oath was never allowed by any Canon of the Church or General Council, for a thouſand years after Chriſt; that when it was uſed againſt the Primitive Chriſtians, the Pagan Emperors countermanded it; that it was againſt the Pope's Law in the Decretals, which admits of ſuch an Inquiſition only in caſes of Hereſy; nor was it ever uſed in England till the Reign of King Henry IV. and then it was enforced as Law only by a haughty Archbiſhop without conſent of the Commons of England, till the 25th of Henry VIII. when it was utterly abrogated. This pretended Law was again revived by Queen Mary, but repealed again by 1ſt of Queen Elizabeth, and ſo remains.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 393,
394.

Befides, as this purging Men by Oath has no Foundation in the Law of the Land, 'tis undoubtedly contrary to the Laws of Nature and of Nations, where this is a received Maxim, "Nemo tenetur ſeipſum accuſare: No Man is bound to accuſe himſelf. The Queen therefore had no Power to authorize her Commissioners to ſet up an Inquiſition, and adminiſter an Oath for the ſuſpected Perſon, to answer all Questions the Court ſhould put to him, and to convict him upon thoſe Answers; or if they could confront his Evidence to puniſh him as perjured.

" If

“ If any Persons disobeyed the Orders and Decrees of
 “ the Court, by not appearing at their Summons, &c. the
 “ Commissioners were impowered to punish them by Fine
 “ or Imprisonment at their Discretions.” This also was
 contrary to Law, for the Body of a Subject is to be justified,
 Secundum Legem terræ, as Magna Charta and the Law
 faith. The Clerk Felon in the Bishop’s Prison is the King’s
 Prisoner, and not the Bishop’s, and therefore by the 1st
 Henry VII. cap. 4. “ The Bishop of the Diocese is empow-
 “ ered to imprison such Priests, or other religious persons
 “ within his Jurisdiction, as shall by Examination, and other
 “ lawful Proofs requisite by the Law of the Church, be
 “ convicted of Fornication, Incest, or any fleshly Inconti-
 “ nency, and there to detain them for such time, as shall
 “ be thought by their Discretions convenient, according to
 “ the quality of the Offence; and that none of the said
 “ Archbishops or Bishops shall be chargeable with an Action
 “ of false Imprisonment for so doing.” Which plainly im-
 plies, that a Bishop cannot by Law commit a Man to Pri-
 son, except in the Cases above-mentioned; and that in all
 others the Law remains in force as before. If then the
 Queen by her Ecclesiastical Commission could not dispense
 with the Laws of the Land, it is evident that the long and
 arbitrary Imprisonments of the Puritan Clergy, before they
 had been legally convicted, and all their Confinements af-
 terwards beyond the Time limited by the Statutes were so
 many Acts of Oppression; and every acting Bishop or
 Commissioner was liable to be sued in an Action of false Im-
 prisonment.

Queen
 Elizabeth.
 1584.
 Their Power
 of Imprison-
 ment.

L. of Ayl.
 p. 145.

The Law says, No Man shall be fined Ultra Tenemen-
 tum, beyond his Estate or Ability. But the Fines raised by
 this Court in the two next Reigns were so exorbitant, that
 no Man was secure in his Property or Estate; though ac-
 cording to Lord Clarendon, their Power of levying any
 Fines at all was very doubtful. Some for speaking an un-
 mannerly Word, or writing what the Court was pleased to
 call a Libel, were fined from five hundred to ten thou-
 sand Pounds, and perpetual Imprisonment; some had their
 Ears cut off and their Noses slit, after they had been ex-
 posed several days in the Pillory; and many Families were
 driven into Banishment; till in process of Time the Court
 became such a general Nuisance, that it was dissolved by
 Parliament, with a Clause that no such Court should be
 erected for the future.

Of their
 Fines.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

Of their
Power to
frame Arti-
cles for the
Clergy.

M.S. p. 573.

Further, the Commission gives no Authority to the Court to frame Articles, and oblige the Clergy to subscribe them. It empowers them to reform all Errors, Heresies and Schisms, which may lawfully be reformed, according to the Power and Authority limited and appointed by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm. But there never was a Clause in any of the Commissions, empowering them to offer Subscription to Articles of their own devising. Therefore their doing this without a special Ratification under the Great Seal, was no doubt an Usurpation of the Supremacy, and brought them within the Compass of a Præmunire, according to the Statutes of 25 Henry VIII. chap. 20. and 1 Eliz. chap. 3.

Lastly, Though all Spiritual Courts (and consequently the High Commission) are and ought to be subject to Prohibitions from the supreme Courts of Law, yet the Commissioners would seldom or never admit them, and at length terrified the Judges from granting them: so that upon the whole, their proceedings were for the most part contrary to the Act of Submission of the Clergy, contrary to the Statute Laws of the Realm, and no better than a spiritual Inquisition.

Manner of
the Court's
Proceedings.

If a Clergyman omitted any of the Ceremonies of the Church in his publick Ministrations; or if a Parishioner bore an ill-will to his Minister, he might inform the Commissioners by Letter, that he was a suspected Person; upon which a Pursuivant or Messenger was sent to his house with a Citation, to the following effect:

Form of Ci-
tation.

M. S. p.
422.

“ WE will and command you, and every of you, in
“ her Majesty's Name, by virtue of her High Com-
“ mission for Causes Ecclesiastical, to us and others directed,
“ that you, and every of you, do make your personal ap-
“ pearance before us, or others her Majesty's Commis-
“ sioners in that behalf appointed, in the Consistory within
“ the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London, [or at
“ Lambeth] the 7th Day next after the sight hereof,
“ if we or other our Colleagues shall then happen to sit
“ in Commission, or else at our next sitting there, then
“ next immediately following: And that after your Ap-
“ pearance there made, you, and every of you, shall at-
“ tend, and not depart without our special Licence; wil-
“ ling and commanding you, to whom these our Letters
“ shall first be delivered, to shew the same, and give In-
“ timation and Knowledge thereof to the others nominated
“ upon

“ upon the Indorsement hereof, as you, and every of you,
 “ will answer to the contrary at your Perils. Given at
 “ London the 16th of May, 1584.”

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1584.

John Cant.

Gabriel Goodman. John London,

Indorsed,
 To Ezekias Morley,
 Rob. Pamnet, and } of Ridgwel in Essex.
 Wm. Bigge,

The Pursuivant that brought them up had 33s. and 4d. for 41 Miles, being about 9 or 10d. a Mile. Upon their appearing before the Commissioners they were committed prisoners to the Clink seven Weeks before they were called to their Trial. When the Prisoners were brought to the Bar the Court immediately tendered them the Oath, to answer all Questions to the best of their knowledge; by which they were obliged not only to accuse themselves, but frequently to bring their Relations and Acquaintance into trouble. The Party to be examined was not to be acquainted with the Interrogatories before-hand, nor to have a Copy of his Answers, which were lodged with the Secretary of the Court against the Day of his Trial. If the Commissioners could not convict him upon his own confession, then they examined their Witnesses, but never cleared him upon his own Oath. If they could not reach the Prisoner by their ordinary Jurisdiction as Bishops, they would then sit as Ecclesiastical Commissioners. If they could not convict him upon any Statute, then they had recourse to their old obsolete Law Ecclesiastical, so that the Prisoner seldom knew by what Law he was to be tried, nor how to defend himself. Sometimes Men were obliged to a long Attendance, and at other times condemned in haste without any Trial. The Reverend Mr. Brayne a Cambridge Minister, being sent for to Lambeth, made his appearance before the Archbishop and two of the Commissioners on Saturday in the Afternoon, and being commanded to answer the Interrogatories of the Court upon Oath, he refused unless he might first see them, and write down his Answers with his own Hand; which his Grace refusing, immediately gave him his canonical Admonitions Once, Twice, and Thrice; and caused him to be registered for Contempt and suspended.

L. of Whit-
 gift, p. 163

But let the Reader carefully peruse the 24 Articles themselves, which the Archbishop framed for the Service of the Court; and then judge whether it were possible for an honest man to answer them upon oath, without exposing himself

Queen
Elizabeth,
1581.

himself to the mercy of his Adversaries. They were these that follow :

Whitegift's
24 Articles.

Apud Lam-
beth, May,
1584.

1. Imprimis, “ **O**bjicimus, ponimus, & articulamur,
i. e. We object, put, and article to you,

“ That you are a Deacon or Minister, and Priest admit-
“ ted ; declare by whom, and what time you were or-
“ dered ; and likewise, that your ordering was according
“ to the Book in that behalf by the law of this land pro-
“ vided. Et objicimus conjunctim de omni & divisim
“ de quolibet, i. e. And we object to you the whole of
“ this Article conjunctly, and every Branch of it sepa-
“ rately.

2. Item, “ Objicimus, ponimus. & articulamur, That
“ you deem and judge such your Ordering, Admission and
“ Calling into your Ministry to be lawful, and not repugnant
“ to the word of God. Et objicimus ut supra, i. e. And we
“ object as before.

3. Item, “ Objicimus, ponimus, &c. That you have
“ sworn, as well at the time of your Ordering as Institu-
“ tion, Duty and Allegiance to the Queen’s Majesty, and
“ Canonical Obedience to your Ordinary and his Succes-
“ sors, and to the Metropolitan and his Successors, or
“ to some of them. Et objicimus ut supra.

4. Item, “ Objicimus, &c. That by a Statute or Act
“ of Parliament made in the 1st year of the Queen’s
“ Majesty that now is, one virtuous and godly Book, en-
“ titled, The Book of Common Prayer and Administra-
“ tion of Sacraments, &c. was authorized and established
“ to stand and be from and after the Feast of the Nativity
“ of St. John Baptist then next ensuing, in full Force and
“ Effect, according to the said Statute, and so yet remain-
“ eth. Et obj. ut supra.

5. Item, “ Obj. That by the said Statute all Mini-
“ sters within her Majesty’s Dominions ever since the said
“ Feast have been, and are bound to say and use, a cer-
“ tain Form of Morning and Evening Prayer, called in
“ the Act Mattins, Even Song, Celebration of the Lord’s
“ Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments ;
“ and all other common and open prayer in such order and
“ form as is mentioned in the same Book, and none other,
“ nor otherwise. Et obj. ut supra.

6. Item, “ Obj. That in the said Statute her Majesty,
“ the Lords Temporal, and all the Commons in that Par-
“ liament assembled, do in God’s Name earnestly charge
“ and

“ and require all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their Knowledge, that the due and true execution of the said Act might be throughout their Diocese and Charge, as they would answer it before Almighty God. Et obj. ut supra.

7. Item, “ Obj. ponimus, &c. That you deem and judge the said whole Book to be a godly and a virtuous Book, agreeable, or at the least not repugnant to the Word of God; If not, we require, and command you to declare, wherein, and in what points. Et objicimus ut supra.

8. Item, “ Obj. That for the space of these three years, two years, one year, half a year; three, two, or one month last past, you have at the time of Communion, and at all, or some other times in your Ministration, used and worn only your ordinary apparel, and not the Surplice, as is required; Declare how long, how often, and for what cause, consideration, or intent, you have so done, or refused so to do. Et obj. ut supra.

9. Item, “ Obj. That within the time aforesaid, you have baptized divers, or at least one Infant, and have not used the Sign of the Cross in the Forehead, with the Words prescribed to be used in the said Book of Common Prayer; Declare how many you have so baptized, and for what cause, consideration and intent. Et obj. ut supra.

10. Item, “ Obj. That within the time aforesaid you have been sent unto, and required divers times, or at least once, to baptize Children; or some one child being weak, and have refused, neglected, or at least so long deferred the same, till the Child or Children died without the Sacrament of Baptism; Declare whose Child, when, and for what consideration. Et obj. ut supra.

11. Item, “ Obj. &c. That within the time aforesaid you have celebrated Matrimony otherwise than the book prescribes, and without a Ring, and have refused, at such times to call for the Ring, and to use such words in that behalf as the book appoints, and particularly those words, That by Matrimony is signified the Spiritual Marriage and Unity between Christ and his Church. Declare the circumstances of time, person, and place, and for what cause, intent, and consideration. Et obj. ut supra.

12. Item,

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Elizabeth,
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12. Item, " Obj. &c. That you have within the time
" aforefaid neglected, or refused to use the Form of
" Thanksgiving for women, or some one woman after child-
" birth, according to the said Book. Declare the like
" circumstances thereof, and for what intent, cause, or
" consideration you have so done, or refused so to do. Et
" obj. ut supra.

13. Item, " Objicimus, &c. That you within the
" time aforefaid baptized divers Infants, or at the least
" one, otherwise and in other manner than the said Book
" prescribeth, and not used the Interrogatories to the God-
" fathers and God-mothers in the name of the Infant, as
" the said Book requireth. Declare the like circumstan-
" ces thereof, or for what cause, intent, or consideration,
" you have so done, or refused so to do. Et objicimus ut
" supra.

14. Item, " We do object, That you have within the
" time aforefaid used any other Form of Litany, in divers
" or some Points, from the said Book; or that you have
" often, or once, wholly refused to use the said Litany.
" Declare the like Circumstances thereof, or for what
" cause, intent, or consideration, you have so done or re-
" fused so to do.

15. Item, " We do object, &c. That you have with-
" in the time aforefaid, refused and omitted to read divers
" Lessons prescribed by the said Book, and have divers times
" either not read any Lessons at all, or read others in their
" places. Declare the like circumstances thereof, and for
" what intent, cause, or consideration, you have so done, or
" refused. Et obj. ut supra.

16. Item, " Objicimus, That within the time aforefaid
" you have either not used at all, or else used another man-
" ner of Common Prayer or Service at Burial, from that
" which the said Book prescribeth, and have refused there to
" use these words, We commit earth to earth in sure and
" certain hope of Resurrection to eternal life. Declare the
" like circumstances thereof, and for what intent, cause, or
" consideration, you have so done, or refused so to do. Et
" objic. ut supra.

17. Item, " Objicimus, &c. That within the time a-
" forefaid you have advisedly, and of set purpose, not on-
" ly omitted and refused to use the aforefaid parts, or some
" of them, of the said Book, but also some other parts of
" the said Book of Common Prayer, as being persuaded that
" in such point it is repugnant to the Word of God. De-
" clare

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“ clare what other parts of the said Book you have refused
“ to use, for what intent, cause, or consideration. Et objic.
“ ut supra.

18. Item, “ Objic. &c. That within the time aforesaid
“ you have at the Communion, and in other parts of your
“ Ministration, advisedly added unto, diminished, and taken
“ from, altered and transposed manifoldly at your own
“ pleasure, sundry parts of the said Book of Common
“ Prayer. Declare the circumstances of time and place,
“ and for what intent, cause, and consideration. Et objic.
“ ut supra.

19. Item, “ Objic. That within the time aforesaid you
“ have advisedly, and of set purpose preached, taught,
“ declared, set down, or published by writing, publick or
“ private Speech, matter against the said Book of Com-
“ mon Prayer, or of some thing therein contained, as be-
“ ing repugnant to the Word of God, or not convenient to
“ be used in the Church; or something have written or
“ uttered, tending to the depraving, despising, or defacing
“ of some things contained in the said Book. Declare
“ what and the like circumstances thereof, and for what
“ cause, or consideration, you have so done. Et objic. ut
“ supra.

20. Item, “ Objicimus, &c. That you at this present
“ do continue all, or some of your former opinions against
“ the said Book, and have a settled purpose to continue
“ hereafter such Additions, Diminutions, Alterations, and
“ Transpositions, or some of them, as you heretofore, un-
“ lawfully have used in your publick Ministration: And
“ that you have used private conferences, and assembled,
“ or been present at Conventicles, for the maintenance of
“ their doings herein, and for the animating and encou-
“ raging of others to continue in the like disposition in this
“ behalf that you are of. Declare the like circumstances,
“ and for what intent, cause, and consideration. Et objic.
“ ut supra.

21. Item, “ Objicimus, &c. That you have been
“ heretofore noted, defamed, presented, or detected pub-
“ lickly, to have been faulty in all and singular the Pre-
“ mises, and of every, or some of them, and that you have
“ been divers and sundry times, or once at the least, ad-
“ monished by your Ordinary, or other Ecclesiastical Magis-
“ trate, to reform the same, and to observe the form and or-
“ der of the Book of Common Prayer, which you have re-
“ fused

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“ fufed, or defer to do. Declare the like circumstances thereof. Et objic. supra.

22. Item, “ That for the Testification hereafter of your Unity with the Church of England, and your conformity to laws established, you have been required simply and absolutely, to subscribe with your hands, (1.) That her Majesty under God hath and ought to have, the Sovereignty and Rule over all manner of persons born within her Realm, Dominions, and Countries, of what Estate either Ecclesiastical or Temporal soever they be; and that none other foreign Power, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within her Majesty’s said Realms, Dominions, or Countries (2.) That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that the same may be lawfully used; and that you who do subscribe will use the Form in the said Book prescribed, in publick Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other. (3.) That you allow the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocations holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562. and set forth by her Majesty’s Authority; and do believe all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God. Declare by whom, and how often, which hitherto you have advisedly refused to perform, and so yet do persist. Et objic. &c.

23. Item, “ That you have taken upon you to preach, read, or expound the Scriptures, as well in publick places as in private houses, not being licensed by your Ordinary, nor any other Magistrate having Authority by the Laws of this Land so to license you. Declare the like circumstances hereof. Et objic. ut supra.

24. Item, “ Quod præmissa omnia & singula, &c. i. e. That all and singular the Premises, &c.”

Could the wit of man invent any thing more like an Inquisition! Here are interrogatories enough to entangle all the honest men in the Kingdom, and bring them into danger. When the Lord Treasurer Burleigh had read them over, and seen the Execution they had done upon the Clergy, he writ his Grace the following letter.

It

Life of Whit-
gift, B. III.
Rec. No. 4.

Queen
Elizabeth,
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The Treas-
urer's Re-
marks upon
them
Life of
Whitgift,
B. IV.
Rec. No. 9.

It may please your Grace,

" I AM sorry to trouble you so oft as I do, but I am
" more troubled my self, not only with many private
" Petitions of sundry Ministers, recommended for persons
" of credit, and peaceable in their Ministry, who are great-
" ly troubled by your Grace, and your Collegues in Com-
" mission ; but I am also daily charged by Councillors and
" publick persons, with neglect of my duty, in not staying
" your Grace's vehement proceedings against Ministers,
" whereby Papists are greatly encouraged, and the Queen's
" safety endangered.——I have read over your 24 Ar-
" ticles, found in a Romish Stile, of great length and cu-
" riosity, to examine all manner of Ministers in this time,
" without distinction of persons, to be executed Ex Offi-
" cio mero.——And I find them so curiously penned,
" so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the
" Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to com-
" prehend and to trap their Priests. I know your Canonists
" can defend these with all their Particles ; but surely, un-
" der correction, this judicial and canonical sifting poor
" Ministers, is not to edify or reform. And in Charity I
" think they ought not to answer to all these nice points,
" except they were notorious Papists or Hereticks. I write
" with the testimony of a good Conscience. I desire the
" peace and unity of the Church. I favour no sensual
" and wilful Recusant ; but I conclude, according to my
" simple judgment, " This kind of proceeding is too
" much favouring of the Romish Inquisition ;" and is a
" device rather to seek for Offenders than to reform any.—
" It is not charitable to send poor Ministers to your common
" Register, to answer upon so many Articles at one instant,
" without a Copy of the Articles or their Answers.——I
" pray your Grace bear with this one (perchance) fault,
" that I have willed the Ministers not to answer these Ar-
" ticles except their consciences may suffer them.

July 15. 1584.

W. Cecil.

But this excellent Letter was so far from softning the Archbishop, that two days after he writ his Lordship a long answer, vindicating his Interrogatories, from the practice of the Star-Chamber, the Court of Marches, and other places. The Treasurer found it was to no purpose to contend, and therefore writ him a short but smart Letter, in which he
tells

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tells him, " That after reading his Grace's long answer,
" he was not satisfied in the point of seeking by examinati-
" on to have Ministers accuse themselves, and then punish
" them for their own Confessions : That he would not call
" his proceedings captious, but they were scarcely charita-
" ble ; his Grace might therefore deal with his friend Mr.
" Brayne as he thought fit,—but when by examining
" him it was meant only to sift him with 24 Articles, he
" had cause to pity the poor man."

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 160.

The Abp.
justifies his
Articles.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 162.

His reasons
for proceed-
ing by the
Oath Ex Of-
ficio,

The Archbishop being desirous to give satisfaction to the
Treasurer, sent him two papers of Reasons, one to justify
the Articles, and the other the manner of proceedings Ex
mero Officio. In the former he says, That by the Ecclesi-
astical [or Canon] Laws, Articles of enquiry may be ad-
minister'd, and have been ever since the Reformation ; and
that they ought not to be compared with the Inquisition, be-
cause the Inquisition punished with death, whereas they on-
ly punished obstinate offenders with deprivation. In the
latter his Lordship gives us the following Reasons among
others for proceeding Ex Officia mero. (1.) If we pro-
ceed only by presentment and witnesses, then Papists,
Brownists, and Family Men, would expect the like mea-
sure. (2.) 'Tis hard to get Witnesses against the Puritans,
because most of the Parishioners favour them, and there-
fore will not present them, nor appear against them. (3.)
There is great trouble and charge in examining Witnesses,
and sending for them from distant parts. (4.) If Arch-
bishops and Bishops should be driven to use proofs by Wit-
nesses only, the execution of the Law would be partial,
their Charges in procuring and producing Witnesses would
be intolerable ; and they should not be able to make quick
dispatch enough with the Sectaries. These were the Argu-
ments of a Protestant Archbishop ! I don't wonder that they
gave no satisfaction to the wise Treasurer ; for surely, all
that have any regard for the Laws of their Country, or the
civil and religious Rights of Mankind, must be ashamed of
them.

Lords of
the Council
dissatisfied.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 166.

The Treasurer having given up the Archbishop, the
Lords of the Council took the Cause in hand, and writ to
his Grace and the Bishop of London in favour of the de-
prived Ministers, Sept. 20th. In their Letter they tell their
Lordships, " That they had heard of sundry complaints
" out of divers Counties, of proceedings against a great
" number of Ecclesiastical Persons, some Parsons, some
" Vicars, some Curates, but all preachers ; some deprived,
" and

“ and some suspended by their Lordships Officers, Chan-
 cellors, &c. but that they had taken no notice of these
 things, hoping their Lordships would have staid their
 hasty proceedings, especially against such as did earnestly
 instruct the people against Popery. But now of late
 hearing of great numbers of zealous and learned Preach-
 ers suspended from their Cures in the County of Essex,
 and that there is no preaching, prayers, or Sacraments in
 in most of the vacant places; that in some few of them,
 persons neither of learning nor good name are appoint-
 ed; and that in other places of the country great num-
 bers of persons that occupy Cures, are notoriously unfit;
 most for lack of learning; many chargeable with great
 and enormous faults, as Drunkenness, Filthiness of Life,
 Gaming at Cards, Haunting of Ale-houses, &c. against
 against whom they [the Council] heard of no Proceed-
 ings, but that they were quietly suffered.” To fix this
 charge home on the Bishops, they sent with their Letter a
 Catalogue of names; one column of learned Ministers de-
 prived; a second of unlearned and vicious persons continu-
 ed; “ a matter very lamentable (say they) for this time!”
 and a third of Pluralists and Non-Residents; “ against
 these latter we [the Council] have heard of no Inquisi-
 tion; but of great diligence, and extreme usage against
 those that were known to be diligent Preachers; we
 therefore pray your Lordships, to have some charitable
 consideration of their causes, that people may not be
 deprived of their diligent, learned and zealous Pastors,
 for a few points ceremonial which entangled their Con-
 sciences.” This Letter was dated from Oatlands, Sept.
 20th, 1584, and signed by Lord Burleigh, the Earls of
 Warwick, Shrewsbury and Leicester; the Lord Charles
 Howard, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton; and
 Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary of State.

But this excellent remonstrance had no manner of influ-
 ence upon our Archbishop. After this Mr. Beale, Clerk of
 the Queen’s Council, a man of great learning and piety,
 writ a Treatise shewing the injustice and unlawfulness of the
 Bishop’s proceedings; and delivered it in manuscript into
 the Archbishop’s own hands, which together with some
 “ freedom of Speech, inflamed his Grace to that degree,
 that he complained of him to the Queen and Council, and
 used all his interest to have him tried in the Star-Chamber,
 and turned out of his place. Among his misdemeanors,
 drawn up by the Archbishops own hand were these..

Mr. Beale
writes a-
gainst the
Abp.
Life of
Whitgift,
P. 137.

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Ibid. p. 212.
The Abp's
Complaint
of him in
the Star-
Chamber.

1. That he had printed a book against Ecclesiastical Oaths. 2. That in the House of Commons he had spoke of Ecclesiastical Matters, contrary to the Queen's command, 3. That he had defended his book against the practice of the Ecclesiastical Courts. 4. That he had disputed against the Queen's having Authority by virtue of the Statute 1 Eliz. to grant power to her Ecclesiastical Commissioners to imprison whom they please; to impose Fines upon Offenders; and to administer the Oath Ex Officio, saying they are within the Statute of Præmunire. 5. That he had condemned Racking for grievous Offenders, as contrary to Law, and the Liberty of the Subject; and advised those in the Marches of Wales, that execute Torture by virtue of Instructions under her Majesty's hands, to look to it, that their doings are well warranted; but the Court would not prosecute upon this charge.

Conference
at Lambeth.

All that the Puritans could obtain was a kind of conference between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester on the one part, and Dr. Sparke and Mr. Travers on the other, in presence of the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The Conference was at Lambeth, concerning things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Archbishop open'd it with declaring, " That my Lord of Leicester having requested for his satisfaction, to hear what the Ministers could reprove, and how their objections were to be answered, he had granted my Lord to procure such to come for that purpose, as might seem best to his good Lordship; and now I perceive (said he) you are the men; of whom one I never saw or knew before [Dr. Sparke]; the other I know well. Let us hear what things in the Book of Common Prayer you think ought to be mended: You appear not now judicially before me, nor as called in question by Authority for these Things, but by way of Conference; for which cause it shall be free for you (speaking in duty) to charge the Book with such matters as you suppose to be blame-worthy in it.

Dr. Sparke replied; " We give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, and to this Honourable Presence, that after so many years, wherein our cause could never be admitted to an indifferent hearing, it hath pleased God of his gracious Goodness so to dispose things, that we have now that Equity and Favour shewed us,
that

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“ that before such honourable Personages, as may be a
“ worthy means to her most excellent Majesty for Refor-
“ mation of such things as are to be redressed, it is now law-
“ ful for us to declare with freedom, what points ought
“ to be reviewed and reformed, which our endeavours, be-
“ cause it concerns the Service of God, and the satisfacti-
“ on of such as are in Authority; and for that the good
“ Issue depends on the Favour of God, I desire, that be-
“ fore we enter any further, we may first seek for the gra-
“ cious direction and Blessing of God by Prayer.” At
which Words, framing himself to begin to pray, the Arch-
bishop interrupted him, saying, He should make no Prayers
there, nor turn that place into a Conventicle.

Mr. Travers joined with Dr. Sparke, and desired that it
might be lawful for them to pray before they proceeded any
further; but the Archbishop not yielding thereunto, term-
ing it a Conventicle if any such Prayer should be offered
to be made, my Lord of Leicester and Sir Francis Wal-
singham willed Dr. Sparke to content himself, seeing they
doubted not but that he had prayed already before his com-
ing thither. Dr. Sparke therefore omitting to use such
Prayer as he had proposed, made a short address to God in
very few words, though the Archbishop continued to inter-
rupt him all the while.

The Heads that the Ministers insisted upon were, 1. Put-
ting the apocryphal writings (in which were several errors
and false doctrines) upon a level with the Holy Scripture,
by reading them publickly in the Church, when several
parts of the Canon were utterly omitted. This they said
had been forbidden by Councils, and particularly Laodicea
3. The Archbishop denied any errors to be found in
the Apocrypha; which led the Ministers into a long detail
of particulars, to the satisfaction (says my Author) of the
Noblemen. 2. The second head was upon Baptism; and
here they objected, (1.) Against its being done in private.
(2.) Against its being done by Laymen or Women. And,
3. Against the Doctrine from whence this practice arises
(viz.) “ That Children not baptized are in danger of dam-
“ nation; and that the outward Baptism of Water saveth
“ the Child that is baptized.” 4. Against the interroga-
tories in the name of the Child, which Mr. Travers
charged with arising from a false principle (viz.) that
Faith was necessary in all persons to be baptized. He add-
ed, that the Interrogatories crept into the Church but
lately, and took their rise from the “ Baptism of those

Heads of the
Conference.

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“ that were of age ;” from whence very ignorantly they were transferred to Infants. 5. Against the Cross, as a mystical rite and ceremony, and an addition to the Sacrament, of human invention. Here they argued, that tho’ the foreign Divines did not condemn the use of the Cross, yet all agreed it ought to be abolished, and Beza gives Counsel to the Ministers, rather to forego their Ministry than to subscribe to the allowance of it. After many words upon this head, my Lord of Leicester said it was a pitiful thing, that so many of the best Ministers, and painful in their Preaching, should be deprived for these things. 6. They objected to private Communion. 7. To the Apparel. And here they produced the Judgment of Bishop Ridley at his Degradation, as reported by Mr. Fox, who said, “ It was too bad to be put upon a Fool in a Play.” 8. They objected to the books allowing of an insufficient Ministry, Non-residence and Pluralities.

M. S.
p. 502, &c.

The Issue
of it.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 170.

The Conference continued two days, at the close of which neither party being satisfied, the noblemen requested some favour for the Ministers. Mr. Strype says the Ministers were convinced and confirmed ; but ’tis evident he knew not the Disputants, nor had seen the debate ; a copy of which is before me. Travers was a Non-conformist to his death, and Sparke appeared at their head at the Hampton-Court conference the beginning of the next Reign. Nor was the Archbishop softened, but rather confirmed in his former resolution.

Bp. Ayl-
mer’s Seve-
rities against
the Puritans.

Aylmer Bishop of London came not behind his Metropolitan in Acts of Severity. Mr. Strype says, he was the chief Mover in the Ecclesiastical Commission, and had as high a Spirit as the greatest Lord in the land. During Grindal’s disgrace he harrassed the London Clergy with new Interrogatories and Articles 3 or 4. times a Year. He advised the Heads of the University of Cambridge (with which he had nothing to do) to call in all their Licences, and expel every man that would not wear the Apparel, saying, That the “ Folly that is bound up in the heart of a child is to be expelled with the rod of discipline.” In his Visitation this Summer he suspended the following Clergymen in Essex, &c. Mr. Whiteing of Panfield, Mr. Wyresdale and Gifford of Malden, Mr. Hawkdon Vicar of Fryan, Mr. Carre of Rain, Mr. Tonstal of Much Tottom, Mr. Huckle of Atrop Rooding, Mr. Pigot of Tilly, Mr. Cornwal of Markstay, Mr. Negus of Leigh, Mr. Carew of Hatfield, Mr. Ward of Writtle, Mr. Dyke afterwards of St.

L. of Ayl.
p. 84. 94.
Ministers
suspended by
the Bp. of
London.

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St. Albans, Mr. Rogers of Weatherfield, Mr. Northy of Colchester, Mr. Newman of Coxall, Mr. Tave of Pelton, Mr. Parker of Dedham, Mr. Morly of Ridswel, Mr. Nix [or Knight] of Hampstead, Mr. Winkfield of Wicks, Mr. Wilton of Aldham, Mr. Dent of South Souberry, Mr. Pain of Tolbury, Mr. Larking of Little Waltham, Mr. Camillus Rusticus Pastor of Tange, Mr. Seredge of East Havingfield, Mr. Howel of Pagelfam, Mr. Chadwick of Danbury, Mr. Farrar of Langham, Mr. Serls of Lexdon, Mr. Lewis of St. Peter's Colchester, Mr. Cock, of St. Gyles's Colchester, Mr. Beaumont of East Thorp, Mr. Redridge of Hutton, Mr. Chaplain of Hampstead, Mr. Culverwel of Felstead, Mr. D. Chapman Preacher of Dedham, and Mr. Knevit of Mile End Colchester, in all about 38. These (says may Author) are the painful Ministers of Essex, whom the Bishop threatens to deprive for the Surplice, saying, we shall be White with him, or he will be Black with us.

M. S. p.
584, 741.

Mr. Carew of Hatfield Peveril was a zealous promoter of the Welfare of Souls, and mourned over the want of a learned and preaching Ministry: he was ordained by the Bishop of Worcester, and licensed by Archbishop Grindal and the Bishop of London himself, who commended his preaching; but being too forward in acquainting his Diocesan by letter, that in Essex, within the compass of 16 miles, there were 22 Non-residents, 30 insufficient Ministers; and at the same time 19 Preachers silenced for not subscribing; his Lordship instead of being pleased with the information, sent for Carew before the Commissioners, and charged him falsely without the least Evidence, with setting up a Presbytery, and with contemning ecclesiastical Censures. It was alledged against him further, that he was chosen by the people; that he had defaced the Book of Common Prayer, and had put several from the Communion, when there was more need to allure them to it, &c. But to make short work, the Bishop tender'd him the oath Ex Officio, which Carew refusing, he was committed to the Fleet, and another Clergyman sent down to fill up his place. Mr. Allen the patron, in whom the right of Presentation was by Inheritance, refusing to admit the Bishop's Reader, was summoned before his Lordship and committed to prison; because (as the Warrant expresses it) he behaved seditiously in withstanding the Authority of the Court: nay, the very Sexton was reprimanded, and ordered not to meddle with the Church any more; and because he asked

Mr. Carew's
Sufferings.

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Elizabeth,
1584.

L. of Ayl. p.
122.
M. S. p.
652, 658.

Mr. Knight
and Mr. Ne-
gus's Suffer-
ings.

Mr. Gif-
ford's Suf-
ferings.
M. S. p.
410, 420.

L. of Ayl.
p. 111.

Fuller, B.
M. p. 258.

his Lordship simply, whether his meaning was, that "He should not come to Church any more," he committed him for ridiculous behaviour. Both Allen and Carew offered bail, which was refused, unless they would admit his Lordship's Clergyman. After eight weeks imprisonment they appealed to the Privy Council and were released; with which his Lordship was so displeased, that he writ to the Council a very angry letter, calling the prisoners Knaves, Rebels, Rascals, Fools, petty Gentlemen, Precisians, &c. And told their Honours, that if such men were countenanced, he must yield up his authority: but the Bishop never left him till he had hunted him out of the Diocese.

Mr. Knight suffered six months imprisonment for not wearing the Apparel, and was fined 100 Marks. Mr. Negus was suspended on the same account: 28 of his Parishioners, who subscribed themselves "His hungry Sheep" that had no Shepherd," sign'd a letter, beseeching him to conform; but he protested he could not do it with a good Conscience, and so was deprived.

The Reverend Mr. Gifford of Malden was a modest Man, and irreprouvable in his Life, a great and diligent Preacher (says Mr. Strype) and esteemed by many of good Rank. He had writ learnedly against the Brownists, and by his diligence had wrought a wonderful Reformation in the Town; but being informed against for preaching up a limited obedience to the Magistrate, he was suspended and imprisoned. After some time he was brought upon his Trial, and his Accuser failing in his Evidence he was released. But the Bishop of London setting his Spies upon him, he was imprison'd again for Non-conformity. Upon this he applied to the Lord Treasurer, who writ to the Archbishop in his favour; but his Grace having consulted his Brother of London, told his Lordship that he was a Ring-leader of the Non-conformists; that he himself had received complaints against him, and was determined to bring him before the High-commission. The Parishioners of Malden presented a petition in behalf of their Minister sign'd with 52 Hands, whereof two were Bailiffs of the Town, two Justices of the Peace, four Aldermen, fifteen head Burgeses, and the Vicar: but to put an end to all further application, the Archbishop writ to the Treasurer, "That he had rather die, or live in prison all the Days of his Life, than relax the rigor of his proceedings, by shewing favour to one, which might give occasion to others to expect the same, and undo all that he had been doing; he therefore

“ therefore beseeches his Lordship not to animate this forward people by writing in their favour.” Sir Francis Knollys the Queen’s Kinsman, and Treasurer of her Chamber, seconded the Treasurer, beseeching his Grace to open the Mouths of zealous Preachers that were found in Doctrine, though they refused to subscribe to any Traditions of Men, “ Not compellible by Law :” but all was to no purpose, for (as Fuller observes) “ This was the constant custom of Whitgift; if any Lord or Lady sued for favour to any Non-conformists, he would profess how glad he was to serve them, and gratify their desires, assuring them for his part, that all possible Kindness should be indulged to them, but at the same time he would remit nothing of his rigor. Thus he never denied any man’s desire, and yet never granted it, pleasing them for the present with general promises, but still kept to his own Resolution; whereupon the Nobility in a little time ceas’d making any further Applications to him, as knowing them to be ineffectual.” Some of the Ministers were indicted at the Assizes, as Mr. Beaumont of East Thorp, Mr. Wilton of Aldham, Mr. Hawkdon of Fryan, Mr. Seredge of East Havingfield, for omitting the Cross in Baptism, and for not wearing the Surplice once every Month, and at every communion. Most of them were deprived, or to avoid it forced to quit their Livings and depart the Country.

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B. IX. p. 218.

Mr. Dyke suspended.

His Parishioners petition for him. L. of Ayl. P. 303.

Among these was the excellent Mr. Dyke, Preacher first at Coxal in Essex, and afterwards at St. Albans in Hertfordshire, whose character was without Blemish, and whose practical Writings discover him to be a Divine of considerable Learning and Piety; he was suspended, and at last deprived, because he continued but a Deacon, and did not enter into Priests Orders, which (as the Bishop supposed) he accounted Popish. He also refused to wear the Surplice, and troubled his Auditory with Notions that thwarted the established Religion. The Parishioners being concerned for the loss of their Minister, petitioned the Lord Burleigh to intercede for them, setting forth, “ That they had lived without any ordinary preaching till within these 4 or 5 years, by the Want of which they were unacquainted with their duty to God, their Sovereign, and their Neighbours; but that of late it had pleased the Lord to visit them with the means of Salvation, the ordinary Ministry of the Word, in the Person of Mr. Dyke, an authorized Minister, who according to his Function had

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“ been painful and profitable, and both in Life and Doctrine had carried himself peaceably and dutifully among them, so as no Man could justly find Fault with him, except of Malice. There were some indeed that could not abide to hear their faults reprov'd, but through his preaching many had been brought from their ignorance and evil ways to a better Life, to be frequent hearers of God's Word, and their servants were in better order than heretofore.

“ They then gav'e his Lordship to understand, that their Minister was suspended, and that they were as “ Sheep without a Shepherd,” expos'd to manifold dangers, even to return to their former ignorance and cursed vanities: that the Lord had spoken it, and therefore it must be true, that where there is no Vision the people perish. They therefore pray his Lordship, in the bowels of his compassion, to pity them in their present Misery, and become a means that they may enjoy their Preacher again.”

And the
Lord Treas-
urer, but in
vain.

Upon this letter Lord Burleigh writ to the Bishop; to restore him, promising that if he troubled the Congregation with Innovations any more, he would join with the Bishop against him; but his Lordship excus'd himself, insinuating that he was charg'd with Incontinency; this occasion'd a further enquiry into Dyke's Character, which was cleared up by the Woman herself that accus'd him, who confess'd her wicked Contrivance, and ask'd him openly Forgiveness. His Lordship therefore insist'd upon his being restored, so far as the best Clergyman in the World might be thus slandered; besides, the people at St. Albans had no teaching, having no Curate but an insufficient doating old Man. For this favour (says the Treasurer) I shall thank your Lordship, and will not solicit you any more, if hereafter he should give just cause of publick offence against the Orders of the Church established. But all that the Treasurer could say was ineffectual; the Bishop of London was as inexorable as his Brother of Canterbury.

The Inhabitants of Essex had a vast esteem for their Ministers; they could not part with them without Tears: when they could do nothing with the Bishop they apply'd to the Parliament, and to the Lords of the Privy Council. I have before me two or three petitions from the hundreds of Essex, and one from the County, sign'd by Francis Barrington, Esq; at the head of above 200 Gentlemen and Tradesmen, House-keepers; complaining in the strongest Terms, that the greatest number of their present Ministers
were

were unlearned, idle, or otherwise of scandalous Lives; and that those few from whom they reaped knowledge and comfort were molested, threaten'd, and put to silence for small matters in the Common Prayer, though they are Men of godly Lives and Conversations.

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Elizabeth,
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The Bishop was equally severe in other parts of his Diocese. The Reverend Mr. Barnaby Benison, a London Divine of good Learning, had been suspended and kept in prison several years, on pretence of some irregularity in his Marriage: the Bishop charged him with being married in an Afternoon, and in the presence of 2 or 300 people by Mr. Field a Non-conformist; for this he was committed to the Gate-House, where he had lain ever since the year 1579. At length he applied to the Queen and Council, and in the State of his case he declares, that he had invited but 40 persons to the Solemnity, and that of them there were but 20 present; that he was married in a Morning, and according to Law; that when the Bishop sent for him and charged him with Sedition, he cleared himself to his Satisfaction; but after he was gone home he gave private orders under his own Hand for his being apprehended and sent to the Gate-House; that he was shut up there in a Dungeon eight Days, without knowing the cause of his Imprisonment, though good Dr. Hammond, and his faithful Father Fox, who were both at the Wedding, and saw the whole proceeding, went to the Bishop and assured him, that he was without Wickedness or Fault in that Way he went about to charge him; but his Lordship would not release him without such bonds for his good behaviour and appearance as the prisoner could not procure. " Thus
" I continue, says Mr. Benison, separated from my Wife
" before I had been married to her two Weeks, to the
" great trouble of her Friends and Relations, and to the
" staggering of the patient Obedience of my Wife; for
" since my imprisonment his Lordship has been endeavouring to separate us whom God has joined together in
" the open presence of his people. Wherefore I most
" humbly beseech your godly Honours, for the everlasting
" Love of God, and for the pity you take upon God's true
" Protestants and his poor people, to be a means that my
" pitiful Cry may be heard, and my just cause with some
" credit be cleared, to God's Honour and her Majesty's,
" whose favour I esteem more than all the Bishop's Blessings
" or bitter Cursings; and that I now being half dead may
" recover again to get a poor Living with the little learning
" that

Mr. Benison's Sufferings,
M. S. pence
me.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

“ that God has sent me, to his Glory, to the discharging
“ some part of my duty, and to the profit of the Land.”
The Council were so moved with Benison's Case, that
they sent his Lordship the following letter.

The Coun-
cil's ter
in his fa-
vour.

“ **W**Hereas Barnaby Benison Minister, has given us to
“ understand, the great hindrance he has recei-
“ ved by your hard dealing with him, and his long impri-
“ sonment, for which if he should bring his action of false
“ imprisonment he should recover Damages, which would
“ touch your Lordship's Credit; we therefore have
“ thought fit to require your Lordship to use some conside-
“ ration towards him, in giving him some sum of Money to
“ repay the Wrong you have done him, and in respect of
“ the hindrance he hath incurred by your hard dealing to-
“ wards him——Therefore praying your Lordship to deal
“ with the poor Man, that he may have occasion to turn
“ his complaint into giving to us a good report of your
“ charitable dealing, we bid you heartily farewell. Hamp-
“ ton Court, Nov. 14, 1584. Sign'd,

Ambrose Warwick,	Fr. Bedford,
Fr. Knollys,	Rob. Leicester,
Walter Mildmay,	Charles Howard,
Fr. Walsingham,	James Crofts,
Wm. Burghley,	Chr. Hatton.
Bromley, Chan.	

After some Time the Bishop returned this Answer.

The Bishop's
Answer.

“ **I** Beseech your Lordships to consider, that 'tis a rare
“ example thus to press a Bishop for his zealous Service
“ to the Queen and the Peace of the Church, especially
“ the Man being found worthy to be committed for Non-
“ conformity, to say nothing of his contemptuous using of
“ me; nevertheless, since it pleaseth your Lordships to re-
“ quire some reasonable sum of Money, I pray you to con-
“ sider my poor Estate and great Charges otherwise, toge-
“ ther with the great Vaunt the Man will make of his
“ Conquest over a Bishop. I hope therefore your Lordships
“ will be favourable to me, and refer it to myself, either to
“ bestow upon him some small benefice, or otherwise to
“ help him as opportunity offers. Or if this shall not sa-
“ tisfy the Man, or content your Lordships, leave him
“ to the Trial of the Law, which I hope will not be so
“ plain for him as he taketh it. Surely, my Lords, this and
“ the like must greatly discourage me in this poor Service
“ of mine in the Commission.—”

What

What Recompence the poor Man had for his long Imprisonment I can't find. But he was too wise to go to law with a Bishop of the Court of High Commission, who had but little Conscience or Honour, and who notwithstanding his poor Estate and great Charges left behind him above 16000*l.* in Money, an immense Sum for those Times.

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1534

His Lordship complained that he was hated like a Dog, and commonly stiled the Oppressor of the Children of God; that he was in danger of being mobbed in his Progress at Malden, and other Places; which is not strange, considering his mean Appearance, being a very little Man, and his high and insulting behaviour towards those that were brought before him, attended with ill Language and a cruel Spirit. This appears in numberless Instances: When Mr. Merbury, one of the Ministers of Northampton, was brought before him, he spake thus;——

B. Thou speakest of making Ministers; the Bishop of Peterborough was never more over-seen in his Life, than when he admitted thee to be a Preacher in Northampton.

Mr. Merbury's examination and Imprisonment.

Merbury. Like enough so, (in some Sense) I pray God these Scales may fall from his Eyes.

B. Thou art a very Ass; thou art mad; thou courageous! Nay, thou art impudent; by my Troth I think he is mad; he careth for no body.

M. Sir, I take exception at swearing Judges; I praise God I am not mad, but sorry to see you so out of temper.

B. Did you ever hear one more impudent?

M. 'Tis not, I trust, Impudence to answer for my self.

B. Nay, I know thou art courageous; thou art Fool-hardy.

M. Though I fear not you, I fear the Lord.

Recorder of London. Is he learned?

B. He hath an arrogant Spirit; he can scarce construe Cato, I think.

M. Sir, you do not punish me because I am unlearned, howbeit I understand both the Greek and Latin Tongues; assay me to prove your Disgrace.

B. Thou takest upon thee to be a Preacher, but there is nothing in thee; thou art a very Ass, an Idiot, and a Fool.

M. I humbly beseech you, Sir, have patience; give this People better Example; I am that I am through the Lord; I submit the Trial of my Sufficiency to the Judgment of the Learned; but this wandring Speech is not logical.

There

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

Part of a
Register,
p. 382.
Pierce's
Vindic. p.
27.
Remarks.

There is a great deal more of the same Language in this Examination ; one Thing is remarkable, that he insults poor Merbury, because he was for having a Minister in every Parish. At parting he gave him the Salutation of an Overthwart, proud, Puritan Knave ; and sent him to the Marshalsea, though he had been twice in Prison before.

How different was this from the apostolical Character of a Bishop ; “ A Bishop (saith St. Paul) should be blameless, of good Behaviour, no Brawler, nor Striker, nor greedy of filthy Lucre.—The Servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all Men, patient, in Meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, that they may recover them out of the Snare of the Devil.” Nay, how different was this Bishop from himself before he put on Lawn Sleeves ! For in this Book, entitled “ The Harbour for faithful Subjects,” published soon after the Queen’s Accession, are these Words. “ Come off ye Bishops, away with your Superfluities, yield up your Thousands ; be content with Hundreds, as they be in other reformed Churches where be as great learned Men as you are. Let your portion be Priest-like and not Prince-like ; let the Queen have the rest of your Temporalities and other Lands, to maintain these Wars which you procured, and your Mistress left her ; and with the rest to build and found Schools throughout the Realm ; That every Parish may have his Preacher, every City his Superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously, which will never be, unless your Lands be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one ; remember that Abimelech, when David in his Banishment would have dined with him, kept such Hospitality that he had no Bread in his House to give him but the Shew-bread. Where was all this Superfluity to keep your pretended Hospitality ? For that is the Cause you pretend why you must have Thousands, as though you were commanded to keep Hospitality rather with a Thousand than with a Hundred. I would our Countryman Wickliff’s Book “ De Ecclesia were in print, there should you see that your Wrinces and Cavillations be nothing worth.” When the Bishop was put in mind of this Passage, he made no other Reply than that of St. Paul, “ When I was a Child I spake as a Child, I thought as a Child.

L. of Ayl.
p. 269.

Hardships of
the Country
Clergy.

The Case of those Clergymen who were sent for up to Lambeth from the remotest Parts of the Kingdom was yet harder,

harder. Mr. Ellifton Vicar of Preston, made seven Jour-
nies to Peterborough, which was 36 Miles from his House,
and ten to London, within the compass of two Years,
besides several to Leicester and Northampton at his own
Cost and Charge; and after all, was deprived for not sub-
scribing. To whom might be added, Mr. Stephen Turner,
Mr. William Flemming of Beckles, Mr. Holden of Biddle-
stone, and others.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

Among these, the Case of the Reverend Mr. Eusebius Paget, Minister of the Parish Church of Kilkhampton, in the Diocese of Exon, was very moving; this Divine, at the time of his Presentation, acquainted his Patron and Ordinary, that he could not with Quietness of Conscience use some Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders appointed in the Service-Book; who promised, that if he would take the Charge of the said Cure, he should not be urged to the precise Observation of them; upon which Condition he accepted the Charge, and was admitted and regularly inducted. Mr. Paget was a lame Man, but in the Opinion of Mr. Strype, a learned, peaceable, and quiet Divine, who had complied with the Customs and Devotions of the Church, and was indefatigable in his Work, travelling up and down the neighbouring Country to preach the plain Principles of Religion; but Mr. Farmer, Curate of Barnstable, envying his Popularity, complained of him to the High Commission, (1.) Because he did not mention in his Prayers the Queen's Supremacy over both Estates. (2.) Because he had said that the Sacraments were but dumb Elements, and did not avail without the Word preached. (3.) Because he had preached that Christ did not descend into Hell both Body and Soul. (4.) That the Pope might set up the Feast of Jubilee as well as the Feasts of Easter and Pentecost. (5.) That Holy Days and Fasting Days were but the Traditions of Men, which we were not obliged to follow. (6.) That he disallowed the Use of Organs in Divine Service. (7.) That he called Ministers that don't preach Dumb Dogs; and those that have two Benefices Knaves. (8.) That he preached that the late Queen Mary was a Detestable Woman and a wicked Jezebel.

Mr. Paget's
Sufferings.
M.S. p. 584.

But when M. Paget appeared before the Commissioners, Articles Jan. 11th. 1584, he was only articulated according to the common Form, for "not observing the Book of Common Prayer, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church." To which he made the following Answer:

I. "I

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

And his An-
swer.

M.S. p. 570.

1. " I Do acknowledge, that by the Statute of the 1st of Eliz. I am bound to use the said Common Prayer Book in such Manner and Form as is prescribed, or else to abide such Pains as by the Law is imposed upon me.

2. " I have not refused to use the said Common Prayer, or to minister the Sacraments in such Order as the Book appoints, though I have not used all the Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders set forth in the said Book. (1.) Partly because to my Knowledge there is no Common Prayer Book in the Church. (2.) Because I am informed that You before whom I stand, and mine Ordinary, and the most part of the other Bishops and Ministers, do use greater liberty in omitting and altering the said Rites, Ceremonies, and Orders. (3.) And especially for that I am not fully resolved in Conscience, I may use divers of them. (4.) Because when I took the Charge of that Church I was promised by my Ordinary, that I should not be urged to such Ceremonies; which I am informed he might do by Law.

" In these Things which I have omitted I have done nothing obstinately; neither have I used any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, Form, or manner of Administration of the Sacraments, or open Prayers, than is mentioned in the said Book; although there be some things which I doubt whether I may use or practise.

" Wherefore I humbly pray, that I may have the Liberty allowed by the said Book, to have in some convenient Time a favourable Conference either with mine Ordinary, or with some other by you to be assigned; which I seek not for any desire I have to keep the said Living, but only for the better Resolution and Satisfaction of my own Conscience, as God knoweth." Subscribed thus——By me

Lame Eusebius Paget, Minister.

This Answer not proving satisfactory he was immediately suspended; and venturing to preach after his Suspension he was deprived; the principal Causes of his Deprivation were these two;

Causes of his
Deprivation
argued.

1. Omission of part of the publick Prayers; the Cross in Baptism, and the Surplice.

2. Irregularities incurr'd by dealing in the Ministry after Suspension.

But

But in the Opinion of the Civilians neither of these things could warrant the Proceedings of the Court, (1.) Because Mr. Paget had not Time, nor a Conference, as he craved, and as the Statute in doubtful Matters warranteth, (2.) Because he had not three several Admonitions, nor so much as one to do that in time, which the Law requires. If this had been done, and upon such Respite and Admonition he had not conformed, then the Law would have took him for a Recusant, but not otherwise. (3.) If this Course had been taken, yet Mr. Paget's Omissions had so many favourable Circumstances (as the Parish's not having provided a Book, and his Ordinary's promising not to urge him with the precise Observance of all the Ceremonies) that it was hardly consistent with the advised Consideration and Charity of a Judge to deprive him at once.

Queen Elizabeth,
1584.
M.S. p. 572.

As to his Irregularity, by dealing in the Ministry after Suspension, the Suspension was thought to be void, because it is founded upon a Method not within the Cognisance of those that gave Sentence; for the Ground is refusing to subscribe to Articles tendered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, "who had no Warrant to offer any such Articles at all; for their Authority reaches no further than to reform and correct Facts done contrary to certain Statutes expressed in their Commission, and contrary to other Ecclesiastical Laws;" but there was never yet any Clause in their Commission to offer Subscription to Articles of their own devising. But suppose the Suspension was good, the Irregularity was taken away by the Queen's Pardon long before his Deprivation. Besides, Mr. Paget did not deal in the Ministry after his Suspension, till he had obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury a Release from that Suspension, which if it was not sufficient, it was apprehended by him to be so, the Archbishop being chief in the Commission; and all the Canonists allow, that "Simplicity, and ignorant mistaking of things, being void of wilful Con-tempt, is a lawful excuse to discharge Irregularity." But the Commissioners avowed their own Act, and the Patron disposed of the Living to another.

Mr. Paget having a numerous Family set up a little School, but the Arms of the Commissioners reached him there; for being required to take out a Licence, they tender'd him the Articles to subscribe, which he refusing, they shut up his School and sent him a begging. Let us hear his own Relation of his Case in a Letter that he sent to that great Sea Captain Sir John Hawkins, who had a great esteem for that
good

His further
Sufferings.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 377.

good Man. "I was never present at any separate Assem-
bly from the Church (says he) but abhorred them. I al-
ways resorted to my Parish Church, and was present at
Service and Preaching; and received the Sacrament ac-
cording to the Book. I thought it my Duty not to for-
sake a Church because of some Blemishes in it; but while
I have endeavoured to live in Peace others have prepared
themselves for War. I am turned out of my Living by
Commandment. I afterwards preached without Living
or a Penny Stipend; and when I was forbid I ceased. I
then taught a few Children, to get a little bread for my-
self and mine to eat; some disliked this, and wished me
to forbear, which I have done, and am now to go as an
idle Rogue and Vagabond from door to door to beg my
bread, though I am able in a lawful Calling to get it."
Thus this learned and useful Divine was laid aside till the
Death of Whitgift, after which he was instituted to the
Living of St. Anne, alias Agnes, within Aldersgate.

Mr. Tra-
vers's Case.

The Reverend Mr. Walter Travers, B. D. sometime
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, already mentioned,
came into Trouble this Year. He had been ordained at
Antwerp, and being an admired Preacher, a fine Gentle-
man, and of great Learning, he became domestick Chap-
lain to Secretary Cecil, and Lecturer at the Temple. Dr.
Alvey the Master dying about this Time, Travers was re-
commended to succeed him by the Doctor on his Death-
bed, and by the Benchers of the House, in a Petition to the
Treasurer on his behalf; but the Archbishop interposed,
and declared peremptorily, that unless he would be re-or-
dained according to the usage of the Church of England;
and would subscribe to his Articles, he would not admit
him. Upon which he was set aside, and Mr. Hooker was
preferred. Travers continued Lecturer about two Years
longer, and was then deprived of his Lectureship and de-
posed from the Ministry. The Treasurer and other of Tra-
vers's Friends, advised him for peace sake to be re-ordain'd;
but he replied in a letter to his Lordship, that this would
be to invalidate his former Orders; and not only so, but as
far as in him lies, to invalidate the Ordinations of all the
foreign Churches. "As for myself (says he) I had a suf-
ficient title to the Ministerial Office, having been or-
dained according to God's holy Word, with Prayers and
Imposition of Hands, and according to the Order of a
Church of the same Faith and Profession with the
Church of England, as appears by my Testimonials." He

He prayed his Lordship to consider further, whether his subscribing the Articles of Religion, which only concern the Profession of the true Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments, as agreed upon in the Convocation of 1562. which most willingly, and with all his Heart he assented to according to the Statute, did not qualify him for a Minister in the Church, as much as if he had been ordained according to the English Form. But the Archbishop was determined to have a strict eye upon the Inns of Court, and to bring them to the publick Standard; and the rather, because some of them pretended to be exempt from his Jurisdiction; for though in all other places the Sacrament was received in the posture of Kneeling, the Templers received it to this very time Sitting. Travers would have introduced the posture of Standing at the Side of the Table, but the Benchers insisted upon their Privilege, and would receive it in no other posture but Sitting. The Archbishop, in order to put an end to this Practice, would admit none but an High Conformist, that they might be obliged to receive it Kneeling, or not at all.

Queen Elizabeth, 1584.

Strype's Ann. p. 244.

The harder the Church pressed upon the Puritans, the more were they disaffected to the national Establishment, and the more resolute in their Attempts for a Reformation of Discipline. There was a Book in high Esteem among them at this Time, entitled, "*Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra ex Dei verbo descripta* ; that is, The Holy Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God. It was drawn up in Latin by Mr Travers, and printed at Geneva, about the Year 1574. but since that time had been diligently reviewed, corrected, and perfected by Mr. Cartwright, and other learned Ministers at their Synods. It was translated into English this Year, with a Preface by Mr. Cartwright, and designed to be published for more general Use; but as it was printing at Cambridge it was seized at the Press: The Archbishop advised that all the Copies should be burnt as seditious, but One was found in Mr. Cartwright's Study after his Death, and reprinted in the Year 1644. under this new Title, "*A Directory of Government anciently contended for, and as far as the Time would suffer, practised by the first Non-conformists in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the Study of the most accomplished Divine, Mr. Tho. Cartwright, after his Decease, and reserved to be published for such a Time as this. Published by Authority.*" It contains the Substance of those Alterations in Discipline, that the Puritans of these Times contended for,

Book of Discipline.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

and was subscribed by the Brethren hereafter named, As agreeable to the Word of God, and to be promoted by all lawful Means, that it may be establiſhed by the Authority of the Magiſtrate and of the Church; and in the mean time to be obſerved, as far as lawfully they may, conſiſtently with the Laws of the Land and Peace of the Church. I have therefore given it a Place in the Appendix, and deſire the Reader to turn to it.

Appendix,
No. II.

The Ab-
ſtract.

Strype's
Ann. p. 233,
283.

Another Treatiſe, writ and diſperſed privately about this Time, againſt the Diſcipline of the Church, was entitled, "An Abſtract of certain Acts of Parliament, and of certain "of her Maſteſty's Injunctions and Canons, &c. printed by "H. Denham, 1584." The Author's Deſign was to ſhew, That the Biſhops in their Eccleſiaſtical Courts had exceeded their Power, and broke through the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; which was ſo notorious, that the Anſwer, inſtead of confuting the Abſtracter, blames him for expoſing their Father's Nakedneſs, to the thruſting through of Religion by the Sides of the Biſhops. But who was in fault? Shall the Liberties and Properties of mankind be under an arbitrary Direction, and the poor Sufferers not to be allowed to hold up the Laws and Statutes of the Land to their Oppreſſors, becauſe of their great Names or religious Characters?

Puritans ap-
ply to the
Parliament.

p. 173.

The Affairs of the Church were in this Ferment when the Parliament met Nov. 23. in which the Puritans, deſpairing of all other Relief, reſolved to make their utmoſt efforts for a further Reformation of Church Diſcipline, Fuller ſays, their Agents were ſoliciting at the Door of the Houſe of Commons all day, and making intereſt in the Evening at the Chambers of Parliament Men; and if the Queen would have taken the advice of her two Houſes they had been made eaſy.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 167,
277.

December 14th three Petitions were offered to the Houſe; one touching Liberty for godly Preachers; a ſecond to exerciſe and continue their Miniſtry; and a third for a ſpeedy Supply of able Men for deſtitute Places. The firſt was brought in by Sir Thomas Lucy; the ſecond by Sir Edward Dymmock; and the third by Mr. Gates. Soon after this Dr. Turner ſtood up, and put the Houſe in Remembrance of a Bill and Book which he had heretofore offered to the

Bill brought
in.
M.S. p. 466.

Houſe; the Bill was entitled, "An Act concerning the Sub-
ſcription of Miniſters," and propoſes, "That no other
Subscription but what is enjoined by the 13th of Queen
Elizabeth, be required of any Miniſter or Preacher in the
Church of England; and that the reſuſing to ſubſcribe any
"other

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

“ other Articles, shall not be any Cause for the Archbishops
“ or Bishops, or any other Persons having ecclesiastical Ju-
“ risdiction, to refuse any of the said Ministers to any ec-
“ clesiastical Office, Function or Dignity; but that the said
“ Archbishops, Bishops, &c. shall institute, induct, admit
“ and invest, or cause to be instituted, &c. such Persons as
“ shall be presented by the lawful Patrons, notwithstanding
“ the refusal to subscribe any other Articles not set down in
“ the Statute 13 Eliz. And that no Minister for the future
“ shall be suspended, deprived, or otherwise molested in
“ body or goods, by virtue of any ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,
“ but only in the Cases of obstinately and wilfully defending
“ any Heresies, condemned by the express Word of God,
“ or for their dissolute Lives, which shall be proved by two
“ credible Witnesses, or by their own voluntary Confes-
“ sion.” The Book consisted of 34 Articles of Complaint,
but by advice of the House it was reduced by the Ministers
into a Petition consisting of 16 Articles, which he desired
might be imparted to the House of Lords, and they requested
to join with the Commons in exhibiting them by way of
humble Suit to the Queen. The five first were against in-
sufficient Ministers; then followed,

6. That all Pastors to be admitted to Cures might be
tried and allowed by the Parishes.

Their Propo-
sals for
Reforma-
tion.

7. That no Oath or Subscription might be tendered to
any at their Entrance into the Ministry, but such as is ex-
pressly prescribed by the Statutes of this Realm, except the
Oath against corrupt entering.

8. That Ministers may not be troubled for omission of
some Rites or Portions prescribed in the Book of Common
Prayer.

M.S. p. 466.
Fuller,
B. IX.
p. 190.

9. That they may not be called and urged to answer before
the Officials and Commissaries, but before the Bishops them-
selves.

10. That such as had been suspended or deprived for no o-
ther offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restored.

11. That the Bishops would forbear their Excommunica-
tion Ex Officio mero of godly and learned Preachers, not
detected for open Offence of Life, or apparent Error in
Doctrine; and that they might not be called before the
High Commission, or out of the Diocese where they lived,
except for some notable Offence.

12. That it might be permitted to them in every Arch-
deaconry, to have some common Exercises and Conferences
among themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the Or-
dinaries.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584

13. That the high Censure of Excommunication may not be denounced or executed for small Matters.

14. Nor by Lay-Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials, but by the Bishops themselves, with the assistance of grave Persons.

15, 16. That Non-residency and Pluralities may be quite removed out of the Church, or at least that according to the Queen's Injunctions (Article 44.) no Non-resident having already a Licence or Faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able Curate, that may weekly preach and catechize, as is required in her Majesty's Injunctions.

Attended
with a Sup-
plication.

This Bill and Petition was attended with a moving Supplication to the Queen and Parliament, in the Name of Thousands of the poor untaught People of England, drawn up by Mr. Sampson, in which they complain, that in many of their Congregations they had none to break the Bread of Life, nor the comfortable Preaching of God's holy Word: That the Bishops in their Ordinations had no regard to such as were qualified to preach, provided they could but read, and did but conform to the Ceremonies: That they deprived such as were capable of preaching on the account of Ceremonies that do not edify, but are rather unprofitable Burdens to the Church; and that they molest the People that go from their own Parish Churches to seek the Bread of Life, when they have no preaching at home. They complain, that there are thousands of Parishes destitute of the necessary Means of Salvation, and therefore pray the Queen and Parliament to provide a Remedy.

Strype's
An. p. 223.

Answer of
the Bishops.

In answer to the Petition last mentioned, the Bishop of Winchester, in the name of his Brethren, drew up the following Reply.

The five first Petitions tend to one Thing, that is the Reformation of an unlearned and insufficient Ministry; to which we answer, that though there are many such in the Church, yet that there was never less reason to complain of them than at present, and that things were mending every day.

To the 6th Article they answered, That it favoured of popular Elections long since abrogated; that it would breed Divisions in Parishes, and prejudice the Patron's Right.

L. of Whit-
gift, 188.

To the 7th Article and the four following they reply, That if they are granted the whole Hierarchy will be unbraced; for the 7th Article shakes the Ground of all Ecclesiastical Government, as subverting the Oath of Canonical Obedience to the Bishop, In omnibus licitis & honestis. The 8th Article

Article requires a Dispensation from the civil Magistrate, to the subverting "The Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer, &c. and confirmation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church." The 9th desires a Dispensation from the Jurisdiction of our ecclesiastical Courts, as Chancellors, Officials, &c. which will in the end subvert all Episcopal Authority. To the 10th they say, that the Ministers that have been suspended are heady, rash and contentious; and 'tis a perilous example, to have sentences revoked that have been given according to Law, except they would yield. The 11th Petition cutteth off another considerable branch of ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, viz. the oath Ex Officio, which is very necessary in some cases, where the Parishioners are so perverse, that though the Minister varies the service of the Church as by Law appointed, they will not complain, much less be Witnesses against him.

Queen Elizabeth, 1584.

The Exercises mentioned in the 12th Article are by the Queen's Majesty suppressed.

To the 13th and 14th they answer, that they are willing to petition the Queen, that the sentence of Excommunication may be pronounced by the Bishop, with such assistance as he shall call in, or by some ecclesiastical Person commission'd by him.

To the 15th and 16th Articles they answer, that the small value of many ecclesiastical Livings, made Pluralities and Non-Residencies in a manner necessary.

Life of Whitgift, p. 193.

The Debates upon this last head running very high, a Bill was ordered to be brought in immediately against Pluralities and Non-Residencies, and for Appeals out of the ecclesiastical Courts. It was said in favour of the Bill, that Non-Residencies and Pluralities were "Malum in se," evil in their own Nature; that they answered no valuable purpose, but hindered the industry of the Clergy, and were a means to keep the Country in Ignorance, at a time when there was but 3000 Preachers to supply 9000 Parishes. The Archbishop drew up his Reasons against the Bill, and prevailed with the Convocation to present them in an Address to the Queen, wherein they stile themselves her Majesty's poor distressed Supplicants, now in danger from the Bill depending in the House of Commons against Pluralities and Non-Residencies; "which (say they) impeacheth your Majesty's Prerogative; lesseneth the Revenues of the Crown; overthrowes the Study of Divinity in both Universities; will deprive Men of the Livings they

Bill against Pluralities.

Life of Whitgift p. 194.

The Convocation flies to the Queen.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

“lawfully possess; will beggar the Clergy; will bring
“in a base and unlearned Ministry; lessen the Hospitality of
“Cathedrals; be an encouragement to Students to go over
“to foreign Seminaries, where they may be better provi-
“ded for; and in a Word, will make way for Anarchy
“and Confusion.”

Bishops Pro-
posals.
L. of Whit-
gift, p. 209.

And to give some satisfaction to the Publick they pre-
sented six Articles to the Queen, as the sum of all that need-
ed Amendment. The first was, that none should be ad-
mitted into Holy Orders under 24 years of age; that they
should have Presentation to a Cure; that they should bring
Testimonials of their good Life; and that the Bishop might
refuse whom he thought fit, without the danger of a Qua-
re impedit. The second was, to restrain the Commutation
of Penance, except upon great Consideration, of which
the Bishop to be Judge. The third was to restrain Licences
to marry without Banes. The fourth to moderate some
excesses about Excommunication. The fifth for restraining
Pluralities of Benefices. The sixth concerning Fees to ec-
clesiastical Officers and their Servants. But even these Ar-
ticles lay by till the year 1597, when they were confirmed
in Convocation, and afterwards incorporated among the
Canons.

The Bill re-
jected by the
Lords.

In the mean time the Bill against Pluralities passed the
House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, where
the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Bishop of
Winchester made long Speeches, shewing, that neither
the Cathedrals, nor Professors in the Universities could sub-
sist without them. To prove this, they produced a List of
the small value of many ecclesiastical Livings, according
to the Queen's Books. To which it was replied, that there
were many suspended Preachers would be glad of the smal-
lest of those Livings, if they might have them without mo-
lestation; however, that it were more proper to go upon
Ways and Means for the Augmentation of smaller Livings,
than to suffer the poor People to perish for lack of Know-
ledge, while the Incumbents were indulged in Idleness and
Sloth; but the Weight of the Bench of Bishops, with the
Court Interest, threw out the Bill.

Other Bills
for Refor-
mation
brought in.

This exasperated the Commons to that Degree, that af-
ter the Holidays they resumed the debate of the Bill of Pe-
titions, and ordered several other Bills to be brought in to
clip the Wings of the Bishops, and lessen the power of the
Spiritual Courts. One was for swearing Bishops in the
Courts

Courts of Chancery and King's Bench, that they should act nothing against the Common Law of the Land. Another to reduce their Fees. A third for liberty to marry at all times of the year. A fourth for the Qualification of Ministers. And a fifth for restoring of discipline. The Act for qualifying Ministers annuls all popish Ordinations; and disqualifies such as were not capable of preaching, as well as those that were convicted of Profaneness, or any kind of Immorality; but obliges the Successor to allow the deprived Minister a sufficient Maintenance at the discretion of the Justices of the Quarter Sessions; and if the Living be not sufficient 'tis to be done by a Parish Rate. It insists upon a careful examination and Trial of the Qualifications of Candidates for the Ministry by the Bishop, assisted by twelve of the Laity; and makes the Election, or Consent of the People, necessary to his Induction to the Pastoral Charge. The Bill for discipline is for abolishing the Canon Law and all the Spiritual Courts; and for bringing the Probats of Testaments, and all civil Business into the Courts of Westminster Hall; it appoints a Presbytery or Eldership in each Parish, which together with the Minister, shall determine the spiritual Business of the Parish, with an Appeal to higher Judicatories in cases of Complaint.

Queen Elizabeth, 1584.

M. S. p. 208, 213.

Mr. Strype says, the Bill for the Qualification of Ministers past the Commons, which put the Archbishop into such a Fright, that the very next Day he writ the following Letter to the Queen.

May it please your Majesty to be advertised,

“ **T**HA T notwithstanding the Charge of late given by your Highness to the lower House of Parliament, for dealing in Causes of the Church; albeit also, according to your Majesty's good liking, we have sent down order for the admitting of meet Men in the Ministry hereafter; yet have they pass'd a Bill in that House yesterday touching that Matter; which beside other inconveniencies (as namely the Trial of the Ministers Sufficiency by twelve Laymen, and such like) hath this also, that if it pass by Parliament it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be altered, what necessity soever shall urge thereunto: which I am persuaded in a short time will appear, considering the multitudes of Livings, not fit for Men so qualified, by reason of the smallness thereof;

The Abp's Letter to the Queen. L. of Whitgift. p. 198.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

“ whereas if it is but as a Canon from us by your Majesty’s Authority, it may be observ’d or alter’d at pleasure.

“ They have also pass’d a Bill, giving Libetty to marry at all times of the year without restraint, contrary to the old Canons continually observed among us; and containing matter which tendeth to the Slander of this Church, as having hitherto maintained an Error.

“ There is likewise now in hand in the same House, a Bill concerning ecclesiastical Courts, and Visitation by Bishops; which may reach to the overthrow of ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and Study of the civil Laws. The Pretence of the Bill is against excessive Fees and Exactions in ecclesiastical Courts; which Fees are none other than have been of long time accustom’d to be taken; the Law already establish’d providing a sharp and severe punishment for such as shall exact the same; besides an order also which we have at this time for the better performance thereof.

“ I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, to continue your gracious Goodness towards us, who with all Humility submit our selves to your Highness, and cease not daily to pray for your happy State, and long and prosperous Reign over us. From Lambeth, the 24th of March, 1584.

Your Majesty’s Chaplain,

and daily Orator most bound,

Jo. Cantuar.

Her Majesty
puts a stop
to them.

The Queen was pleas’d with the Archbishop’s Advice of making Alterations by Canon and not by Statute, that she might reserve the power in her own Hands; and immediately sent a message to the Commons by the Lord Treasurer, to reprimand them “ for encroaching upon her Supremacy, and for attempting what she had forbidden, with which she was highly offended; and to command the Speaker in her Majesty’s Name to see that no Bills touching Reformation in Causes Ecclesiastical should be exhibited; and if any such were exhibited, she commands him upon his Allegiance not to read them.” The Commons now saw their Mistake, in vesting the whole Power of reforming the Policy of

Remarks.

of the Church in the single person of the Queen, who knew how to act the Sovereign, and display her prerogative as well as her Father. If it had been reserved to the whole Legislature, Queen, Lords and Commons, with advice of the representative body of the Clergy, it had been more equitable; but now if the whole nation were dissatisfied, not an insignificant Rite or Ceremony must be changed, nor a Bill be brought into either House of Parliament for that purpose: No lay-person in the kingdom must meddle with Religion but the Queen; the hands of Lords and Commons are tied up, her Majesty is absolute, and no motion for Reformation must arise from any but herself.

Queen Elizabeth, 1584.

The Archbishop's reasons against the Bill for marrying at any time of the year are very extraordinary; " 'tis contrary (says his Grace) to the old Canons." But many of these are contrary to the Canon of Scripture; and this in particular seems a little to resemble the Character which the Apostle gives of an Apostate from the Faith, 1 Tim. iv. 3. " Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from Meats." He adds, " It tendeth to the slander of the Church, as having hitherto maintained an Error." Is it then a slander to the Church of England, or to any Protestant Church, to say she is Fallible and may have maintained an Error? Have not Fathers and Councils erred? Nay, in the very Church of Rome, which alone lays claim to Infallibility, have we not read of one Pope and Council reversing the Decrees of another? The 21st Article of the Church of England says, that " General Councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God." And if a general Council may err, even in things of importance to Salvation, surely it can be no slander to say a Convocation, a Parliament, or a single person may mistake in " commanding to abstain from Meats, and forbidding to marry at certain times of the Year."

Whitgift's Arguments against marrying at all times of the Year.

While the Puritans were attending the Parliament, they did not neglect the Convocation: A petition was presented to them in the name of the Ministers that refused to subscribe the Archbishop's three Articles, wherein they desire to be satisfied in their scruples, which the Law admits, but had not hitherto been attempted. The Convocation rejecting their Petition, the Ministers printed their " Apology to the Church, and humble Suit to the High Court of Parliament," in which they mention several things in the publick Service as repugnant to the Word of God, as, requiring

Puritans apply to Convocation.

M. S. p. 595.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1584.

quiring Faith in an Infant to be baptized; confounding Baptism and Regeneration; adding to the pure and perfect Institutions of Christ the Cross in Baptism and the Ring in Marriage; advancing the Writings of the Apocrypha to a level with Holy Scripture by reading them in the Church; with many others. They conclude with an earnest supplication to their superiors, to be continued in their callings, considering their being set apart to the Ministry, and the obligations they were under to God and their People; they protest they will do any thing thing they can without sin, and the rather, because they are apprehensive that the "Shepherds being stricken their Flocks will be scattered."

And to the
Archbishop.

The Puritans last resort was to the Archbishop, who had a prevailing Interest in the Queen; a paper was therefore published, entitled, "Means how to settle a godly and charitable quietness in the Church;" humbly addressed to the Archbishop, and containing the following proposals.

Their pro-
posals.
L. of Whit-
gift, p. 196.

1. That it would please his Grace not to press such Subscriptions as had been of late required, seeing in the Parliament that established the Articles, the Subscription was disliked and put out.

2. That he would not oblige men to accuse themselves by the Oath Ex Officio, it being contrary to Law, and the Liberty of the Subject.

3. That those Ministers who have been of late suspended, may be restored, upon giving a Bond and Security not to preach against the Dignities of the Archbishops, Bishops, &c. nor to disturb the Order of the Church, but to maintain it as far as they can; and soberly to teach Jesus Christ crucified.

4. That Ministers may not be exposed to the malicious prosecution of their enemies, upon their omission of any Tittle in the Service Book.

5. That they may not be obliged to read the Apocrypha, seeing in the first Book printed in her Majesty's Reign the same was left out, and was afterwards inserted without warrant of Law, and contrary to the Statute, which allows but three alterations.

6. That the Cross in Baptism may not be enforced, seeing in King Edward's 2d Book there was a note which left that, and some other Rites indifferent; which note ought to have been in the Queen's Book, it not being among the alterations appointed by Statute.

7. They

7. They further desire, that in Baptism the Godfathers may answer in their own names, and not in the Child's.

Queen Elizabeth,
1584.



8. That Midwives and Women may not baptize.

9. That the words upon delivery of the Ring in Marriage may be left indifferent.

10. That his Grace would not urge the precise wearing of the Gown, Cap, Tippet and Surplice, but only that Ministers be obliged to wear Apparel meet and decent for their Callings.

11. That Lecturers that have not Cure of Souls, but are licensed to preach, behaving themselves well, be not enforced to minister the Sacraments, unless they be content so to do.

But the Archbishop would abate nothing, nor admit of the least latitude from the national establishment. He writ an answer to the proposals, in which he insists upon a full conformity, telling the Petitioners, that it was none of his business to alter the Ecclesiastical Laws, or dispense with them; which was all they were to expect from him. What could wise and good men do more in a peaceable way for the liberty of their consciences, or a further Reformation in the Church? They petition'd the Queen, applied to both Houses of Parliament, and addressed the Convocation and Bishops; they moved no seditions nor riots, but fasted and prayed for the Queen and Church as long as they were allowed; and when they could serve them no longer, they patiently submitted to Suspensions and Deprivations, Fines and Imprisonments, 'till it should please God, of his infinite mercy, to open a door for their further usefulness.

They are rejected.

The Papists made their advantages of these divisions; a Plot was discovered this year against the Queen's life, for which Lord Paget and others fled their country; and one Parry was executed, who was to have killed her Majesty, as she was riding abroad; to which (it is said) the Pope encouraged him, by granting him his Blessing, and a plenary Indulgence and Remission of all his Sins; assuring him that besides the merit of the action in Heaven, his Holiness would make himself his debtor in the best manner he could, and therefore exhorted him to put his most holy and honourable Purposes in execution; this was written from Rome, Jan 30, 1584, and signed by the Cardinal of Como. Mary Queen of Scots was big with expectation of the Crown of England at this time, from the preparations of foreign Popish Princes, who were determined to

1585.
State of
Popery.

Strype's An.
P. 249.

make

Queen
Elizabeth,
1585.

make the strongest efforts to set her upon the throne, and to restore the Catholick Religion in England; but they could not get ready before her head was laid down upon the Block.

Proceedings
of Parlia-
ment.

Ibid. p. 293.

The Parliament that met again in November being sensible of the importance of the Queen's life, enter'd into a voluntary association to revenge her death, if that should happen by any violence. They also made a severe Statute against Jesuits and Seminary Priests, or others that engaged in any Plots, by virtue of the Bull of Excommunication of Pope Pius V. and against any Subject of England that should go abroad for Education in any of the popish Seminaries. But none of these things could move the Queen or Bishops to take any steps towards uniting Protestants among themselves.

Press re-
strained.
Life of
Whitgift,
p. 223.

But to put an effectual Stop to the Pens of the Church's adversaries, his Grace applied to the Queen for a further Restraint of the Press, which he obtained and published by Authority of the Star-Chamber (says Mr. Strype) June 23, 28 Eliz. It was framed by the Archbishop's Head, who writ a Preface to it: The Decree was to this purpose, "That there should be no
" Printing Presses in private places, nor any where
" but in London and the two Universities. No new
" Presses were to be set up but by Licence from the
" Archbishop, and Bishop of London for the time being;
" They to signify the same to the Wardens of the
" Stationers Company, who should present such as they
" chose to be Masters of Printing Presses before the Ec-
" clestialtical Commissioners for their approbation. No
" Person to print any Book unless first allowed accord-
" ing to the Queen's Injunctions, and to be seen and
" perused by the Archbishop or Bishop of London, or
" their Chaplain. No Book to be printed against any
" of the Laws in being, nor any of the Queen's In-
" junctions. Persons that should sell or bind up such
" Books to suffer three months imprisonment. And it shall
" be lawful for the Wardens of the Stationers Company to
" make search after them, and seize them to her Maje-
" sty's use; and the Printers shall be disabled from exer-
" cising their trade for the future, and suffer six months im-
" prisonment, and their Presses be broken." But notwith-
standing this Edict, the Archbishop was far from enjoying a
peaceable triumph, for the Puritans found ways and means
from

from abroad to propagate their writings, and expose the severity of their adversaries.

Queen Elizabeth, 1585.

Some faint attempts were made this Summer for reviving the Exercises called Prophefings in the Diocese of Chester, where the Clergy were very ignorant: Bishop Chadderton drew up proper regulations, in imitation of those already mentioned; but the design came to nothing. The Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry also published some Articles for his Visitation which favoured of Puritanism, as against Non-residents, for making a more strict enquiry into the qualifications of Ministers, and for restraining unworthy Communicants. He also erected a kind of Judicatory, consisting of learned Divines with himself, to examine such as should be presented for Ordination. When the Archbishop had read them over he called them the "Well-spring of a pernicious platform," and represented them to the Queen as contrary to Law, and to the settled State of the Church; the Bishop writ a defence of his Articles to the Archbishop, shewing their Consistency with Law, and the great advantage that might arise from them; but Whitgift would hear of nothing that looked like a Puritannical Reformation.

Prophefings revived.

Strype's Ann. p. 328.

M. S. p. 515.

The Lord's day [or Sunday] was now very much profaned, by the encouraging of plays and sports on the evenings of those days, and sometimes in the afternoons. The Reverend Mr. Smith, M. A. in his Sermon before the University of Cambridge, the first Sunday in Lent, maintained the Unlawfulness of these Plays; for which he was summoned before the Vice-chancellor, and upon examination offered to prove, that the Christian Sabbath ought to be observed by an abstinence from all worldly business, and spent in works of Piety and Charity; though he did not apprehend we were bound to the strictness of the Jewish precepts. The Parliament had taken this matter into consideration, and passed a Bill "for the better and more re-
"rent observation of the Sabbath," which the Speaker recommended to the Queen in an elegant Speech, but her Majesty refused to pass it, under pretence of not suffering the Parliament to meddle with matters of Religion, which was her Prerogative. However, the thing appeared so reasonable, that without the assistance of a law, the religious observation of the Sabbath grew into esteem with all sober Persons, and after a few years became the distinguishing mark of a Puritan.

Bill for the Observation of the Sabbath rejected by the Queen. Strype's Ann. p. 341.

Ibid. p. 295.

This

Queen
Elizabeth,
1585.

Mr. Cart-
wright re-
turns to
England.

This Summer Mr. Cartwright returned from abroad, having spent 5 years in preaching to the English Congregation at Antwerp: he had been sick of an Ague, which ended in an Hectick, for which the Physicians advised him to try his native Air. Upon this he writ to the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer for leave to come home; these Noblemen made an honourable mention of him in Parliament, but he could not obtain their mediation with the Queen for his pardon, so that as soon as it was known he was landed, though in a weak and languishing condition, he was apprehended and cast into prison; when he appeared before the Archbishop, he behaved with that modesty and respect as softened the heart of his great adversary, who upon promise of his peaceable and quiet Behaviour, suffered him to go at large; for which the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Cartwright returned his Grace thanks; but all the interest they could make could not obtain a Licence to preach. "Mr. Cartwright (says the Archbishop to the Earl) shall be welcome to meet me at all times, but to grant him a Licence to preach till I am better satisfied of his conformity, is not consistent with my duty or conscience." However, the Earl made him Governor of an Hospital of Warwick, where he was connived at for a time, and preached without a Licence; his salary was an house, and 100 l. per Ann.

And settles
at Warwick.

Subscription
to be moderated by the
Abp.

Mr. Fenner and Wood, two other suspended Ministers were released after 12 Month's imprisonment, upon a general subscription to the Articles, "As far as the Law required," and a promise to use the Book of Common Prayer, and no other; but such was the clamour on all hands, by reason of the 3 Articles to be subscribed by all who had Livings already, as well as those that should hereafter take orders, that Secretary Walsingham went over to Lambeth, and told his Grace, that it would stop in a great measure the complaints that were brought to Court, if he would require subscription only of such as were hereafter to enter into holy Orders, and suffer those that were already in places to proceed in the discharge of their duty, upon condition of their giving bond to read the Common Prayer according to the usages and laws prescribing the same; which the Archbishop promised to comply with.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 222.

School-Ma-
sters re-
strained.

But the Non-subscribing Divines that were out of place might not so much as teach school for a livelihood, for the Archbishop would grant no Licence without subscribing; and from this time his Licence to teach Grammar, and even reading

reading and writing, were granted but from year to year : The School-masters were to be full Conformists ; they were limited to a particular Diocese, and were not authorized to teach elsewhere ; they were to instruct their scholars in nothing but what was agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm ; and all this only “ during the Bishop’s pleasure.” Such was the severity of the times !

Queen Elizabeth, 1586.

Ibid, p. 246.

Mr. Travers had been Lecturer at the Temple with Mr. Hooker the new Master about two years, but with very little harmony or agreement, one being a strict Calvinist, the other a person of larger Principles ; the Sermon in the Morning was very often confuted in the Afternoon, and vindicated again the next Lord’s day. The writer of Hooker’s Life reports, that the morning Sermon spoke the Language of Canterbury, and the afternoon, that of Geneva. Hooker complaining of this usage, the Archbishop took the opportunity to suspend Mr. Travers at once, without any warning ; for as he was going up to the pulpit to preach on the Lord’s Day afternoon the Officer served him with a prohibition upon the pulpit Stairs ; upon which instead of a Sermon, he acquainted the Congregation with his suspension, and dismissed them. The reasons given for it were, (1.) That he was not ordained according to the rites of the Church of England. (2.) That he had broken the Orders of the 7th of the Queen, “ That disputes should not be brought “ into the Pulpit.”

Mr. Travers suspended.

Mr. Travers in answer drew up a Petition, or Supplication to the Council, in which he complains of being judged and condemned before he was heard ; and then goes on to answer the objections alledged against him in the prohibition.

His Supplication to the Council.

First it is said, that “ I am not lawfully called to exercise “ the Office of a Minister, nor allowed to preach, according to the Laws of the Church of England.”

To which I answer, That my call was by such methods as are appointed in the national Synods of the foreign reformed Churches ; Testimonials of which I have shewn to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ; so that if any man be lawfully called to the Ministry in those Countries I am.

“ But I am not qualified to be a Minister in England, “ because I am not ordained according to the Laws of this “ Country.”

I beseech your Lordships to weigh my answer, (1.) Such is the Communion of Saints, as that what solemn Acts are done in one true Church of Christ, “ according to his “ Word,”

Queen
Elizabeth,
1536.

Whitgift's
Life. p. 251.

"Word," are held lawful in all others. (2.) The constituting or making of a Minister being once lawfully done ought not to be repeated. (3.) Pastors and Teachers in the New Testament hold the same manner of calling as I had. (4.) The repeating Ordination makes void the former Ordination, and consequently all such Acts as were done by virtue of it, as Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, &c. (5.) By the same rule people ought to be rebaptized and married over again, when they come into this Country from a foreign.

Besides by the Statute 13 Elizabeth, those who have been ordained in foreign Protestant Churches, upon their subscribing the Articles therein mentioned, are qualified to enjoy any Benefice in the Kingdom, equally with them who are ordained according to the Laws now in being; which comprehending all that are "Priests according to the Orders of the Church of Rome," must certainly be as favourable to Ministers ordained among foreign Protestants. In consequence of this Law many Scots Divines are now in possession of Benefices in the Church, as was Mr. Whittingham, tho' he was the first that was called in question in this case.

But it is said, "I preached without presentation or licence."

To which I answer, That the place where I exercised my Ministry required no presentation, nor had I a title, or reaped any benefit by Law, but only received a voluntary contribution, and was employed in preaching only; and as to a Licence, I was recommended to be a Minister of that place by two several Letters of the Bishops of London to the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, without which letters that Society would not have permitted me to officiate.

Secondly, "I am charged with indiscretion, and want of duty to Mr. Hooker, Master of the Temple; and with breaking the order of the 7th of the Queen, about bringing disputes into the Pulpit."

As to "want of duty" I answer, Tho' some have suspected my want of good will to Mr. Hooker, because he succeeded Dr. Alvey in the place I desired to have myself; this is a mistake, for I declined the place because I could not subscribe to my Lord of Canterbury's late Articles, which I would not do for the Mastership of the Temple, or any other place in the Church. I was glad the place was given Mr. Hooker, as well for the sake of old acquaintance, as some kind of affinity that is between us, hoping we should live peaceably and amicably together, as becomes brethren; but
when

when I heard him preach against the Doctrine of Assurance, and "for Salvation in the Church of Rome, with all their "Errors and Idolatry," I thought myself obliged to oppose him; but when I found it occasioned a pulpit war I declared publicly that I would concern myself no further in that manner, tho' Mr. Hooker went on with the dispute.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1586.

But it is said, "I should have then complained of him to "the High Commission."

To which I answer, It was not out of contempt or neglect of lawful Authority, but because I was against all methods of severity, and had declared my resolution to trouble the Pulpit with these debates no more.

Upon the whole, I hope it will appear to your Lordships, that my Behaviour has not deserved so severe a Punishment as has been inflicted upon me; and therefore I humbly pray, that your Lordships would please to restore me to my Ministry, by such means as your Wisdoms shall think fit; which will lay me under farther obligations to pray your temporal and eternal Happiness. But if your Lordships cannot procure me this Favour, I recommend myself to your Lordships Protection, under her Majesty, in a private life, and the Church to Almighty God, who in Justice will punish the Wicked, and in Mercy reward the Righteous with an happy Immortality.

Mr. Hooker wrote an answer to Mr. Traver's Supplication, in a Letter to his Patron the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he takes no notice of Travers's Ordination, but confines himself to his Objections against his Doctrine; some of which he undertakes to answer, and in other places complains of Misrepresentations. But let all be granted that he would have (says Mr. Hooker) what will it advantage him? He ought to have complained to the High Commissioners, and not have confuted me in the Pulpit? for Schisms and Disturbances will arise in the Church, if all men may be tolerated to think as they please, and publicly speak what they think. Therefore by a Decree agreed upon by the Bishops, and confirmed by her Majesty, it was ordered that if erroneous Doctrine should be taught publicly, it should not be publicly refuted, but complained of to such persons as her Majesty should appoint to hear and determine such Causes; for breach of which Order he is charged with want of Duty, and all the Faults he alledges against me can signify nothing in his own Defence. Mr. Hooker concludes with his unfeigned Desires, that both Mr. Travers's and his Papers

Mr. Hooker's Answer.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1586.

may be burnt, and all Animosities buried in Oblivion, and there may be no strife among them but this, who shall pursue Peace, Unity, and Piety with the greatest Vigor and Diligence.

Mr. Travers
silenced for
Life.

But the Council did nothing in the Affair. Travers was left to the Mercy of the Archbishop, who could never be prevailed with to take off his Suspension, or license him to preach in any part of England; upon which he accepted an Invitation into Ireland, and became Provost of Trinity College in the University of Dublin; here he was Tutor to the famous Doctor Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, who always had him in high esteem; but being driven from thence by the Wars, he returned after some years into England, and spent the remainder of his days in Silence, Obscurity, and great Poverty; he was a learned Man, a polite Preacher, an admirable Orator, and one of the worthiest Divines of his age. But all these qualifications put together could not atone for the single crime of Non-conformity.

Cartwright
forbid to an-
swer the
Rhemiſt
Testament.
L. of Whit.
P. 253.

Mr. Cartwright being forbid preaching, had been encouraged by the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham to answer the "Rhemiſt Translation of the New Testament," published with Annotations in favour of Popery; divers Doctors and heads of houses of the University of Cambridge solicited him to the same work, as appears by their Epistle printed before the Book, the like encouragement he received from sundry Ministers of London and Suffolk, none being thought so equal to the task as himself; and because Cartwright was poor, the Secretary of State sent him a 100 l. with assurance of such further assistance as should be necessary; this was about the year 1583; Cartwright accordingly applied himself to the work, but the Archbishop by his sovereign authority forbid him to proceed being afraid that his writings would do the Hierarchy more damage than they would do service to the Protestant cause: The Book therefore was left unfinished, and not published till the year 1618. to the great regret of the learned world, and reproach of the Archbishop.

Mr. Gardi-
ner's Case.
M. S. p. 752.

The Sufferings of Mr. Gardiner, the deprived Minister of Malden in Essex, would have moved compassion in any but the Bishop of London. I will give it the reader in his own words, as it was sent to him in form of a Supplication, dated Sept. 7th. 1586.

To the right Reverend Father in God the Lord bishop of London.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1586.

“ My duty in humble-wise remembered, my Lord,

“ I Am cast into prison by your Lordship, for a matter
“ which about 7 years past was slanderously raised up a-
“ gainst me ; I was by Course of Law cleared, and the
“ Lord God which searcheth the Hearts, before whom
“ both you and I shall shortly appear, doth know, and
“ him I call to witness, that I was, and am falsely accused.
“ I have been extremely sick in prison ; I thank God
“ I am amended, but yet so that the Physicians say my
“ infection from the prison will be very dangerous. I have
“ a poor Wife and five Children which are in lamentable
“ Case : I had six Children at the beginning of my impris-
“ onment ; but by reason of my Sickness in Prison, my
“ Wife being constrained to attend upon me, one of my
“ Children for want of somebody to oversee them, was
“ drowned in a Tub of Wort, being two Years and half
“ old. If your Lordship have no Compassion on me, yet
“ take Pity on the Widow and the Fatherless (for in that
“ State are now my Wife and poor Infants) whose Tears
“ are before the Lord. I crave no more but this, to be
“ bailed ; and if I am found guilty of any breach of Law
“ let me have extremity without any favour.”

Your Lordship's to command in Christ,

John Gardiner.

Mr. Giles Wigginton, M. A. Minister of Sedburgh, And Mr.
having been deprived at Lambeth for Non-conformity, and Wigginton's.
another put into his Living, went home and being denied
entrance into the Church, preached a kind of farewell Ser-
mon to his Parishioners in the Church-yard, and admini-
ster'd the Sacrament, having no peace in his Mind till he
had done it, though his Brethren in the Ministry would have
dissuaded him ; after this he retired with his Wife and Chil-
dren to Burrough Briggs, but was arrested in his Journey
by a Pursuivant from the Archbishop of York, and sent to
Lancaster Gaol 50 miles distant from the place where he
was arrested, in a hard and cold Winter ; there he was
shut up among Felons and condemned Prisoners, and worse
used than they, or than the Recusant Papists. From hence
he sent up his Case to Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the
Privy Council, but with little Success ; for he was a warm
Non-conformist, and a bold Preacher against the lordly
proceedings of the Bishops, for which, and for refusing the

M. S. p.
254, 843,
&c.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1586.

Supplication
of the Puri-
tans to the
Parliament.

Oath *ex Officio*, he suffered a long imprisonment. He was afterwards apprehended again, upon Suspicion of his being one of the Authors of *Martin Mar Prelate*, which he denied, but confessed he did not dislike the Book, and was therefore confined in the Compter and the Gate-House, till (I believe) he consented to leave the Realm.

In the Parliament that met this year, Octob. 29th, and 28 Eliz. the Puritan Ministers made another Effort for parliamentary Relief, for which purpose they presented an humble Supplication to the House of Commons; in which they say, “ It pierces our Hearts with grief to hear the
“ Cries of the Country People for the Word of God. The
“ Bishops either preach not at all, or very seldom; neither
“ can they for their manifold business, their Dioceses be-
“ ing too large for their personal Inspection; besides they
“ are incumber’d with civil Affairs, not only in their own
“ Ecclesiastical Courts, in causes Testamentary, &c. but
“ as Lord Barons, Justices of Peace, Members of the
“ Star-Chamber, Council Table, and Ecclesiastical Com-
“ mission; all which is contrary to the Words of Christ,
“ who says, his Kingdom is not of this World; and con-
“ trary to the practice of all other reformed Churches.
“ And whereas the Scriptures say, that Ministers of the
“ Gospel should be such as are able to teach sound Doctrine
“ and convince Gain-sayers, yet the Bishops have made
“ Priests of the basest of the People, not only for their
“ Occupations and Trades whence they have taken them,
“ as Shoe-makers, Barbers, Taylors, Water-Bearers,
“ Shepherds, and Horse-Keepers; but also for their want
“ of good Learning and Honesty. How true this our
“ Complaint is, may appear by the Survey of some Shires
“ and Counties hereunto annexed, even some of the best,
“ whereby the rest may be estimated.

“ We do acknowledge, that there are a Number of Men
“ within the Ministry, who have good and acceptable
“ Gifts, and are able to preach the Word of God to
“ Edification; of which Number there are two Sorts:
“ there are a great Number that live not upon the place
“ where they are beneficed, but abandon their Flocks, di-
“ rectly contrary to the Charge of Christ to Peter, saying,
“ Feed my Sheep; and of the Apostle Paul to the Elders
“ at Ephesus, take heed to yourselves, and the Flock
“ over which the Holy Ghost has made you Overseers,
“ to feed the Church of God. Of this Sort are sun-
“ dry Bishops, who have Benefices in Commendam;
“ University

Queen
Elizabeth,]
1586.

“ University Men, and Chaplains at Court ; others get two
“ or three Benefices into their Hands, to serve them for
“ Winter and Summer Houses ; which Pluralities and
“ Non-Residencies are the more grievous because they are
“ tolerated by Law. There are indeed several that
“ reside upon their Benefices, but content themselves
“ with just satisfying the Law ; that is, to have divine Ser-
“ vice read, and four Sermons a Year.

“ But great numbers of the best qualified for preaching,
“ and of the greatest Industry and application to their spi-
“ ritual Functions, are not suffered quietly to discharge their
“ duties, but are followed with innumerable Vexations,
“ notwithstanding they are neither Hereticks nor Schisma-
“ ticks, but keep within the Pale of the Church, and per-
“ suade others to do so, who would otherwise have departed
“ from it. They fast and pray for the Queen and the
“ Church, though they have been rebuked for it, and di-
“ versly punished by Officers both Civil and Ecclesiastical.
“ They are suspended and deprived of their Ministry, and
“ the Fruits of their Livings are sequester’d for the pay-
“ ment of such a Chaplain as their Superiors think fit to
“ employ : this has continued for many Months and Years,
“ notwithstanding the Intercession of their People, of their
“ Friends, and sometimes of great Personages for their re-
“ lease. Last of all, many of them are committed to pri-
“ son, whereof some have been chained with Irons, and
“ continued in hard durance for a long time.

“ To bring about these severities, they [the Bishops]
“ tender to the suspected Persons an oath ex Officio, to
“ answer all Interrogatories that shall be put to them,
“ though it be to accuse themselves ; and when they have
“ gotten a confession they proceed upon it to punish them
“ with all rigor, contrary to the Laws of God and of this
“ Land, and of all Nations in Christendom, except it be in
“ Spain by the Inquisition. Those that have refused the
“ Oath have been cast into Prison, and commanded there
“ to lie without bail till they yield to it.

“ The grounds of these troubles are, not Impiety, Immorality
“ want of Learning, or Diligence in their Ministerial Work,
“ but for not being satisfied in the use of certain Ceremonies
“ and Orders of the Church of Rome, and for not being
“ able to declare, that every thing in the Common Prayer
“ Book is agreeable to the Word of God. Alas ! that for
“ those things good Preachers should be so molested, and

Queen
Elizabeth,
1586.

M. S. p.
672.

Grievances
annexed.

Survey of
the State of
Religion in
several
Counties.

M. S. p.
684, & seq.

“ the People deprived of the Food of their Souls, and that
“ by Fathers of the same Faith with ourselves.

“ We therefore most humbly, and for the Lord’s sake,
“ crave of this high and honourable Court of Parliament,
“ that it may please you to hear and read this our Supplication,
“ and take such order for it as to your godly wisdom
“ shall be thought necessary. Nov. 1586.”

The Grievances annexed to this Supplication were these,
(1.) The absolute Power of the Bishop to give and take
away Licences to preach at his Pleasure.

(2.) The Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners
“ according to their own Discretions,” without regard
to Law.

(3.) The small Number of Commissioners (viz.) Three,
who may decide the most weighty Causes.

(4.) The not allowing an Appeal to any other Court.

(5.) The double Character of the Bishops, who sit on
the Bench both as Bishops and as Commissioners.

(6.) The Oath ex Officio, in which this is always one of
their Interrogatories, “ Do you wholly keep, observe, and
“ read in your Church, all the Parts of the Book of Com-
“ mon Prayer ; and wear the Habits ?”

The Survey mentioned in the Supplication, by which
the miserable State of the Church for want of an able and
sufficient Ministry appears, is too large to be inserted ; it
was taken in the Years 1585 and 1586, by some Persons
employed for that Purpose against the Meeting of the Par-
liament ; ’tis divided into eight Columns :

The first contains the Name of the Benefice.

The second the yearly Value.

The third the Number of Souls.

The fourth the Name of the Incumbent, and whether a
Preacher or not.

The fifth what other Benefices he has, and what Curates
do serve him.

The sixth his Character and Conversation.

The seventh who made him Minister. And,

The eighth the Patron of the Living ; according to the
following Plan.

The County of Cornwall. Deanry of Pendor, &c.

Name of the Benefice.	Yearly Value.	Number of Souls.	Name of the Incumbent, and whether a Preacher.	What Benefices he has more, and what Curates do serve them.	His Conversation.	Who ordained, or made him Minister.	The Patron.
V. Lan- Leverie,	l. 30	200	Mr. Batten, no Preacher.	No more.	He liveth as a Pot Companion.	Bp. Alley.	Walter Kendal.
V. Tre- wordneith.	Marks 100	300	Mr. Kendal, no Preacher.	No more.	A simple Man.	Bp. Bradbridge.	Ld. Chancellor.
V. Esey.	l. 30	60	John Bernard, no Preacher.	No more.	A common Di- acer, burnt in the Hand for Felony, and full of all In- quity.	Bp. Bradbridge.	Canons of Exon.
R. de Breage.	l. 120	700	Fitz Jeffery a Preacher, but Non-Resident.	He hath Buckennoek.	Covetous; his Curate Rob. Doway, an ignorant Man.	Bp. Bradbridge.	The Queen.

Upon casting up the Survey the State of the following Counties stands thus :

	Churches or Livings.	Preachers.	No Preachers but Readers,	Double Beneficed and Non-Residents.
In Cornwall are about	160	29	140	25
In Lincolnshire	590	121	455	154
In Oxfordshire	127	29	95	20
In Buckinghamshire, Parson- ages, Vicarages, and Curates serving	210	30	120	160
In Berkshire	—	29	51	43
In Surrey	140	24	125	8
In sixteen of the Hundreds of Essex	335	12	173	71
In Warwickshire	188	41	120	27
In Middlesex about	60	14	48	16
In London, within and with- out the Walls, about	123	97	46	41

of which

It must be uncommon diligence and application, as well as a very great expence, to collect so many names and characters of men; the exact valuation of so many Livings; the number of Non-Resident Ministers; of such as had been Mass-Priests, and of Mechanicks and Tradesmen: But such was the Zeal of these pious men! The Survey of Lincolnshire was signed by the Justices of the Peace of that County, and the others are attested by some of the principal Clergymen of those parts; and are so particular in all circumstances, as leave little room to doubt of their Truth in general, though there may be some few mistakes in characters and numbers. Upon the whole, the Survey takes notice, that after 28 years establishment of the Church of England, there were but 2000 Preachers to serve near 10000 Parish Churches, so that there were almost 8000 Parishes without preaching Ministers. To this account agrees that of Mr. Fenner who lived in these times, and says, that a third part of the Ministers of England were covered with a cloud of suspensions; that if persons would hear a Sermon they must go in some places, 5, 7, 12, yea in some counties 20 miles, and at the same time be fined 12 d. a Sabbath for being absent from their own Parish Church, tho' it be proved they were hearing a Sermon elsewhere, because they had none at home. Nor is it at all strange it should be thus in the country, when the Bishop of London enjoined his Clergy in his Visitation this very year, 1. That every Parson should have a Bible in Latin and English. 2. That they should have Bullinger's Decads. 3. That they should have a Paper-book, and write in it the Quantity of a Sermon every Week. 4. That such as could not preach themselves should be taxed at four purchased Sermons a Year. What a miserable state of things was this! when many hundreds of pious and conscientious preachers were shut out of the Church, and starving with their Families for want of Employment.

With the Supplication and Survey above-mentioned, a Bill was offered to the House of Commons for a further Reformation of the Church; wherein after a recital of their grievances, they pray that the Book hereunto annexed, entitled, "A Book of the Form of Common Prayer, &c." and every thing therein contained, may be from henceforth authorised and put in use and practice throughout all her Majesty's Dominions, any former Law, Custom or Statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. The Book contained Prayers before and after Sermon, but left a liberty

Queen Elizabeth, 1586.

Remarks.

M.S. p. 206.

Answer to Dr. Briggs, p. 48.

L. of Ayl. p. 128.

Bill for further Reformation.

L. of Whitch, p. 258.

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a liberty for Variation if it was thought proper. The Minister was to pray and give thanks in the words there prescribed, or such like. In the Creed it leaves the article of Christ's Descent into Hell more at large. It omits three of the Thirty-nine Articles, (viz) the 34th, 35th and 36th. It takes the Jurisdiction of the Church out of the Hands of the Spiritual Courts and places it in an Assembly of Ministers and Elders in every Shire, who shall have power to examine, approve, and present Ministers to the several Parishes for their election, and even to depose them with the Consent of the Bishop, upon their misbehaviour.

Request a-
gainst Ca-
thedrals.

M. S. p. 814.

At the same time a pamphlet was dispersed without doors, entitled, "A Request of all true Christians to the Honourable House of Parliament." It prays, "That every Parish Church may have its Preacher, and every City its Superintendant to live honestly but not pompously." And to provide for this, it prays, "That all Cathedral Churches may be put down, where the Service of God is grievously abused by piping with Organs, singing, ringing and trowling of Psalms from one side of the Choir to another, with the squeaking of chanting Choristers, disguised (as are all the rest) in white Surplices; some in corner Caps and filthy Copes, imitating the Fashion and Manner of Antichrist the Pope, that Man of Sin, and Child of Perdition, with his other Rabble of Miscreants and Shavelings. These unprofitable Drones, or rather Caterpillars of the World, consume yearly some 2500 l. some 3000 l. some more, some less, whereof no Profit cometh to the Church of God. They are the Dens of idle loitering Lubbarbs; the Harbourers of time-serving Hypocrites, whose Prebends and livings belong some to Gentlemen, some to Boys, and some to Serving-Men and others. If the Revenues of these Houses were applied to augment the Maintenance of poor, diligent, preaching Parish-Ministers, or erecting Schools, Religion would then flourish in the Land."

Stopt by the
Queen.

Some bold speeches were made in Parliament against the arbitrary proceedings of the Bishops, by Mr. Wentworth and others, for which those Members were sent to the Tower; at which the House was so intimidated, that they would not suffer the Bill to be read. Besides, the Queen sent both for the Bill and Petition out of the House, and ordered the Speaker to acquaint them, "That she was already settled in her Religion, and would not begin again; that

Life of
Whitgift,
p. 259.

“ that Changes in Religion were dangerous; that it was
 “ not reasonable for them to call in question the established
 “ Religion, while others were endeavouring to overthrow
 “ it; that she had considered the Objections, and look’d
 “ upon them as frivolous; and that the Platform itself
 “ was most prejudicial to her Crown, and to the peace
 “ of her Government.” Nay, so incens’d was the Queen
 with these attempts of the Puritans, that in drawing up a
 general pardon to be pass’d in Parliament, she ordered an
 exception to be made of such as committed any offence a-
 gainst the Act of Uniformity, or were publishers of sediti-
 ous Books or Pamphlets.

Queen
Elizabeth
1586.

Heyl. Aer.
p. 269.

The Convocation, contrary to all custom and usage, continued sitting after the Parliament, and gave the Queen a subsidy or Benevolence. This precedent Archbishop Laud made use of in the year 1640. to prove the lawfulness of a Convocation sitting without a Parliament. All they did further was to address the Queen with an Offer to maintain by Disputation, that the Platform of the Puritans was absurd in Divinity, and dangerous to the State; which the Non-Conformists would willingly have debated, but the other knew the Queen and Council would not admit it.

Convocation
sit after the
Parliament.

The Press was in the hands of the Archbishop, who took all possible care to stifle the Writings of the Puritans, while he gave licence to Ascanio an Italian Merchant, and Book-seller in London, to import what popish Books he thought fit, upon this very odd pretence, “ That the Adversaries
 “ Arguments being better known by learned Men might be
 “ more easily confuted.” But was it not a shorter way to confute them in the High Commission? Or might not the same reason have served for licensing the Books of the Puritans? But his Grace seems to have been in no fear of Popery, though this very year another Assassination Plot was discovered, for which Ballard a Priest, and about 12 or 14 more were executed. Remarkable were the words of this Ballard, who declared upon Examination to Sir Francis Knollys Treasurer of the Queen’s Household, and a Privy Counsellor, “ That he would desire no better Books to
 “ prove his Doctrine of Popery, than the Archbishop’s
 “ Writings against Cartwright, and his injunctions set forth
 “ in her Majesty’s name. That if any men among the Pro-
 “ testants lived virtuously they were the Puritans, who re-
 “ nounced their ceremonies, and would not be corrupted with
 “ Pluralities. That unlearned and reading Ministers were ra-
 “ ther a furtherance than a hinderance to the Catholick Cause:

Writings of
the Puritans
suppressed,
and popish
Books licen-
sed.
L. of Whit-
gift, p. 268.

Ibid. p. 265

Ballard a
popish Priest
his judg-
ment of the
Puritans.

“ That

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Elizabeth,
1586.

“ That though the Bishops owned her Majesty to be supreme Governor in Causes Ecclesiastical, yet they did not keep their Courts in her Majesty’s Name : And that tho’ the Names and Authority of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. were in use in the primitive Church, they forgot that they were then Lords or Magistrates of Order only, made by the Prince, and not Lords of absolute Power ruling without Appeal.” This was written by Mr. Treasurer himself, October 15. 1586. upon which Sir Francis advised in Council, “ That special care should be taken of popish Recusants ; and that the absolute Authority of private Bishops without Appeal should be restrained ; that they might not condemn zealous Preachers against the Pope’s Supremacy, for refusing to subscribe unlawful Articles, nor without the Assembly of a synodical Council of Preachers, forasmuch as the absolute Authority of the Bishops, and their Ambition and Covetousness had a Tendency to lead people back to Popery.” But how much Truth soever there was in these Observations, the Queen and Archbishop were of another mind.

Puritans remove further from the Church.

The Puritans being wearied out with repeated Applications to their Superiors for Relief began to despair, and in one of their Assemblies came to this conclusion ; “ That since the Magistrate could not be induced to reform the Discipline of the Church, by so many Petitions and Supplications (which we all confess in the Liturgy is to be wished) that therefore after so many years waiting it was lawful to act without him, and introduce a Reformation in the best manner they could.” We have mentioned their private Classes in Essex, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and other Parts, in which their Book, entitled, “ The holy Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God,” being revised, was subscribed by the several Members in these Words, according to Mr. Strype, which are something different from the Form at the end of the Book in the Appendix. “ We acknowledge and confess the same, agreeable to God’s most holy Word, so far as we are able to judge or discern of it, excepting some few Points, [which they sent to their reverend Brethren in some Assembly of them for their further Resolution] and we affirm it to be the same which we desire to be established in this Church, by daily Prayer to God, which we profess (as God shall offer Opportunity, and give us to discern it so expedient) by humble Suit to her Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council and Parliament, and
“ by

Their Form of Subscription to the Book of Discipline.

“ by all other lawful means to further and advance, so far
 “ as the Law, and Peace of the present State of our
 “ Church will suffer it, and not to enforce the contrary.
 “ We promise to guide ourselves according to it, and fol-
 “ low the Directions set down in the Chapter of the Of-
 “ fice of the Minister of the Word. We promise to fre-
 “ quent our appointed Assemblies, that is, every six Weeks
 “ Classial Conferences, every half Year, Provincial As-
 “ semblies, and General Assemblies every Year.” Among
 those that subscribed or declared their Approbation of the
 Book of Discipline, were the Reverend

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Elizabeth,
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Mr. Cartwright,	Dr. Sparkes,	Mr. Perkins,
Mr. Travers,	Mr. Ward,	Mr. Allen,
Dr. Knewstubs,	Mr. Stone,	Mr. Edmunds,
Mr. Charke,	Mr. Warkton,	Mr. Gellibrand,
Mr. Edgerton,	Mr. Larke,	Mr. Bradshaw,
Mr. Reynolds,	Mr. Fletcher,	Mr. Harrison,
Mr. Gardiner,	Mr. Lord,	Mr. Massie,
Mr. Gifford,	Mr. Farmer,	Mr. Hildersham,
Mr. Barber,	Mr. Rushbrook,	Mr. Dod,
Mr. Spieer,	Mr. Littleton,	Mr. Brightman,
Mr. Greenham,	Mr. Oxenbridge,	Mr. Cawdry,
Mr. Payne,	Mr. Seyntclere,	Mr. Rogers,
Mr. Fenner,	Mr. Standen,	Mr. Udall,
Mr. Field,	Mr. Wilcox,	Mr. Dyke,
Mr. Snape,	Dr. Whitaker,	Mr. Wight,
Mr. Johnson,	Mr. Chadderton,	Mr. Paget,
Mr. Nichols,		

and others, to the Number of above 500, all beneficed in the Church of England, useful Preachers, of unspotted Lives and Characters, and many of them of the University of Cambridge, where they had a strong and powerful Interest.

Besides the Puritans already mentioned as suffering this Year, the learned Dr. John Walward, Divinity Professor at Oxford, was enjoined a publick Recantation, and suspended till he had done it, for teaching, that “ The Order of the
 “ Jewish Synagogue and Eldership was adopted by Christ
 “ and his Apostles into the Christian Church, and designed
 “ as a perpetual Model of Church Government.” He was also bound in a Recognizance of 100l. for his good behaviour.---Mr. Harfnet of Pembroke Hall was imprisoned at the same time for not wearing the Surplice.----- Mr. Ed-
 ward

Further
Proceedings
of the High
Commission
M.S. p. 798.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1586.

ward Gillibrand, Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was forbid preaching, and bound in a Recognizance of 100*l*. to revoke his Errors in such Words, as the Commissioners should appoint. His Crime was speaking against the Hierarchy, and against the swelling Titles of Archbishops and Bishops; for which Whitgift told him, he deserved not only to be imprisoned and suspended, but to be banished the University.----Mr. Farrar, Minister of Langham in Essex, was charged with Rebellion against the Queen's Ecclesiastical Laws, and suspended for not wearing the Habits. Bishop Aylmer told him, that except he and his Companions would be conformable, in good Faith he and his Brethren the Bishops would in one Quarter of a Year turn them all out of the Church.----Sept. 11th. Mr. Udall of Kingston upon Thames was suspended and imprisoned, for keeping a private Fast in his Parish.----In the Month of January Mr. Wilson, Mr. Moore, and two other Ministers, were imprisoned, and obliged to give bond for their good Behaviour.

Ibid. p. 800,
805.

Mr. Settle's
Examination
and trouble.

In the Month of May the Reverend Mr. Settle was summoned before the Archbishop at Lambeth, and charged with denying the Article, Of the Descent of our Saviour's Soul into Hell, or the Place of the Damned. Mr. Settle confessed it was his Opinion, that Christ did not descend locally into Hell, and that Calvin and Beza were of his mind; which put the Archbishop into such a passion that he called him Ass, Dolt, Fool. Mr. Settle said, He ought not to rail at him being a Minister of the Gospel, What, said the Archbishop, dost thou think much to be called Ass and Dolt? I have called many of thy Betters so. True, said Mr. Settle; but the Question is, how lawfully you have done so? Then said the Archbishop, thou shalt preach no more in my Diocese. Mr. Settle answered, I am called to preach the Gospel and I will not cease to do it. The Archbishop replied with a stern Countenance, Neither you, nor any one in England, shall preach without my leave. He then charged Mr. Settle with not observing the Order of the Service Book; with not using the Cross in Baptism; with disallowing the Baptism of Midwives; and not using the Words in Marriage, "With this Ring I thee wed. The Dean of Winchester asked him, If he had subscribed. Settle answered, Yes, as far as the Law required; that is, to the Doctrines of Faith and the Sacraments, but as touching other Rites and Ceremonies, he neither could nor would. Then said the Archbishop, thou shalt be subject to the
Ecclesiastica

M.S. p. 798.

Ecclesiastical Authority. Mr. Settle replied, I thank God you can use no violence but upon my poor Body. So his Grace committed him to the Gate-house, there to be kept close Prisoner.

Queen Elizabeth, 1586.

Sandys Archbishop of York was no less active in his Province; I have many of his Examinations before me; he was a severe Governor, hasty and passionate; but it was said in excuse for him and some others, that the Civilians by their Emissaries and Spies turned Informers, and then pushed the Bishops forward, to bring Business into the Spiritual Court.

About this Time Dr. Bridges, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, writ against the Puritans, and maintained that "They were not grievously afflicted unless it were caused by their own Deserts." The Doctor was answered by Mr. Fenner, who appealed to the World in these Words: "Is it no grievous Affliction, by Suspension to be hung up between hope and Despair for a Year or two, and in the mean time to see the Wages of our Labourers eaten up by Loiterers? Nay, our righteous Souls are vexed with seeing and hearing the Ignorance, the profane Speeches, and evil Examples of those thrust upon our Charges, while we ourselves are defamed, reproached, scoffed at, and called seditious and rebellious; cited, accused, and indicted, and yet no redress to be found. All this we have patiently bore, though we come daily to the Congregations to Prayers, to Baptisms, and to the Sacrament; and by our Examples and Admonitions have kept away many from Excesses whereunto rashness of zeal would have carried them.— And though to such as you who swarm with Deanries, with double Benefices, Pensions, Advowsons, Reversions, &c. these Molestations seem light; yet surely, upon every irreligious man's Complaint in such Things as many times are incredible, to be sent for by Pursuivants, to pay two Pence for every Mile, to find Messengers to defray our own Charges, and this by such as can hardly with what they have clothe and feed themselves and their Families, it is not only grievous, but as far as well can be a very heart-burning. 'Tis grievous to a Freeman, and to a Free Minister, for a light Cause, as, for an humble Supplication to her Majesty and the whole Parliament, and to the Fathers of the Church, to be shut up in close Prison; or upon every trifling Complaint, to be brought into a slavish Subjection to a Commissary, so as at his Pleasure to

1587.
Dr. Bridges answered by Mr. Fenner.

Answer to Dr. Bridges,

be P. 46.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1587.

Quiet beha-
viour of the
Puritans,

At the ap-
proach of the
Spanish In-
vasion.

They peti-
tion the
Queen.
M.S. p. 138.

“ be summoned into the Spiritual Courts, and coming thi-
“ ther, to be sent home again at least with unnecessary Ex-
“ pences, master-like Answers, yea, and sometimes with
“ open Revilings. We will not justify ourselves (says Mr.
“ Fenner) in all Things, but acknowledge, that when
“ coming by Dozens and Scores before the Bishop, after
“ half a day’s disorderly Reasoning, some not being heard
“ to the full, some railed on and mis-called, none with Le-
“ nity satisfied, but all suspended from our Office, because
“ we would not subscribe his two last Articles, there might
“ pass from us some Infirmities afterwards; this and many
“ other Things we are willing to impute to ourselves—.”

But after all it may be questioned, whether the History of
former Ages can furnish an Example of so many Severities
against Divines of one and the same Faith, for a few trifling
Ceremonies; or of a more peaceable and Christian Beha-
viour under Sufferings.

Cambden indeed complains of their dispersing Pamphlets
against the Church and Prelates, in a Time of common
Danger, when the Nation was in Arms against the Spanish
Invasion; but these Pamphlets were only to shew, that the
danger of the return of Popery (which all men were now
apprehensive of) arose from stopping the mouths of those
Ministers who were most zealous against it. It had been
easy at this Time to have distressed the Government and
the Hierarchy, for the Cry of the People was against the
Bishops; but the Puritans both here and in Scotland were
more afraid of the return of Popery than their Adversa-
ries: Those in Scotland entered into an Association, to as-
semble in Arms at what Time and Place their King should
require, to assist the Queen of England against the Spaniard;
and their Brethren in London took the opportunity to peti-
tion the Queen for the Liberty of their Preachers, “ That
“ the People might be better instructed in the Duties of
“ Obedience to their Civil Governors, and not be left a
“ Prey to Priests and Jesuits, who were no better than
“ Traitors to her Majesty and the Kingdom. They assure
“ her Majesty, That the People will give their Ministers a
“ good Maintenance; that they [the People] will always
“ pray for her Majesty’s Safety, and be ready to part with
“ their Goods, and pour out their Blood like Water for
“ her Preservation, if they may but have the Gospel.”
But the Queen gave them no Answer; the whole Refor-
mation must be hazarded rather than the Puritans be re-
lieved.

After

After this, they applied to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, beseeching them to address the Queen, to make some better Provision for the City; and to enforce their Petition, they laid before them a new Survey of the Ministry of London, taken this very Year, with the Names of every Parish Priest and Curate set down against his Living and Curacy, which is now before me; and it appears at the Foot of the Account that there were,

Queen Elizabeth, 1587.

And apply to the Court of Aldermen.

M.S. p. 482.

Double beneficed Men within the City	18
Double beneficed Men without	27
Simple Preachers (as the Survey calls them)	10
Dumb, or unpreaching Ministers	17
Resident Preachers, abiding in London only	19

With the Survey they offered divers Reasons to prevail with the Court to appear for them; as, (1.) Because the Laws of the Realm have provided very well for a learned preaching Ministry, whereas by the Account above, it appears that many are Pluralists and Non-residents, others illiterate, being brought up to Trades, and not to Learning, and others of no very good character in Life. (2.) Because divers of the principal Preachers of this Land have of late been put to silence. (3.) Because of the prevailing Ignorance and Impiety that is among the common People for want of better Instruction. (4.) Because we now pay out Money and Dues to them that do little or nothing for it: But the Aldermen were afraid to interpose.

Without Success.

M.S. p. 489.

Such was the Scarcity of Preachers, and the Thirst of the People after Knowledge, that the suspended Ministers of Essex petitioned the Parliament, March 8th, 1587. for some Remedy, "Such (say they) is the Cry of the People to us day and night for the Bread of Life, that our Bowels earn within us; and remembering the solemn denunciation of the Apostle, 'Woe be to us if we preach not the Gospel,' we begin to think it our Duty to preach to our People as we have opportunity, notwithstanding our Suspension, and to commit our Lives and whole Estates to Almighty God, as to a faithful Creator; and under God to the gracious Clemency of the Queen, and of this honourable House." Many suspended Preachers came out of the Countries and took shelter in the City. But to prevent as much as possible their getting into any of the Pulpits in London, the following Commission was sent to all the Ministers and Church-wardens of the City.

Cry of the People for Preaching.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1587.

High Com-
missioners
prohibit a'l
Preaching in
the city
without Li-
cence.

“ **W** Hereas sundry Preachers have lately come into the
“ City of London, and Suburbs of the same; some
“ of them not being Ministers, others such as have no suf-
“ ficient Warrant for their Calling, and others such as have
“ been detected in other Counties, and have notwithstanding
“ in the City taken upon them to preach publicly, to
“ the infamy of their Calling; others have in their Preach-
“ ing rather stirred up the People to Innovation, than sought
“ the Peace of the Church. These are therefore in her
“ Majesty’s Name, by virtue of her high Commission for
“ Causes Ecclesiastical to us and others directed, straightly
“ to enjoin, command, and charge all Parsons, Vicars,
“ Curates and Church-wardens, of all Churches in the City
“ of London, and the Suburbs thereof, as well in the places
“ exempt as not exempt, that they nor any of them do suf-
“ fer any to preach in their Churches, or to read any Lec-
“ tures, they not being in their own Cures, but only such
“ whose Licences they shall first have seen and read, and
“ whom they shall find to be licensed thereto, either by the
“ Queen’s Majesty, or by one of the Universities of Cam-
“ bridge or Oxford, or by the Lord Archbishop of Can-
“ terbury, or the Bishop of London for the Time being,
“ under Seal.

M.S. p. 835.

“ And that this may be published and take the better
“ effect, we will that a true Copy thereof shall be taken
“ and delivered to every Curate and Church-warden of
“ every of the Churches aforesaid. The 16th Day of
“ August, 1587.” Subscribed,

John Canterbury,
John London.

Val. Dale,
Edward Stanhope,
Rich. Cozin.

Proceedings
of the Puri-
tans in their
classes.

But under all these Discouragements the Puritans kept close together, hoping one time or other that Providence would make way for their Relief. They maintained their Classes and Associations, wherein they agreed upon certain general Rules for their Behaviour: One was, that they should endeavour in their Preaching and Conversation to wipe off the calumny of Schism, so far as the Brethren communicated with the Church in the Word and Sacraments, and in all other things, except their Corruptions; and that they

Queen
Elizabeth,
1587.

they assumed no Authority to themselves, of compelling others to observe their Decrees. In their Provincial Synod held at Warwick, June 4th, 1588. it was agreed, that it was not lawful to baptize in private; nor sufficient for a Minister to read Homilies in Churches; nor lawful to use the Cross in Baptism. They agreed further, That they were not obliged to rest in the Bishops Deprivation, nor to appear in their Courts, without a Protestation of their unlawfulness. In another Synod it was determined, that no man should take upon him Ministerium vagum; that they who take upon them a Cure of Souls should be called by the Church whom they are to serve, and be approved by the Classes or some greater Assembly, and if by them they are found meet, they are to be recommended to the Bishop for Ordination, if it might be obtained without subscribing the Book of Common Prayer. It was further agreed, how much of the Common Prayer might be lawfully read for the pre-
serving their Ministry; and how far they might exercise their Discipline without the civil Magistrate. In another provincial Synod about Michaelmas it was agreed, That the Oppressions offered to others, and especially to the Ministers, by the Bishops and their Officials in their Spiritual Courts, should be collected and registered: If this had been preserved entire, more of the Sufferings of these great and good Men would have appeared, and many Works of Darkness, Oppression and Cruelty, would have been brought to light, which now must be concealed to the Day of Judgment.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 291.

The Danger the Nation was now in from a foreign Invasion, gave a little check to the zeal of the Bishops against the Puritans for the present; however this Year Mr. Cawdery, Minister of South Luffingham was suspended, imprisoned, and deprived by the Bishop of London; he had a Wife and seven Children, which were cast upon Providence; but this Divine gave his Lordship some further Trouble, as will be seen hereafter.-----Mr. Wilson, who had been suspended some time before, moved for a Release in the Bishop's Court; but because he refused to subscribe, his Suspension was continued, and himself treated by the Civilians with great inhumanity.

Mr. Cawde-
ry and Wil-
son suspen-
ded.
M.S. p. 825.

Mr. Arthur Hildersham, whom Mr. Fuller represents as a heavenly Divine, being at this time Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was suspended by the Commissioners for preaching occasionally before he had taken Orders, and obliged to sign the following Recantation; "I confess that

Mr. Hilders-
ham's form
of Recanta-
tion
Fuller, B.
IX p. 642.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1587.

“ I have rashly and indiscreetly taken upon me to preach,
“ not being licensed nor admitted into Holy Orders, con-
“ trary to the Orders of the Church of England, con-
“ trary to the Example of all Antiquity, and contrary
“ to the direction of the Apostle in the Acts; whereby I
“ have given great and just offence to many; and the more,
“ because I have uttered in my Sermons certain imperti-
“ nent, and very unfit Speeches for the Auditory, as mov-
“ ing their Minds to discontent with the State, rather than
“ tending to godly Edification, for which my Presumption
“ and Indiscretion I am very heartily sorry, and desire you
“ to bear witness of this my Confession, and acknowledging
“ my said Offences.” This Recantation was by the Arch-
bishop’s appointment to be uttered in Trinity Hall Chapel,
before Easter. In the mean while he was suspended from
the profits of his Fellowship, and stood bound to appear
before the Commissioners the first Court-day of Easter
Term, if he did not before that time recant. Whether
Mr. Hildersham recanted I am not certain, but Sept. 14.
1587. he left the University and settled at Ashby de la
Zouch in Leicestershire, where he continued a deep Suf-
ferer for Non-conformity 43 years, having been suspended
and put to silence by the High Commission no less than four
Times, and continued under that Hardship almost 20 years.

Death of
Mr. Fox the
Martyrolo-
gist.

This Year put an end to the Life of the famous Mar-
tyrologist John Fox, a Person of indefatigable Labour and
Industry, and an Exile for Religion in Queen Mary’s days;
he spent all his time abroad in compiling the Acts and Mo-
numents of the Church of England, which was published
first in Latin, and afterwards, when he returned to his na-
tive Country, in English, with enlargements; vast was the
pains he took in searching Records, and collecting Mate-
rials for this Work; and such was its Esteem, that it was
ordered to be set up in all the Parish Churches in England.
Mr. Fox was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, 1517. edu-
cated in Brazen Nose College, Oxon, where he proceeded
M. A. in the year 1543. He was afterwards Tutor to the
Duke of Norfolk’s Children, who in the days of Queen
Mary conveyed him privately out of the Kingdom. He was
a most learned, pious, and judicious Divine, of a catholick
Spirit, and against all Methods of Severity in Religion.
But he was shamefully neglected for some Years, be-
cause he was a Non-conformist, and refused to subscribe
the Canons and Ceremonies; nor did he get any higher
Preferment in the Church than a Prebend of Salisbury, tho’
the

the Queen used to call him Father, and professed a high Veneration for him ; as indeed he deserved. He died in London in the 70th year of his Age, and lies buried in Cripplegate Church, where his Monument is still to be seen, against the South Wall of the Chancel, with a flat marble Stone over his Body.

Queen Elizabeth,
1587.

It has been observed, that our first Reformers admitted but two Orders of Church Officers to be of Divine Appointment (viz.) Bishops and Deacons, a Presbyter and Bishop according to them being but two names for the same Office ; but Dr. Bancroft the Archbishop's Chaplain, in a Sermon at Paul's Crofs, Jan. 12th, 1588, maintained, that the Bishops of England were a distinct Order from Priests, and had Superiority over them Jure Divino, and directly from God. He affirmed this to be God's own Appointment, though not by express Words yet by necessary Consequence ; and that the denial of it was Heresy. The Doctor confessed, that Acrius had maintained, there was no difference between a Priest and a Bishop ; but that Epiphanius had pronounced his Assertion full of Folly ; and that it had been condemned as Heresy by the general Council of the Church ; that Martin and his Companions had maintained the same Opinion ; but that St. Hierom and Calvin had confessed, that Bishops have had superiority over Presbyters, ever since the Times of St. Mark the Evangelist. This was new and strange Doctrine to the Churchmen of these Times. It had been always said, that the superiority of the Order of Bishops above Presbyters had been a politick human Appointment, for the more orderly Government of the Church, begun about the 3d or 4th Century ; but Bancroft was one of the first, who by the Archbishop's Directions advanced it into a Divine Right. His Sermon gave offence to many of the Clergy, and to all the Friends of the Puritans about the Court, who would have brought the Preacher into a Præmunire, for saying, that any Subject of this Realm hath superiority over the Persons of the Clergy, otherwise than from and by her Majesty's Authority. But the Doctor retorted this Argument upon the Disciplinarians, and added, that it was no better than a Sophism, because the Prince's Authority may, and very often does confirm and corroborate that which is primarily from the Laws of God. Sir Francis Knollys, who had this Affair at heart, told the Archbishop that Bancroft's Assertion was contrary to the Command of Christ, who condemned all Superiority among the Apostles. " I do not

1588.
Rise of the
Controversy
of the Di-
vine Right
of Episcopacy.
Bancroft's
Sermon.

Life of
Whitgift.
P. 292.
Displeases
the Puri-
tans.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1588.

“ deny (says he) that Bishops may have lordly Authority
“ and Dignity, provided they claim it not from an
“ higher Authority than her Majesty’s Grant. If the Bi-
“ shop’s are not Under-Governors to her Majesty of the
“ Clergy, but Superior-Governors over their Brethren by
“ God’s Ordinance, [i. e. Jure Divino] it will then follow
“ that her Majesty is not supreme Governour over her Cler-
“ gy.” The same Gentleman not relying upon his own
Judgment, writ to the learned Dr. Raynolds of Oxford,
for his Opinion of Bancroft’s Doctrine, which he gave him
in a letter now before me, to this Effect.

Dr. Ray-
nold’s
Remarks.

——“ Though Epiphanius says, that Acrius’s Assertion
“ is full of Folly, he does not disprove his Reasons from
“ Scripture ; nay, his Arguments are so weak, that even
“ Bellarmine confesses they are not agreeable to the Text,
“ As for the general consent of the Church, which the
“ Doctor says, condemned Acrius’s Opinion for Heresy,
“ what Proof does he bring for it ? it appears (he says) in
“ Epiphanius ; but I say it does not ; and the contrary ap-
“ pears by St. Jerom, and sundry others who lived about
“ the same time. I grant that St. Austin in his Book of
“ Heresies ascribes this to Acrius for one ; that he said
“ there ought to be no Difference between a Priest and a
“ Bishop, because this was to condemn the Churches Or-
“ der, and to make a Schism therein. But it is a quite diffe-
“ rent thing to say, that by the Word of God there is a
“ Difference between them, and to say that it is by the
“ Order and Custom of the Church ; which is all that St.
“ Austin maintains. When Harding the Papist alledged
“ these very Witnesses, to prove the Opinion of Bishops
“ and Priests being of the same Order to be Heresy ; our
“ learned Bishop Jewel cited to the contrary, Chrysostom,
“ Jerom, Ambrose, and St. Austin himself, and conclu-
“ ded his Answer with these Words, All these and other
“ more holy Fathers, together with the Apostle Paul, for
“ thus saying, by Harding’s Advice, must be held for He-
“ reticks. Michael Medina, a Man of great Account in
“ the Council of Trent, adds to the forementioned Testi-
“ monies, Theodorus, Primarius, Sedulius, Theophylact,
“ with whom agree Oecumenius, the Greek Scholiast,
“ Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, Gregory, and Gra-
“ tian ; and after them how many ? it being once inrolled
“ in the Canon Law for Catholick Doctrine, and thereupon
“ taught by learned Men.

“ Besides,

“ Besides, all that have laboured in reforming the
 “ Church for 500 years have taught, that all Pastors, be
 “ they entitled Bishops or Priests, have equal Authori-
 “ ty and Power by God’s Word; as first the Waldenses,
 “ next Marfilus Patavinus, then Wickliffe and his Scho-
 “ lars, afterwards Husse and the Hussites; and last of all,
 “ Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger, and Musculus.
 “ Among ourselves we have Bishops, the Queen’s Profes-
 “ sors of Divinity in our Universities, and other learned
 “ Men consenting herein, as Bradford, Lambert, Jewel,
 “ Pilkington, Humphreys, Fulke, &c. But what do I
 “ speak of particular Persons? it is the common Judg-
 “ ment of the reformed Churches of Helvetia, Savoy,
 “ France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the
 “ Low Countries, and our own. I hope Dr. Bancroft
 “ will not say, that all these have approved that for sound
 “ Doctrine which was condemned by the general Consent
 “ of the whole Church for Heresy, in a most flourishing
 “ Time; I hope he will acknowledge that he was over-
 “ seen, when he avouched the Superiority which Bishops
 “ have among us over the Clergy to be God’s own Ordi-
 “ nance.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1588.

“ As for the Doctor’s saying that St. Jerom, and Calvin
 “ from him, confessed that Bishops have had the said Su-
 “ periority ever since the Time of Saint Mark the Evan-
 “ gelist, I think him mistaken, because neither Jerom says
 “ it, nor does Calvin seem to confess it on his Report; for
 “ Bishops among us may do sundry other things, besides
 “ ordaining and laying on of Hands, which inferior Mini-
 “ sters or Priests may not; whereas St. Jerom says, What
 “ does a Bishop except Ordination which a Priest does not?
 “ meaning, that in his Time Bishops had only that power
 “ above Priests; which Chrysostom also witnesses in Ho-
 “ mily xi. on 1 Timothy. Nor had they this Privilege
 “ alone in all Places, for in the Council of Carthage it is
 “ said, that the Priests laid their Hands together with the
 “ Bishop’s on those who were ordained. And St. Jerom
 “ having proved by Scripture, that in the Apostles Time
 “ Bishops and Priest, were all one, yet granteth that after-
 “ wards Bishops had that peculiar to themselves somewhere,
 “ but nothing else; so that St. Jerom does not say concern-
 “ ing the Superiority in question, that Bishops have had it
 “ ever since St. Mark’s Time.

“ Nor does Calvin confess it; he says, that in old Time
 “ Ministers chose one out of their Company in every City,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1568.



“ to whom they gave the Title of Bishop; yet the Bishop was not above them in Honour and Dignity, but as Consuls in the Senate propose Matters, ask their Opinions, direct others by giving Advice, by admonishing, by exhorting, and so guide the whole Action, and by their Authority see that performed which was agreed on by common Consent; the same charge had the Bishop in the Assembly of Ministers; and having shewed from St. Jerom, that this was brought in by consent of Men, he adds, that it was an ancient Order of the Church even from St. Mark; from whence 'tis apparent, that the Order of the Church he mentions, had relation to that above described, in which he affirms, that the Bishop was not so above the rest in Honour as to have rule over them. It follows therefore, that Calvin does not so much as seem to confess of St. Jerom's Report, that ever since St. Mark's Time, Bishops have had a ruling Superiority over the Clergy.”

We shall meet with this Controversy again hereafter. Whitgift said, the Doctor's Sermon had done much good, though he himself rather wished than believed it to be true: it was new Doctrine at this time. Most of the Clergy that approved the Superiority of the Episcopal Order were against the Divine Right; but the Bishops in the next Age revived the Debate, and carried their Pretensions so high, as to subvert the very Foundations upon which they built.

Spanish Invasion.

The Queen having suffered Mary Queen of Scots to be beheaded at Fotheringay Castle, Feb. 1587. all the Roman Catholick Princes were alarm'd, and threaten'd Revenge; among others, the Spaniards hastned their Invincible Armada, to reduce England to the Catholick Faith, which had been three Years preparing at a prodigious Expence: the Fleet was well mann'd, and furnished with strange Instruments of Torture for the English Hereticks; they came through the Channel like so many floating Castles, being to take in a Land Army from the Low Countries; but partly by Storms, and partly by the Valour and wise Conduct of the Queen's Admirals and sea Captains, the whole Fleet was burnt and destroyed, so that not a Spaniard set foot upon English Ground; nor was there a Ship left entire to carry the News back to Spain. The Queen ordered the Coasts to be well guarded, and raised a Land Army, which she animated by appearing at the Head of them. A terror was spread through the whole Nation by reports of the Engines of Cruelty that were aboard the Fleet; their barbarous

barous Usage of the poor Protestants in the Low Countries under Duke D'Alva was remember'd, as well as their bloody Massacres of the poor Indians in America : but the Storm blew over ; and by the blessing of God upon the Queen's Arms the Nation was soon restor'd to its former Tranquillity.

Queen Elizabeth, 1588.

The following Winter the Queen summoned a Parliament to meet [Feb. 4th.] in order to defray the extraordinary Expences of the year, and make some new Laws against the Papists. The Puritans having expressed their Zeal for the Queen and the Protestant Religion, by listing in her Army and Navy, thought it adviseable once more to address the Houses for some Favour in point of Subscription. Upon the delivery of the Petition one of the Members stood up and moved, that an enquiry might be made, how far the Bishops had exceeded the Laws in the prosecution of her Majesty's Protestant Subjects. Another moved, for reviving the Bill against Pluralities and Non-Residents, which was brought in, and having passed the Commons was sent up to the Lords. This alarmed the Convocation, who addressed the Queen to protect the Church ; and having flattered her with the Title of a Goddess, " O Dea Certe ! " they tell her, " That the passing of the Bill will be attended " with the Decay of Learning, and the spoiling of their " Livings ; that it will take away the set Forms of Prayer " in the Church, and bring in confusion and barbarism. " They put her in mind, how dangerous Innovations are in " a settled State ; and add, that all the reformed Churches in Europe cannot compare with England in the number of learned Ministers. We therefore (say they) not " as Directors, but as humble Remembrancers, beseech " your Highness's favourable beholding of our present State, " and not to suffer the Bill against Pluralities to pass." Upon this the Queen forbid the House of Lords to proceed, and sent for those Members of the House of Commons into Custody that had dared to break through her Orders, of not meddling with Affairs of Religion without her special Allowance ; which put an end to all Expectations of Relief for the present.

Puritans apply to Parliament.

Convocation's Petition to the Queen.

L. of Whitgift, p. 280.

This Year died the reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Sampson, of whom mention has been made already ; he was born about the Year 1517, and educated at Oxford ; he afterwards studied at the Temple, and was a means of converting the famous Martyr John Bradford to the Protestant Religion ; he took Orders from Archbishop Cranmer and

Death of Mr. Sampson.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1588.

and Ridley in the year 1549, who dispensed with the Habits at his Request, and became Rector of Allhallows Breadstreet: He was a famous Preacher in the Reign of King Edward; but upon the Accession of Queen Mary he fled to Strasburgh, and was highly esteemed by the learned Tremelius. When Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown she offered him the Bishoprick of Norwich, but he refused it for no other Reason, but because he could not conform to the Habits and Ceremonies. In the Year 1561, he was installed Dean of Christ Church, Oxon; but soon after in the Year 1564, was deprived by sentence of Archbishop Parker for Non-conformity. He afterwards contented himself with the Mastership of an Hospital in Leicester, where he spent the Remainder of his Days in peace. He was taken with the dead Palsey on one side many Years before he died; but continued preaching and writing to the last, and was in high esteem over all England for his Learning, Piety, and Zeal for the Protestant Religion. He died at his Hospital with great tranquility and comfort in his Non-conformity, the latter end of March or the beginning of April 1588⁸, in the 72d year of his Age.

Wood's
Ath. Ox. p.
238.

Death of
Dr. Humphreys.

Cambden.

Soon after him died the very learned Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, a great Friend and Companion of Sampson's; he was born in Buckinghamshire, and educated in Magdalen College, Oxon, of which he was perpetual Fellow. In the Reign of Queen Mary he obtained leave to travel, and continued at Zurich till Queen Elizabeth's Accession, when he was made Queen's Professor in Divinity; he was afterwards President of Magdalen College, and Dean of Gloucester, which was the highest Preferment he could obtain, "because he was a Non-conformist from the Ceremonies of the Church." The Oxford Historian says, he was a moderate and conscientious Non-conformist, and stocked his College with a generation of that sort of Men that could not be rooted out in many years: he was certainly a strict Calvinist, and a bitter Enemy of the Papists; he was a great and general Scholar, an able Linguist, and a deeper Divine than most of his Age: he writ many learned Works, and at length died in his College, in the 63d year of his Age, 1589, having had the Honour to see many of his Pupils Bishops; while he who was every Way their Superior was denied preferment for his puritanical Principles.

And of
Sandys Abp.
of York.

To these we may add the venerable Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, an excellent and frequent Preacher in his younger Days, and an Exile for Religion in Queen Mary's Reign.

Reign. He was afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester, London and York, and a zealous Defender of the Laws against Non-conformists of all sorts; when Arguments failed he would earnestly implore the secular Arm; though he had no great Opinion either of the Discipline or Ceremonies of the Church, as appears by his last Will and Testament, in which are these remarkable Expressions.

Queen Elizabeth, 1588.

“ I am persuaded that the Rites and Ceremonies by political Institution appointed in the Church, are not ungodly nor unlawful, but may for Order and Obedience sake be used by a good Christian — But I am now, and ever have been persuaded, that some of these Rites and Ceremonies are not expedient for this Church now; but that in the Church reformed, and in all this time of the Gospel, they may better be disused by little and little, than more and more urged.” Such a Testimony from the dying Lips of one that had been a severe persecutor of honest Men, for things which he always thought had better be disused than urged, deserves to be remember’d. He died in the Month of July, 1588. in the 69th year of his age, and was buried in the Collegiate Church of Southwell, where there is a raised Monument to his Memory, with his own Effigies on the Top, and a great Number of his Children kneeling round the sides of it.

L. of Whitgift, p. 237.

C H A P. VIII.

From the Spanish Invasion to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

WHILE there was any hopes of compromising Matters between the Church and Puritans, the Controversy was carried on with some Decency; but when all hopes of Accommodation were at an end, the contending Parties loaded each other with nothing but Reproaches. The publick printing Presses being shut against the Puritans, some of them purchased a private one, and carried it from one Country to another to prevent Discovery: it was first set up at Mouldsey in Surrey, near Kingston on Thames; from thence it was conveyed to Fawley in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton, from thence to Coventry, from Coventry to Woolston in Warwickshire, and from thence to Manchester in Lancashire, where it was discovered. Sundry satyirical Pamphlets

1589. Satyirical Pamphlets.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1589.

Martin
Mar-Pre-
late.

lets were printed by this Press, and dispersed all over the Kingdom ; as,

“ Martin Mar-Prelate ;” written, as is supposed, by a Club of Separatists, for the Authors were never discovered : ’tis a violent Satyr against the Hierarchy and all its Supporters ; it calls the Lord Bishops petty Antichrists, petty Popes, proud Prelates, Enemies to the Gospel, and most covetous wretched Priests.—It says, “ That the Lord has given “ many of our Bishops over to a reprobate sense, because “ they wilfully oppose and persecute the Truth ; and sup- “ poses them to have committed the unpardonable Sin, be- “ cause they have manifested in their publick Writings, “ &c. most blasphemous and damnable Doctrines.” The Author then addresses himself to the Clergy that had subscribed, and that were for pressing Subscription upon others, in such punning Language as this, “ Right puissant and “ terrible Priests, my Clergy Masters of the Confocation “ or Conspiracy House, whether Fickers [Vicars] Paltri- “ politans, or others of the holy League of Subscription. “ Right poisoned, persecuting and terrible Priests ; my “ horned Masters, your Government is Antichristian, “ your Cause is desperate, your Grounds are ridiculous— “ Martin understands all your Knavery ; you are intoler- “ able withstanders of Reformation, Enemies of the Gos- “ pel, and most covetous, wretched, and popish Priests, “ &c.” There are a great many sad truths in the Book, but delivered in rude and unbecoming Language, and with an angry Spirit.

L. of Whit-
gift p. 290.

Other Sa-
tyrical
Pamphlets.

The Titles of the rest were,

“ Theses Martinianæ ;” i. e. Certain demonstrative conclusions set down and collected by Martin Mar-Prelate the Great, serving as a manifest and sufficient confutation of all that ever the College of Cater Caps, with their whole Band of Clergy-priests have or can bring for the defence of their ambitious and antichristian Prelacy. Published by Martin Junior, 1589, in Octavo, and dedicated to John Kankerbury [i. e. Canterbury.] The Author of this tells the Bishops, that he would plant young Martins in every Diocese and Parish, who should watch the behaviour of the Clergy, that when any thing was done amiss it might be made publick.

“ Protestation of Martin Mar-Prelate ;” wherein notwithstanding the surprising of the Printer, he maketh it known to the World, that he feareth neither proud Priest, Antichristian Pope, Tyrannous Prelate, nor Godless Cater Cap, &c. printed 1589, Octavo. His

“ His appellation to the High Court of Parliament from
 “ the bad and injurious dealing of the High Commission, Queen Elizabeth, 1589.
 “ &c.” Printed 1589. Octavo.

“ Dialogue, wherein is plainly laid open the tyrannical
 “ dealings of the Lords Bishops against God’s Children.” Ath. Oxon. V. I. p. 259.
 Printed 1589. Quarto.

“ A Treatise, wherein is manifestly proved, That Reformation, and those that sincerely favour the same, are
 “ unjustly charged to be Enemies to her Majesty, and the
 “ State.” Printed 1590. Quarto.

“ Ha’ ye any work for the Cooper ?” This was written
 against Dr. Tho. Cooper Bishop of Winchester ; and is said
 to be printed in Europe, not far from some of the bouncing
 Priests, 1590.

“ Epitome of the first Book of Dr. John Bridges against
 “ the Puritans ;” with this expression in the title Page,
 “ Oh ! read ove Dr. John Bridges, for it is a worthy work.
 “ Printed over Sea in Europe, within two furlongs of a
 “ bouncing Priest, at the cost and charges of Martin Mar-
 “ Prelate, Gent.” in Quarto.

“ The Cobler’s Book,” which denies the Church of Eng- L. of Whit-land to be a true Church, and charges her with maintaining gift, p. 296.
 land to be a true Church, and charges her with maintaining
 Idolatry under the name of Decency, in the Habits, Fonts,
 Baptism by Women, Gang-Days, Saints Eves, Bishoping of
 Children, Organs, Wafer-cakes, &c.

“ Ha’ ye any more work for the Cooper ?” In printing of
 which the Press was discovered and seized, with several Pam-
 phlets unfinished ; as,

Episto [Episco] Mastix
 Paradoxes,
 Dialogues,
 Miscellanea,
 Variæ Lectiones,

Martin’s Dream,
 The Lives and Doings of
 English Popes,
 Itinerarium, or, Visitationes,
 Lambethisms.

Ibid. p. 288.

The two last of these were imperfect ; but to complete
 the Itinerarium, the Author threatens to survey all the
 Clergy of England, and note their intolerable Pranks :
 And for his Lambethisms he would have a Martin at Lam-
 beth. Other Books were published of the same nature ; as,
 “ A Demonstration of Discipline ; the Counter-Poison,
 “ &c.”

The Writers on the Church-side came not behind their
 Adversaries in buffoonry and ridicule, as appears by the fol-
 lowing Pamphlets printed at this time.

“ Pappe

Queen
Elizabeth,
1589.

Ludicrous
Pamphlets
on the
ChurchSide.
Ath. Oxon.
V. I. p. 260.

“Pappe with an hatchet, alias, A Fig for my Godson :
“Or, Crack me this Nut, that is, a Sound box of the ear
“for the Ideot Martin to hold his peace.” Written by one
that dares call a Dog a Dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and
are to be sold at the Sign of the Crab-Tree Cudgel, in
Thwack-Coat-Lane.

“Pasquil’s Apology.” In the first part whereof he
renders a reason of his long silence and gallops the field with
the Treatise of Reformation. Printed where I was, and
where I shall be ready, by the Help of God and my Muse,
to send you a May-Game of Martinism. Anno 1590.
Quarto.

“An Almond for a Parrot: Or, an alms for Mart. Mar-
“Prelate, &c.” By Cuthbert Curry-Knave. Quarto.

“The return of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquil to Eng-
“land, and his meeting with Marforius at London, up-
“on the Royal Exchange, Lond. 1589. against Martin
“and Martinism.”

“A counter Cuff given to Martin junior, by the Pasquil
“of England, Cavaliero. 1589. Octavo.

Remarks.

’Tis sad, when a controversy about serious matters runs
these dregs: Ridicule and personal satyr may expose an ad-
versary and make him ashamed, but will never convince or
reconcile; it carries with it a contempt which sticks in the
heart and will hardly be removed; nor do I remember any
cause that has been served by such methods. Dr. Bridges
answered Martin in a ludicrous stile; but Cooper Bishop
of Winchester did more service by his grave and sober
reply, with the assistance of the Archbishop of Canter-
bury, who being miserably aspersed, furnished the Bishop
with replies to the particular charges brought against him.
The Book is entitled, “An Advertisement to the People of
“England; wherein the slanders of Martin Mar-Prelate the
“Libeller are distinctly answered.” But after all, it was im-
possible for the Bishops to wipe off from themselves the
charge of persecution and violation of the Laws.

Queen pro-
hibits them.

To put a stop to these Pamphlets the Queen sent a Let-
ter to the Archbishop, commanding him to make diligent
enquiry after the Printing Press, and issued out her Royal
Proclamation, dated Feb. 13th. “For the bringing in all
“seditious and schismatical Books, whether printed or writ-
“ten, to the Ordinary, or to one of the Privy Council,
“as tending to bring in a monstrous and dangerous innova-
“tion of all manner of Ecclesiastical Government now in
“use, and with a rash and malicious purpose to dissolve

“the

“ the State of the Prelacy, being one of the three antient
 “ Estates of this Realm under her Highness, whereof her
 “ Majesty mindeth to have a reverend regard ; she there-
 “ fore prohibits any of her Subjects from keeping any books
 “ in their custody against the order of the Church, or the
 “ rites and ceremonies of it, her Majesty being minded to
 “ have the Laws severely executed against the Authors
 “ and Abettors of them, as soon as they shall be appre-
 “ hended.”

Queen Elizabeth,
 1589.

L. of Whitgift, in Rec. No. 41.

As soon as the Printing Press was discovered, his Grace writ to the Treasurer to prosecute the Persons with whom it was found ; but like an artful Politician wishes it might be done by the Lords of the Council, rather than by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, because they had already suffered for supporting the Government, which was wounded thro' their Sides. Accordingly Sir Richard Knightley, Sir—— Wigston, who had entertained the Press, together with the Printer, and Humphry Newman the disperse, were deeply fined in the Star-Chamber ; and others put to death.

The Entertainers of the Printing Press punished. L. of Whitgift, p. 314. Fuller, B. IX. p. 194.

The Archbishop being now in his Visitation had framed 22 Articles of enquiry, upon which the Church-Wardens of every Parish were to be examined upon Oath. By these Articles they were to swear, That their Minister was exactly conformable to the Orders of the Church, or else to impeach him ; and to declare further, Whether they knew of any of their Neighbours or Fellow-Parishioners, that were “ common Swearers, Drunkards, Usurers, Witches, “ Conjurers, Hereticks ; any man that had two Wives ; “ or Women that had two Husbands : Whether they knew “ any that went to Conventicles or Meetings for saying “ Prayers in private Houses ; any that were of age and did “ not receive the Sacrament in Church three times a year ;” With others calculated to dissolve all friendship in Country Towns, and set a whole Diocese in a flame. When Sir Francis Knollys had read the Articles he sent them to the Treasurer, calling them by the proper name, “ Articles of “ Inquisition, highly prejudicial to the Royal Prerogative :” But there was no stopping his Grace's Career.

Whitgift's new Articles of Visitation.

L. of Whitgift, p. 309, 313.

Among the Divines that suffered death for the libels abovementioned, were the Reverend Mr. Udal, whose case being peculiarly hard, I shall give the reader an Abstract of it. He had been Minister of Kingston upon Thames ; but having been silenced by the Official Dr. Hone, he lay by for half a year, having no farther prospect of usefulness in the Church. At length the people of Newcastle upon Tyne

1590. Mr. Udal's Examination. Peirce's Vindic. p. 129.

wanting

Queen
Elizabeth,
1590.

wanting a Minister, prevailed with the Earl of Huntingdon to send him to them; when he had been there about a year he was sent for up to London by the Lord Hunston and the Lord Chamberlain, in the name of the whole Privy Council: Mr. Udal set out December 29th 1589. and on the 13th of January appeared at Lord Cobham's House before the Commissioners, Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst, Lord Chief Justice Anderson, Dr. John Young Bishop of Rochester, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Egerton the Queen's Solicitor, Dr. Aubery, and Dr. Lewin. The Bishop began the examination in this manner:—Bishop. Have you the allowance of the Bishop of the Diocese to preach at Newcastle? Udal. There was neither Bishop of the Diocese, nor Archbishop of York at that time. Fortescue. By what law then did you preach at Newcastle, being silenced at Kingston? Udal. I know no law against it, seeing I was silenced only by the Official, whose authority reaches not beyond his Archdeaconry. L. C. J. Anderson. You are called to answer concerning certain Books, thought to be of your writing. Udal. If it be any of Martin's Books, I have disowned them a year and a half ago at Lambeth. L. C. J. Anderson. Who was the Author of the Demonstration, or the Dialogue? Udal. I shall not answer. Anderson. Why will you clear yourself of Martin, and not of these? Udal. Because I would not be thought to handle the cause of Discipline as Martin did; but I think otherwise of the other Books, and care not though they should be fathered upon me; I think the Author did well, and therefore would not discover him if I knew him; but would hinder it all I could. L. C. J. Anderson. Why dare you not confess if you be the Author? Udal. I have said I liked of the Books, and the matter handled in them; but whether I made them, or no, I will not answer, for by the law I am not obliged to it. Anderson. That is true, if it concerned the loss of your Life [and yet the Justice tried and condemned him for his Life.] Udal. I pray your Lordship, does not the Law say, “No man shall be put to answer without “presentment before Justices on matters of Record, or by “due proofs and writ original, &c.” A. 42 Edw. 3. cap. 3. Anderson. That is Law if it be not repealed. Bishop of Rochester. Pray let me ask you a question concerning your book. But Udal was upon his guard, and said, 'Tis not yet proved to be mine. Mr. Solicitor. I am sorry, Mr. Udal, you will not answer nor take an oath, which by law you ought to do; but he did not say by what law. Udal, Sir, if
I have

I have a liberty by Law, there is no reason why I should not challenge it : Shew me by what Law I am obliged to accuse myself. Dr. Lewin. You have taken the Oath heretofore, why should you not take it now? Udal. I then voluntarily confessed certain Things concerning my preaching of the Points of Discipline, which could never have been proved ; and when my Friends laboured to have me restor'd to my Ministry, the Archbishop answered, there was sufficient Matter against me by my own Confession why I should not be restored ; whereupon I covenanted with my own Heart never to be my own Accuser again.

At length the Bishop told him his Sentence for that Time was to be sent to the Gate-house : Take it in his own Words, “ I was carried to the Gate-house by a Messenger, who delivered me with a Warrant to be kept close prisoner, and not to be suffered to have Pen, Ink, or Paper, or any body to speak with me. Thus I remained half a Year, in all which time my Wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that in the hearing of the Keeper she might speak to me, and I to her of such things as she should think meet—All which time my Chamber-fellows were Seminary Priests, Traitors, and professed Papists. At the end of the half year I was removed to the White Lion in Southwark, and so carried to the Assizes at Croydon.”

On the 23d of July Mr. Udal was brought to Croydon with Fetters on his Legs, and indicted upon the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2. before Baron Clarke and Mr. Serjeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalous, and seditious Libel, called “ A Demonstration of Discipline,” dedicated to the supposed Governors of the Church of England, in which is this Passage ; “ Who can without blushing deny you [the Bishops] to be the Cause of all Ungodliness ? Forasmuch as your Government gives liberty for a Man to be any thing but a sound Christian ; it is more free in these days to be a Papist or a wicked Man, than what we should be ; I could live twenty Years as such in England, and it may be in a Bishop’s House, and not be molested : So true is it, that you care for nothing but the Maintenance of your Dignities, be it to the Damnation of your own Souls, and infinite Millions more.” These are the Words of the Indictment. To which Mr. Udal pleaded Not Guilty, and put himself upon the Trial of his Country. In opening the Cause Mr. Daulton the Queen’s Counsel made a long Invective against the new Discipline, which he

His Trial.

L. of Whitgift, p. 342.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1590.

affirmed was not to be found in the Word of God. To whom Udal replied, This being a Controversy among learned Divines, he thought Mr. Daulton might have suspended his judgment, since he had formerly shewed some liking to the Cause. Upon which the Judge said, Sirrah! Sirrah! answer to the Matter? Mr. Daulton, Go on to the proof of the Points in the Indictment? which were these three.

1. That Udal was the Author of the Book.
2. That he had a malicious Intent in making it.
3. That the Matters in the Indictment were Felony by the Statute 23 Eliz. cap. 2.

The first Point was to prove Udal to be the Author of the Book; and here it is observable, that the Witnesses were not brought into Court, but only their Examinations, which the Register swore to. And, first, Stephen Chatfield's Articles were produced, which contained a Report of certain Papers he had seen in Udal's Study. Upon seeing them, he asked, Whose Writings they were? Udal answered, a Friend's. Chatfield then desired him to rid his hands of them, for he doubted they concerned the State. He added, That Udal told him another time, that "if they put him to silence, he would give the Bishops such a Blow as they never had." Chatfield was called to witness these things, but appeared not. Daulton said he went out of the way on purpose. The Judge said, Mr. Udal, You are glad of that? Mr. Udal answered, My Lord, I wish heartily he were here; for as I am sure he could never say any thing against me to prove this point; so I am able to prove it to be true, that he is very sorry that he ever made any Complaint against me, confessing he did it in anger when Martin came first out, and by their Suggestions, whom he had proved since to be very bad Men? Mr. Udal added, That the Book was published before the Conversation with Chatfield.

The Examination of Nicholas Thompkins before the Commissioners was next produced. This Thompkins was now beyond Sea, but the Paper said, that Udal had told him, He was the Author. But Thompkins himself sent word, that "He would not for a 1000 l. affirm any more, than that he had heard Udal say, that he would not doubt but set his Name to the Book if he had indifferent Judges." And when Udal offered to produce his Witnesses, the Judge said, "That because the Witnesses were against the Queen's Majesty they could not be heard."

The

The Confession of Henry Sharp of Northampton was then read, who upon Oath before the Lord Chancellor had declared, " That he heard Mr. Penry say, that Mr. Udal was the Author of the Demonstration.

Queen Elizabeth, 1590.

This was the whole Evidence of the Fact upon which he was condemned; not a single living Witness was produced in Court; so that the Prisoner had no opportunity to ask any Questions, or refute the Evidence. And what Methods were used to extort these Confessions may easily be imagined from the Confessors flying their Country, and then testifying their Sorrow for what they had said.

To prove the Sedition, and bring it within the Statute, the Council insisted upon his Threatning the Bishops, who being the Queen's Officers, it was construed a Threatning of the Queen herself. The Prisoner desired liberty to explain the Passage, and his Council insisted, that an Offence against the Bishops was not Sedition against the Queen; but the Judge gave it for Law, that " They who spake against " the Queen's Government in Causes Ecclesiastical, or her " Laws, Proceedings, and Ecclesiastical Officers, defamed " the Queen herself. Upon this the Jury were directed to find him guilty of the Fact, and the Judges took upon them the Point of Law and condemned him as a Felon. Mr. Fuller confesses, that the Proof against him was not pregnant, for it was generally believed he writ not the Book, but only the Preface. They might as well have condemned him without the Form of a Trial, for the Statute was undoubtedly stretched beyond the Intent of it, to reach his Life. He behaved modestly and discreetly at the Bar; and having said as much for himself as must have satisfied any equitable Persons, he submitted to the Judgment of the Court.

Mr. Udal condemned. B. IX. p. 223.

Mr. Udal was cast in the Summer Assizes, 1590. but did not receive Sentence till the Lent after; in the mean time he was offered his Pardon, if he would sign the following Submission.

" **I** John Udal have been heretofore, by due Course of
 " Law convicted of Felony, for penning or setting forth
 " a certain Book, called, ' The Demonstration of Disci-
 " pline, wherein false, slanderous, and seditious Matters
 " are contained against her Majesty's Prerogative Royal,
 " her Crown and Dignity, and against the Laws and Go-
 " vernment Ecclesiastical and Temporal by Law establish'd
 " under her Highness, and tending to the erecting a new

Judges offer him a Submission,

Strype's Ann. Vol. ult. p. 26.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1590.

“ Form of Government, contrary to her said Laws; all
 “ which Points I do now perceive by the Grace of God, to
 “ be very dangerous to the Peace of this Realm and Church,
 “ seditious in the Commonwealth, and infinitely offensive to
 “ the Queen’s most excellent Majesty; so as thereby I now
 “ seeing the grievousness of my Offence, do most humbly
 “ on my Knees, before, and in this Presence, submit my-
 “ self to the Mercy of her Highness, being most sorry that
 “ I have so deeply and worthily incurred her Majesty’s In-
 “ dignation against me; promising, if it shall please God
 “ to move her Royal Heart to have compassion on me a
 “ most sorrowful convicted Person, that I will for ever
 “ hereafter forsake all such undutiful and dangerous
 “ Courses, and demean myself dutifully and peaceably
 “ for I do acknowledge her Laws to be both lawful and
 “ godly, and to be obeyed by every Subject. Feb. 1590.”

No Arguments or Threatnings of the Judges could pre-
 vail with Udal to sign this Submission; but the day before
 Sentence was to be passed he offered the following, drawn
 up by himself.

His own
Submission.

“ **C**ONCERNING the Book whereof I was by due Course of
 “ Law convicted, by referring myself to the Trial of
 “ the Law, and for that by the verdict of twelve Men, I am
 “ found to be the Author of it, for which Cause an humble
 “ Submission is worthily required and offered of me: altho’
 “ I cannot disavow the Cause and Substance of the Doc-
 “ trine debated in it, which I must needs acknowledge to be
 “ holy, and (so far as I conceive it) agreeable to the Word
 “ of God; yet I confess, the Manner of writing it, is such
 “ in some part as may worthily be blamed, and might pro-
 “ voke her Majesty’s just Indignation therein. Whereof
 “ the Trial of the Law imputing to me all such De-
 “ faults as are in that Book, and laying the Punishment
 “ of the same in most grievous manner upon me; as my
 “ most humble Suit to her most excellent Majesty is, that
 “ her Mercy and gracious Pardon may free me from the
 “ Guilt and Offence which the said Trial of the Law hath
 “ cast upon me, and further of her great Clemency, to re-
 “ store me to the Comfort of my Life and Liberty, so do I
 “ promise in all humble Submission to God and her Ma-
 “ jesty, to carry myself in the whole course of my Life in
 “ such humble and dutiful Obedience, as shall besit a Mi-
 “ nister.

“ nister of the Gospel and dutiful Subject, fervently and
 “ continually praying for the good preservation of her
 “ Highnesses precious Life, and happy Government, to
 “ the honour of God, and comfort of her loyal and duti-
 “ ful subjects. Feb. 12. 1590.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1590.

Mr. Udal had often, and with great earnestness, petitioned his Judges for their mediation with the Queen: In his letter of Nov. 11th he says, “ I pray you call to mind my tedious state of imprisonment, whereby my self, my wife and children, are reduced to beggary; pray call to mind by what course this misery is brought upon me, and if you find by due consideration, that I am worthy to receive the punishment from the sentence of upright justice, I pray you to hasten the execution of the same, for it were better for me to die than to live in this case; but if it appear to your consciences (as I hope it will) that no malice against her Majesty can possibly be in me, then do I humbly and heartily desire you to be a means that I may be released; then I shall not only forget that hard opinion conceived of your courses against me, but pray heartily to God to bury the same, with the rest of your sins, in the grave of his Son Jesus Christ.” Mr. Udal writ again Nov. 18. and 25th. in most humble and dutiful language; but the Court would do nothing till he had signed ther Submission.

His Petitions.

At the close of the Lent Assizes being called to the Bar with the rest of the Felons, and asked what he had to say, why judgment should not be given against him according to the verdict, he gave in a paper consisting of nine Reasons; af which these are the principal.

1. “ Because the Jury were directed only to find the Fact, whether I was Author of the Book; and were expressly freed by your Lordship from enquiring into the Intent, without which there is no Felony.

His Reasons
 for arrest of
 Judgment.

2. “ The Jury were not left to their own Consciences, but were wrought upon partly by Promises, assuring them it should be no further danger to me but tend to my good; and partly by Fear, as appears, in that it has been a grief to some of them ever since.

3. “ The Statute in the true meaning of it, is thought not to reach my Case, there being nothing in the Book spoken of her Majesty’s Person but in Duty and Honour; I beseech you therefore to consider, whether the drawing of it from her Royal Person to the Bishops, as being

Queen
Elizabeth,
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“ part of her Body politick, be not a violent depraving and
“ wresting of the Statute.

4. “ But if the Statute be taken as it is urged, the Fe-
“ lony must consist in the malicious Intent ; wherein I ap-
“ peal first to God, and then to all men who have known
“ the course of my life, and to your Lordships own Con-
“ sciences, whether you can find me guilty of any act in
“ all my life that favoured of any malice or malicious intent
“ against her Majesty ; of which, if your Consciences must
“ clear me before God, I hope you will not proceed to
“ Judgment.

5. “ By the Laws of God, and I trust also by the Laws
“ of the Land, the Witnesses ought to be produced face to
“ face against me ; but I have none such, nor any other
“ things, but papers and reports of depositions taken by
“ Ecclesiastical Commissioners and others. This kind of
“ evidence is not allowed in case of lands, and therefore
“ much less ought it to be allowed in case of life.

6 “ None of the depositions prove me directly to be the
“ author of the book in question ; and the author of the
“ chief testimony is so grieved, that he is ashamed to come
“ where he is known.

7. “ Supposing me to be the author of the book, let it
“ be considered that the said book for substance contains no-
“ thing but what is taught and believed by the best reform-
“ ed Churches in Europe, so that in condemning me you
“ condemn all such Nations and Churches as hold the same
“ Doctrine. If the punishment be for the manner of
“ writing, this may be thought by some worthy of an Ad-
“ monition, or Fine, or some short Imprisonment ; but
“ Death for an Error of such a kind, as terms and words
“ not altogether dutiful of certain Bishops, cannot but be
“ extreme cruelty, against one that has endeavoured to
“ shew himself a dutiful Subject, and faithful Minister of
“ the Gospel.

“ If all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth, to
“ whom I commend my self, and say as sometime Jere-
“ miah said in a case not much unlike, “ Behold, I am in
“ your hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto
“ you ; but know you this, that if you put me to death
“ you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and
“ upon the land.” As the blood of Abel, so the blood
“ of Udal will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righ-
“ teous Judge of the Land will require it at the Hands of
“ all that shall be guilty of it.”

Strype's An.
Vol. ult. p.
22.

But

But nothing would avail, unless he would sign the Submission the Court had drawu up for him which his Conscience not suffering him to do, sentence of death was passed upon him Feb. 20th, and execution openly commanded; but next morning the Judges, by direction from Court, gave private orders to respite it till her Majesty's pleasure was further known. The Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign the Submission; which he peremptorily refused. But because the Queen had been misinformed of his Belief, he sent her Majesty a short Confession of his Faith in these words :

Queen Elizabeth, 1590.

His Sentence.

1. " I believe, and have often preached, that the Church of England is a part of the true visible Church, the Word and Sacraments being truly dispensed ; for which reason I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle on Tyne ; and do still desire to be a Preacher in the same Church ; therefore I utterly renounce the Schism and Separation of the Brownists.

His Confession of Faith.

2. " I do allow the Articles of Religion as far as they contain the Doctrine of Faith and Sacraments according to Law.

3. " I believe the Queen's Majesty hath, and ought to have supreme Authority over all persons, in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil.—And if the Prince commands any thing contrary to the Word of God, it is not lawful for Subjects to rebel or resist, but with patience and humility to bear the punishment laid upon them.

4. " I believe the Church rightly reformed ought to be governed ecclesiastically by Ministers, assisted by Elders, as in the foreign reformed Churches.

L. of Whitgift, p. 376.

5. " I believe the Censures of the Church ought merely to concern the Soul, and may not impeach any Subject, much less any Prince, in liberty of Body, Goods, Dominion, or any earthly Privilege ; nor do I believe that a Christian Prince ought otherwise to be subject to Church Censures, than our gracious Queen professes herself to be to the preaching of the Word and the Administration of the Sacraments."

With this Declaration of his Faith he sent an humble Request, That if her Majesty would not graciously be pleased to pardon him, she would change his Sentence into Banishment, that the Land might not be charged with his Blood. King James of Scotland writ to the Queen, re-

Petitions to be banished.

Fuller, B. IX. p. 203.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1590.

questing most earnestly, that for the sake of his Intercession, Udal might be relieved of his present Strait, promising to do the like for her Majesty in any matter she should recommend to him. The Turkey Merchants also offered to send him as Chaplain to one of their Factories abroad, if he might have his life and liberty; which Udal consented to, as appears by his Letter to the Lord Treasurer, in which he says, "Lamentable is my Case, having been three years in durance, which makes me humbly desire your Lordship's Favour, that I may be released from my imprisonment, the Turkey Merchants having my consent to go into Syria or Guinea, there to remain two years with their Factors, if my Liberty may be obtained." The writer of Archbishop Whitgift's Life says, the Archbishop yielded to this Petition; that the Lord Keeper promised to further it; and that the Earl of Essex had a draught of a Pardon ready drawn, with this Condition to be added, that he should never return without the Queen's Licence; but her Majesty never sign'd it, and the Turkey Ships going away without him, poor unhappy Udal died a few months after in the Marshalsea Prison, quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief, about the end of the year 1592. Mr. Fuller says he was a learned man, and of a blameless life, powerful in prayer, and no less profitable than painful in preaching. He was decently interred in the Church-yard of St. George Southwark, not far from the Grave of Bishop Bonner, being honoured with the attendance of great numbers of the London Ministers, who visited him in prison, and now wept over the remains of a man, that after a long and severe trial of his Faith and Patience, died for the testimony of a good conscience, and stands upon record as a monument of the oppression and cruelty of the Government under which he suffered.

His death
and character.

B. IX. p.
222.

Examination
of Mr.
Cartwright
and his brethren.

Though the moderate Puritans publicly disowned the Libels above-mentioned, and disliked the Spirit with which they were writ, they were nevertheless brought into trouble for their Associations. Among others, the Reverend Mr. Cartwright Father of the Puritans, and Master of the new Hospital at Warwick, was suspended by his Diocesan, and summoned before the High Commissioners, who committed him to the Fleet with his Brethren, Mr. Egerton, Fen, Wight, Farmer, Lord, Snape, King, Rushbrooke, Wiggins, Littleton, Field, Loyde, Payne, Proudlove, and Jewel. At their first appearance the Commissioners asked them, Where
they

they held their Affociations or Affemblies, and how often ? who were present, and what matters were treated of ? who corrected or set forth the Book of Discipline, and who had subscribed or submitted to it ? whether in a Christian Monarchy the King is supreme Governor of the Church ? or, whether he is under the Government of Pastors, Doctors, and such like ? whether it be lawful for a sovereign Prince to ordain Ceremonies, and make orders for the Church ? Whether the Ecclesiastical Government established in England be lawful, and allowed by the Word of God ? whether the Sacraments minister'd according to the Book of Common Prayer, are godly and rightly minister'd ? &c.

Queen Elizabeth, 1590.

L. of Whitgift, p. 373.

Mr. Cartwright's Answer to these Interrogatories was said by the Civilians to be insufficient ; upon which they exhibited 31 Articles against him, September 1st. 1590, and required him to answer them upon Oath.

The first 24 Articles charge him with renouncing his Episcopal Orders, by being re-ordained beyond Sea, with interrupting the Peace, and breaking the Orders of the Church since he came home ; and with knowing the Authors or Printers of Martin Mar-Prelate.

Articles exhibited against Mr. Cartwright.

Art. 25. Charges him with penning, or procuring to be penned, the Book of Discipline ; and with recommending the practice of it.

Art. 26. Charges him with being present at sundry pretended Synods, Classes, or Conferences of Ministers in divers Counties.

Art. 27. — That at such Synods they subscribed the Book of Discipline, and promised to govern themselves by it as far as they could.

Art. 28. — Charges him with setting up particular conferences in several Shires, which were to receive the Determinations of the general Assembly, and put them in practice.

Art. 29, 30, and 31. Mentions some Rules and Orders of their Synods ; as, that the Members should bring Testimonials from their several Classes ; that they should subscribe the Book of Discipline ; that no Books should be printed but by consent ; that they should be subject to the censures of the Brethren both for Doctrine and Life ; and that if any should be sent abroad upon publick Service at the meeting of Parliament, their charges should be bore, &c.

Mr. Cartwright offer'd to clear himself of some of these Articles upon Oath, and to give his Reasons for not answering the rest, but if this would not satisfy, he was determined to submit to the punishment the Commissioners should P. 338.

He refuses to answer upon Oath. Life of Whitgift,

Queen
Elizabeth.
1590.

should award [which was imprisonment in the Fleet] ; praying the Lord Treasurer to make some provision for the poor people of Warwick who had no Minister. The rest of Cartwright's Brethren refusing the Oath for the same Reasons (viz.) " Because they would not accuse themselves, " nor bring their Friends into Trouble," were committed to divers Prisons. But the Archbishop, by Advice of the Treasurer, was not present at the Commitment of his old Adversary.

1591.
Of the
Court of
Star-cham-
ber.
L. of Whit-
gift, p. 361.

Vol. I. p.
475.

On the 13th of May they were brought before the Star-Chamber, which was a Court made up of certain Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, and Counsellors of the Queen's Nomination, to the Number of twenty or thirty, with her Majesty at their head, who is the sole Judge when present, the other Members being only to give their opinion to their Sovereign by Way of Advice, which he [or she] disallows at their pleasure ; but in the absence of the Sovereign the determination is by a Majority, the Lord Chancellor or Keeper having a casting Voice. The Determinations of this Court (says Mr. Rushworth) were not by the Verdict of a Jury, nor according to any Statute Law of the Land, but according to the King [or Queen's] Royal Will and Pleasure, and yet they were made as binding to the Subject as an Act of Parliament. In the Reign of King Henry VII. the practice of that Court was thought to intrench upon the Common Law, but it seldom did any business ; but in the latter end of this, and the two next Reigns, the Court sat constantly, and was so unmerciful in its censure and punishments, that the whole Nation cried out against it as a mark of the vilest Slavery. Lord Clarendon says, " There " were very few persons of Quality in those times that had " not suffered, or been perplexed by the weight and fear " of its censures and judgments ; for having extended their " jurisdiction from Riots, Perjuries, and the most notori- " ous Misdemeanors, to an asserting of all Proclamations, " and orders of State, to the vindicating illegal Commis- " sions and Grants of Monopolies, no Man could hope to " be any longer free from the Inquisition of that Court, " than he resolved to submit to those and the like extraor- " dinary Courses."

Hist. Gr.
Rebellion,
Vol. I. 8vo.
p. 68, &c.

Cartwright
and his Bre-
thren appear
before it.

When Cartwright and his Brethren appeared before the Court, Mr. Attorney General inveighed bitterly against them for refusing the oath, and when Mr. Fuller Counsel for the prisoners stood up to answer, he was commanded silence,

silence, and told, that far less crimes than theirs had been punished with the Gallies or perpetual Banishment, which latter he thought proper for them, provided it was in some remote place from whence they might not return. From the Star-chamber they were remitted back to the High Commission, where Bancroft had a long argument with Cartwright about the oath; from thence they were returned again to the Star-chamber, and a Bill was exhibited against them with twenty Articles; in answer to which they maintain, that their Associations were very useful, and not forbidden by any Law of the Realm; that they exercised no Jurisdiction, nor moved any Sedition, nor transacted any affairs in them, but with a due regard to their duty to their Prince, and to the peace of the Church; that they had agreed upon some Regulations to render their Ministry more edifying, but all was voluntary, and in breach of no Law; and as for the Oath, they refused it not in Contempt of the Court, but as contrary to the Laws of God and Nature.

Queen Elizabeth, 1591.

Life of Whitgift, p. 360.

Ibid. B. IV. Rec. 4.

But this answer not being satisfactory they were remanded to prison, where they continued two years without any further process, or being admitted to bail; in the mean time King James of Scotland interceded for them, in a letter to the Queen, dated June 12th 1591, in which he requests her Majesty to shew Favour to Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren, because of their great Learning and faithful Travels in the Gospel. Cartwright himself petition'd for his Liberty, as being afflicted with excessive pains of the Gout and Sciatica, which were much encreased by lying in a cold prison; he writ a most humble and pious Letter to the Lady Russel, and another to the Lord Treasurer, beseeching them to procure his Enlargement with the Queen, though it were upon bond, expressing a very great concern that her Majesty should be so highly offended with him, since he had printed no Books for thirteen years past that could give the least uneasiness; since he had declared his dislike of Martin Mar-Prelate; and that he never had a Finger in any of the Books under his Name, nor in any other satyrical pamphlets; and further, that in the course of his Ministry for five years past at Warwick he had avoided all Controversy. Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and two others of the University, writ an excellent Letter to the Treasurer in favour of the prisoners, beseeching his Lordship that they might not be more hardly dealt with than Papists; but this not prevailing, after six Months they petition'd the

They are shut up in divers Prisons.

L. of Ayl, p. 321. Fuller, B. IX. p. 203.

L. of Whitgift, p. 370.

Lords

Queen
Elizabeth,
1591.

Lords of the Council [Decemb. 4th] to be enlarged upon bail, and writ to the Treasurer to second it, assuring his Lordship of their Loyalty to the Queen, and peaceable behaviour in the Church. "We doubt not (say they) but "your Lotdship is sensible, that a year's Imprisonment and "more which we have suffered, must strike deeper into "our healths, considering our Education, than a number "of years to Men of a different occupation. Your Lordship knows, that many Papiests who deny the Queen's "Supremacy have been enlarged, whereas we have all "sworn to it; and if the Government require, are ready "to take the oath again." This was sign'd by.

Tho. Cartwright,	Edward Lord,
Hump. Fen,	Edmund Snape,
Andrew King,	Wm. Proudlove,
Dan. Wight,	Melanchton Jewel.
John Payne,	

They also applied to the Archbishop, who refused to consent to their Enlargement unless they would under their Hands declare the Church of England to be a true Church, and the whole Order of publick Prayers, &c. consonant to the Word of God, and renounce for the future all their Assemblies, Classes and Synods; which they declined. These Applications proving ineffectual, they resolved at last to address the Queen herself, for which purpose they drew up the following Declaration, containing a full answer to the several Charges brought against them.

A Letter of the above-mention'd Puritan Ministers imprisoned, to her Majesty, in Vindication of their Innocency. Dated April 1592.

May it please your excellent Majesty,

Their Ad-
drefs to the
Queen.
Strype's
Ann. Vol.
ult. p. 85,
&c.

" **T**HERE is nothing, right gracious Sovereign, next to
" the saving mercy of Almighty God, that can be
" more comfortable than your Highness's Favour, as to
" all other your faithful and dutiful Subjects, so to
" us your Majesty's most humble Suppliants, who are
" by our Calling Ministers of God's holy Word; and by
" our present Condition now, and of long time, prisoners
" in divers Prisons in and about the City of London;
" for which Cause our most humble Suit is, that it
" may

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

“ may please your most excellent Majesty, graciously to
 “ understand our necessary Answer to such grievous Charges
 “ as we hear to be informed against us, which if they were
 “ true, might be just cause of withdrawing for ever from us
 “ your Highness’s gracious Protection and Favour, which
 “ above all other earthly Things we most desire to enjoy.
 “ The Reason of our Trouble, is a suspicion that we should
 “ be guilty of many heinous Crimes; but these supposed
 “ Crimes we have not been charged with in any due and
 “ ordinary course of Proceeding, by open Accusation and
 “ Witnesses. But being called up to London by authority
 “ of some of your Majesty’s Commissioners in Causes Ec-
 “ clesiastical, we have been required by them to take an
 “ Oath of Inquisition or Office, as it is called; for not tak-
 “ ing whereof we were first committed to Prison, and since
 “ have continued there a long time, notwithstanding that
 “ all of us save one have been deprived of our Livings, and
 “ degraded of our Ministry.

“ Wherefore, for that the Oath is the next and imme-
 “ diate Cause of our Trouble, we have made our Answer
 “ first to that, and then after also to the Crimes that are
 “ suggested and secretly informed against us.

The O A T H.

“ As for the Oath, the reason why we took it not, is be-
 “ cause it is without Limitation of any certain Matter, in-
 “ finite and general, to answer whatsoever shall be de-
 “ manded of us. Of this kind of Oath we find neither
 “ Rule nor Example in the Word of God; but contrari-
 “ wise both Precepts and Precedents of all lawful Oaths re-
 “ ported in the same tend to this, that an Oath ought to be
 “ taken with Judgment, and so as he that sweareth may
 “ see the Bounds of his Oath, and to what Condition it
 “ does bind him, &c. But this Oath is to enquire of our
 “ private Speeches and Conferences with our dearest and
 “ nearest Friends; yea, of the very secret Thoughts and
 “ Intents of our Hearts, that so we may furnish both matter
 “ of Accusation and evidence of Proof against ourselves,
 “ which was not used to be done in Causes of Heresy or
 “ High Treason; for these are the Words of the Statutes
 “ of your most noble Father, Henry VIII. “ For that the
 “ most expert and best learned, cannot escape the Danger
 “ of such captious Interrogatories (as the Law calleth them)
 “ which are accustomed to be administered by the Ordi-
 “ naries

An. 25 H. 8;
cap. 14.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

An. 35 H. 8.
cap. 15. Seff.
3d.

“naries of this Realm; as also that it standeth not with
“the right order of Justice, or good Equity, that any Per-
“son should be convicted, or put to the loss of Life, good
“Name, or Goods, unless it be by due Accusation and
“Witness, or by Presentment, Verdict, Confession, or Pro-
“cess of Outlawry:”—And further, “for the avoiding un-
“true Accusations and Presentments which might be mali-
“ciously conspired, and kept secret and unrevealed, till
“Time might be espied to have Men thereof by Malice
“convicted,” it was ordained that none should be put to an-
“swer but upon Accusation and Presentments taken in
“open and manifest Courts by the Oath of twelve Men.

SCHISM.

“As to the Charge of Schism, and that we so far con-
“demned the State of the Church, that we hold it not for
“any true, visible Church of God, as it is established by
“publick Authority within the Land, and therefore refuse
“to have any Part or Communion with it in publick Pray-
“ers, or in the Ministry of the Words and Sacraments:”
“If this were true, we were of all Men living the most
“unthankful, first to Almighty God, and next to your ex-
“cellent Majesty, by whose blessed Means we are par-
“takers of that happy Liberty of the Profession of the Gos-
“pel, and of the true Service of God, that by your High-
“ness’s gracious Government we do enjoy. We acknow-
“ledge unfeignedly, as in the Sight of God, that this our
“Church, as it is by your Highness’s Laws and Authority
“established among us, having that Faith professed and
“taught publickly in it, that was agreed of in the Convo-
“cation of 1562. and such Form of publick Prayers and
“Administration of the Sacraments, as in the first year of
“your most gracious Reign was established (notwithstand-
“ing any thing that may need to be revised and further
“reformed) is a true visible Church of Christ, from the
“holy Communion whereof, by way of Schism, is it not
“lawful to depart.

“Our whole Life may shew the evident Proof hereof;
“for always before the Time of our Trouble we have lived
“in the daily Communion of it, not only as private Men,
“but at the time of our Restraint (as many Years before)
“preached and exercised our Ministry in the same; and at
“this present most earnestly beseech all in Authority that is
“set over us, especially your excellent Majesty, that we
“may

“ may so proceed to serve God and your Highness all the
 “ days of our life.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1592.

REBELLION.

“ Another Crime suggested against us is, “ That we
 “ should practise or purpose rebelliously to procure such fur-
 “ ther Reformation of our Church as we desire, by violent
 “ and undutiful Means.” Whereunto our Answer is, that
 “ as we think it not lawful to make a Schism in the Church
 “ for any Thing that we esteem needful to be reformed in
 “ it, so do we in all Simplicity and Sincerity of Heart
 “ [declare] in the Presence of Almighty God (to whom all
 “ Secrets are known) and of your excellent Majesty (to
 “ whom the Sword is given of God for just Vengeance and
 “ Punishment of Transgressors) that for procuring Refor-
 “ mation of any thing that we desire to be redressed in the
 “ State of our Church, we judge it most unlawful and dam-
 “ nable by the Word of God to rebel, and by force of Arms,
 “ or any violent Means, to seek Redress thereof: And
 “ moreover, that we never intend to use, or procure any
 “ other Means for the furtherance of such Reformation
 “ than only Prayer to Almighty God, and most humble
 “ Suit to your excellent Majesty, and others in Authority,
 “ with such like dutiful and peaceable Means as might give
 “ Information of this our Suit, and of the Reasons moving
 “ us thereunto.

SUPREMACY.

“ The third Crime misinformed against us is, “ That we
 “ impeach your Majesty’s Supremacy.” For Answer where-
 “ unto we unfeignedly protest (God being witness, that we
 “ speak the Truth herein from our Hearts) that we acknow-
 “ ledge your Highness’s Sovereignty and supreme Power,
 “ next and immediately under God, over all Persons, and
 “ in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, in as large
 “ and ample Manner as it is agnized by the high Court of
 “ Parliament in the Statute of Recognition, and is set
 “ down in the Oath of Supremacy enacted by the same;
 “ and as it is further declared in your Majesty’s Injunctions,
 “ and also in the Articles of Religion agreed in the Convo-
 “ cation, and in sundry Books of learned Men of our Na-
 “ tion published and allowed by publick Authority. We
 “ add yet hereunto, that we acknowledge the same as fully
 “ as

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Elizabeth,
1592.

“ fully as ever it was in old Time acknowledged by the
 “ Prophets to belong to the virtuous Kings of Judah ; and
 “ as all the reformed Churches in Christendom acknow-
 “ ledge the same to their Sovereign Princes in the Confes-
 “ sions of their Faith, exhibited unto them, as they are
 “ set down in a Book named the Harmony of Confessions,
 “ and the Observations annexed thereunto.

“ And besides this Protestation, we appeal to the former
 “ whole Course of our Lives, wherein it cannot be shewed,
 “ that we ever made question of it ; and more particularly
 “ by our publick Doctrine, declaring the same ; and by our
 “ taking the Oath of Supremacy as Occasion hath required.

EXCOMMUNICATION.

“ It has been odiously devised against us, concerning the
 “ Persons subject to Excommunication, and the Power
 “ thereof, how far it extendeth :” Touching the former,---
 “ We judge not otherwise herein, than all the reformed
 “ Churches that are this Day in the Christian World, nor
 “ than our own English Church, both always heretofore
 “ hath judged, and doth still at this present, as may appear
 “ by the Articles of Religion agreed by the Convocation,
 “ and by a Book of Homilies allowed by the same, and also
 “ by sundry other Books of greatest Credit and Authority
 “ in our Church ; which is that the Word of God, the Sa-
 “ craments, and the Power of binding and loosing, are all
 “ Ordinances of Almighty God, graciously ordained for the
 “ Comfort and Salvation of the whole Church ; and that
 “ therefore no Part or Member of it is to be denied the
 “ comfortable wholesome Aid and Benefit thereof, for the
 “ furtherance of their Faith, and (as need may require) of
 “ their Repentance, &c.

“ For the other part, how far this Censure extendeth, we
 “ profess that it depriveth a Man only of spiritual Comforts,
 “ as of being Partaker of the Lord’s Table, and being pre-
 “ sent at the publick Prayers of the Church, or such like,
 “ without taking away either Liberty, Goods, Lands, Go-
 “ vernment private or publick whatsoever, or any other ci-
 “ vil or earthly Commodity of this Life. Wherefore from
 “ our Hearts we detest and abhor that intolerable Presump-
 “ tion of the Bishop of Rome, taking upon him, in such
 “ Cases, to depose Sovereign Princes from their highest
 “ Seats of supreme Government, and discharging their
 Subjects

“ Subjects from that dutiful Obedience that by the Laws
“ of God they ought to perform.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

CONFERENCES.

“ Concerning our Conferences, We have been charged
“ to have given Orders, and made Ministers, and to have
“ administered the Censures of the Church, and finally to
“ have exercised all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. To which
“ Suggestion we answer, that indeed of long Time we have
“ used, as other Ministers have done (as we think in most
“ Parts of the Land) to meet sometimes and confer toge-
“ ther ; which being granted to all good and dutiful Sub-
“ jects upon occasion to resort and meet together, we esteem
“ it is lawful for us to do so.

“ For besides the common Affairs of all Men, which
“ may give them just Cause to meet with their Acquain-
“ tance and Friends, mutually to communicate for their
“ Comfort and Help one with another ; Men professing
“ Learning have more necessary and special use of such
“ Conferences for their furtherance in such Knowledge as
“ they profess.----But such as are professed Ministers of the
“ Word have sundry great and necessary Causes so to do
“ more than others, because of the manifold Knowledge
“ both of Divinity, and also of divers Tongues and Sciences,
“ that are of great use for the better enabling them for their
“ Ministry ; in which respect the Conferences of the Mini-
“ sters were allowed by many Bishops within their Dioceses,
“ and to our Knowledge never disallowed nor forbidden by
“ any. Some late Years also have given us more special
“ Cause of conferring together, where Jesuits, Seminaries,
“ and other Hereticks, sought to seduce many ; and where-
“ in also some Schismatics condemned the whole State of
“ our Church as no part of the true visible Church of Christ,
“ and therefore refused to have any Part or Communion
“ with it ; upon which Occasion it is needful for us to ad-
“ vise of the best Way and Means we could to keep the
“ People that we had charge to instruct, from such damna-
“ ble Errors.

“ Further also particularly, because some reckoned us to
“ have part with their Schism, and reported us to agree in
“ nothing but to differ one from another in the Reformation
“ we desire ; we have special Cause to confer together, that
“ we might set down some things touching such matters,
“ which at all times, whensoever we should be demanded,
V O L. I. E e “ might

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

“ might be our true and just Defence, both to clear us from
“ partaking with the Schism, and to witness for us, that we
“ agreed in the Reformation that we desire.

“ But as touching the Thing surmised of our Meetings,
“ that we exercise in them all ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in
“ making Ministers, in censuring and excommunicating, in
“ ordaining Constitutions and Orders upon such Censures to
“ bind any ; we protest before God and the holy Angels,
“ that we never exercised any part of such Jurisdiction, nor
“ had any Purpose agreed among us to exercise the same, be-
“ fore we should by publick Law be authoris'd thereunto.

“ Further also, touching such our Meetings, we affirm
“ that they were only of Ministers (saving in some Parts
“ where a School-master, two or three, desirous to train
“ themselves to the Ministry joined with us) and the same,
“ but of six or seven or like small number in a Conference,
“ without all deed or appearance that might be offensive
“ to any.

SINGULARITY.

“ Which though it be not subject to any Punishment of
“ Law, yet is suggested against us by such as favour not our
“ most humble Desire of a further Reformation to disgrace
“ us, and make us odious with others, and chiefly with
“ your excellent Majesty ; whereunto our Answer is, that
“ the Discipline of the primitive Church is ancient, and so
“ acknowledged by the Book of Common Prayer, — in
“ these Words, “ That there was a godly Discipline in the
“ primitive Church ; instead whereof, until the said Disci-
“ pline may be restored again (which Thing is much to be
“ wished) it is thought convenient to use such a Form of
“ Commination as is prescribed.”

“ Further also, if it please your Majesty with Favour to
“ understand it from us, we are ready to shew, that in such
“ Points of ecclesiastical Discipline of our Church, which
“ we desire most humbly may be reformed, we hold no
“ singular or private Opinion, but the Truth of the Word
“ of God, acknowledged to be such by all the best Churches
“ and Writers of ancient Time, and of this present Age.

“ Thus have we declared, right gracious Sovereign, truly
“ and sincerely, as we will answer it before God, and to
“ your Majesty upon our Allegiance, what Judgment we
“ are of concerning the Matters informed against us ; and
“ further testify, that no Minister within this Land desiring
“ a fur-

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

“ a further Reformation, with whom we have had any private Acquaintance or Conference of these Matters (whatsoever may be otherwise informed) is of any other Mind or Opinion in these Cases that have been named; by which Declaration if (according to our earnest Prayers to Almighty God) your Majesty shall clearly discern us to stand free from all such Matters as we are charged with, our most humble Suit is, that your Majesty’s gracious Favour (which is more dear and precious to us than our Lives) may be extended to us, and that by means thereof we may enjoy the comfortable Liberty of our Persons and Ministry, as we did before our Troubles; which if by your Highness’s special Mercy and Goodness we may obtain, we promise and vow to Almighty God, and your excellent Majesty, to behave ourselves in so peaceable and dutiful sort in every respect, as may give no just Cause of your Highness’s Offence, but according to our Callings, both in Doctrine and Example as heretofore, so always hereafter to teach due Obedience to your Majesty among other parts of holy Doctrine; and to pray for your Majesty’s long and blessed Reign over us, &c.”

It was not till some Time after this that Mr. Cartwright was released, upon promise of his quiet and peaceable Behaviour, and restored to his Hospital in Warwick, where he continued without further Disturbance the rest of his Days; but many of his Brethren continued under Suspension while their Families were starving, as the Reverend Mr. Fenner of Cranbrook suspended seven Years, Mr. Leverwood of Manchelsey seven Years, Mr. Percival Wyburne of Rochester five Years, Mr. Rockeray Prebendary of Rochester four Years, Mr. Barbar of Bow-Church, London, two Years six Months, Mr. Field of Aldermary, London, Mr. Smith Lecturer of St. Clements, whose printed Sermons were a Family Book all over England many Years; Mr. Travers of the Temple, Mr. Colset of Easton on the Hill, Mr. Settle of Buxstead, Suffolk, Mr. Gellibrand, Dyke, Fleming, Mr. Kendal, Mr. Hubbock of Oxford, with many others whose Names are before me. Mr. Hubbock was an excellent Divine, and was called before the Commission for saying, that “ A great Nobleman (meaning the Archbishop) had kneeled down to her Majesty for staying and hindring her Intent to reform Religion.” But his Grace not being willing to insist upon this, commanded him

Mr. Cartwright released.

But many of his Brethren under Suspension. M. S. P. 584.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

Mr. Hub-
bock's Suf-
ferings.
Life of
Whitgift, p.
341, 342.

to subscribe, and in case of refusal to enter into Bonds not to preach any more, nor to come within ten Miles of Oxford; which Mr. Hubbock declined, saying, "He had rather go to Prison than consent to be silent from preaching, unless he was convinced that he had taught false Doctrine, or committed any Fault worthy of Bonds." Sir Francis Knollys and the Treasurer interceded for him, but to no purpose; upon which Sir Francis writ back to the Treasurer in these Words; "You know how greatly, yea, and tyrannously the Archbishop hath urged Subscription to his own Articles without Law—and that he has claimed in the Right of all the Bishops a Superiority over the inferior Clergy from God's own Ordinance, in prejudice to her Majesty's supreme Government, though at present he says he does not claim it, therefore in my Opinion he ought openly to retract it."

Powers of
the Commis-
sioners de-
bated in Mr.
Cawdery's
Case.

These high Proceedings of the Commissioners brought their Powers under Examination; most were of Opinion that they exceeded the Law, but some thought the very Court itself was illegal, imagining the Queen could not delegate her Supremacy to others. Mr. Cawdery, late Minister of Luffingham in Suffolk, had been suspended by the Bishop of London for the refusing the Oath Ex Officio; but not acquiescing in his Lordship's Sentence, the Bishop summoned him before the High Commissioners, who deprived him for Non-Conformity and lack of Learning, and gave away his Living to another, though Mr. Cawdery was one of the most learned Clergymen, and best Preachers in the Country, and offered to give Proof of his Learning before his Judges. When this would not be accepted, he pleaded with Tears his Wife and eight poor Children that had no Maintenance, but the Hearts of the Commissioners not being mollified, Mr. Cawdery was advised to appeal to the Court of Exchequer, and serve a Subpœna upon the Chaplain that had possession of his Living; here the Jurisdiction of the Court was argued before all the Judges in Hilary Term, 1591. Dr. Aubrey the Civilian confessed, that their Proceedings were not warrantable by the Letter of the Statute primo Eliz. but were built upon the old Canon Law still in force; though it has been shewn that their Proceeding by way of Inquisition was warranted by no Law at all; but the Judges confirmed the Proceedings of the Court, and left Mr. Cawdery with his large family to starve as a Layman. The Suit cost Mr. Cawdery's Friends a round Sum of Money, besides two and twenty Journies which he made to London.

Heyl. Hist.
Presb. p.
318.

But

But it was a brave Stand for the Rights of the Subject, and stagger'd the Archbishop so much, that he declined the business of the Commission afterwards, and sent most of his prisoners to the Star-chamber.

Queen Elizabeth, 1592.

While these Causes were in Debate sundry Books were writ for and against the Oath Ex Officio; among others Mr. Morrice, Attorney of the Court of Wards, and Member of Parliament, writ a learned Treatise to prove, that no Prelates, or Ecclesiastical Judges, have authority to compel any Subject of the Land to an oath, except in causes Testamentary or Matrimonial; and he gives these Reasons for it, (1.) Because it is against the Word of God. (2.) It was never allowed by any general Council for a thousand years after Christ. (3.) It was forbidden by the Pagan Emperors against the Christians. (4.) 'Tis against the Pope's Decretals except in Cases of Heresy, Et ubi periculum est Accusatori, and not otherwise. (5.) 'Tis against the Laws of the Realm. And, (6.) Because it is against the Queen's Prerogative. Morrice's Book was answer'd by Dr. Cosins a Civilian, "In his Apology for the Ecclesiastical Proceedings;" to which Morrice had prepared a Reply, but the Archbishop hearing of it, sent for him, and forbid the publication. The Attorney complained of this usage to the Treasurer in these Words; "Cosins may write at his pleasure of Ecclesiastical Courts without check or controulment, though never so erroneously; but I poor Man, such is my ill Hap, may not maintain the right cause of Justice without some blot or blemish." But this was his Grace's shortest Way of ending Controversies.

Mr. Attorney Morrice's Arguments against the Oath Ex Officio. Life of Whitgift P. 339.

Though Mr. Cartwright and his Brethren above-mentioned had the Resolution to lie in Gaol for two years, rather than take the Oath Ex Officio, others out of Weakness, or some other principle, yielded to it, and discovered their Classes, with the Names of those that were present at them: among these were Mr. Stone, Rector of Warkton in Northamptonshire; Mr. Henry Alvey, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; Mr. Thomas Edmunds, Mr. William Perkins, Mr. Littleton, Johnson, Barbar, Cleavelly and Nutter. These Divines confessed upon Examination, that they had several meetings with their Brethren in London, at the Houses of Mr. Travers, Egerton, Gardner, and Barbar; that there had been Assemblies of Ministers at Cambridge, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire; that at these meetings there were usually between twelve and twenty four

Many of the Brethren take it. Life of Whitgift, P. 371.

And discover their Synods.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

Ministers prelent; that they had a Moderator; that they begun and ended with prayer; and that their usual Debates were, how far they might comply with the Establishment, rather than forego their Ministry; here they revised their Book of Discipline, and consulted of peaceable methods in Subordination to the Laws for promoting a Reformation in the Church, and how far they might exercise their own Platform in the mean time: but the worst part of their Confession was their discovering the names of the Brethren that were present, which brought them into trouble. The Reasons they gave for taking the oath were, (1.) Because it was administer'd by a lawful Magistrate. (2.) Because the Magistrate had a right to search out the Truth in Matters relating to the publick Safety. (3.) Because it was impossible to keep things any longer secret, many letters of the Brethren having been intercepted. (4.) Because there was nothing criminal in their Assemblies, and the Magistrate might suspect worse things of them than were true; and though their Confessions might bring some into trouble, they might deliver others that were suspected. How far these Reasons will justify the Confessors, I leave with the Reader; but 'tis certain they purchased their own Liberties at the expence of their Brethrens; for they had the favour to be dismissed, and lived without disturbance afterwards.

Execution of
Hacket,
Strype's
Ann. Vol.
ult. p. 71.

To render the Puritans odious to the Publick, all Enthusiasts without Distinction were ranked among them; even Hacket and his two Prophets, Arthington and Coppinger: Hacket was a blasphemous, ignorant Wretch, that could not so much as read; he pretended to be King Jesus, and to set up his Empire in the room of the Queen's, who (he said) was no longer to be Queen of England: he defaced her Majesty's Arms, and stabbed her picture through with his Dagger, in the House where he lodged. Being apprehended and put upon the Rack, he confessed every thing they would have him, and upon his Trial pleaded guilty, declaring he was moved thereunto by the Spirit; he was hanged July 18th, and died raving like a madman. Coppinger starved himself in prison, but Arthington lived to recover himself and was pardoned. Dr. Nichols says, that by the Sollicitations of these Men the Puritans stirred up the People to Rebellion, their design being communicated to Cartwright, Egerton and Wigginton; whereas there was not a single Puritan concerned with them. Fuller the Historian speaks candidly of the matter; "This business of

The Puritans not concerned with him, Peirce's Vindic. p. 140.

B. IX. p. 386.

" Hacket

“ Hacket (says he) happen'd unseasonably for the Presbyterians; true it is, they as cordially detested his Blasphemies as any of the Episcopal Party; and such of them as loved Hacket the Non-conformist, abhorred Hacket the Heretick, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of “ Impiety.” However, Mr. Cartwright writ an Apology for himself and his Brethren against the Aspersions of Dr. Sutcliff, in which he declares, he had never seen Hacket nor Arthington, nor ever had any conference with them by Letter or Message. Had there been any ground for this vile charge, we should no doubt have found it among their Articles of Impeachment.

Queen Elizabeth, 1592.

At the opening of the new Parliament, Feb. 19th the Queen signified her pleasure to the House, that they might redress such popular Grievances as were complained of in their several Counties, “ but should leave all matters of State to herself and the Council; and all matters relating to the Church to herself and the Bishops.” What an insignificant thing is a representative Body of the Nation, that must not meddle with matters of Church or State! but her Majesty was resolved to let them see she would be obeyed, for when Mr. Wentworth and Bromley moved the House to address the Queen to name her Successor, she sent for them, together with Mr. Welsh and Stevens, and committed them to prison, where Wentworth remained many years. When it was moved in the House to address the Queen for the release of their Members, it was answered by those Privy Counsellors that were of the House, “ That her Majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself; that the House must not call the Queen to account for what she did of her Royal Authority; that the causes of their restraint might be high and dangerous; that her Majesty did not like such Questions, nor did it become the House to deal in such Matters.”

Queen's Message to the Parliament.

Heyl. Hist. Presb. p. 319.

After this it was a bold Adventure of Mr. Attorney Morrice, and for which he paid very dear, to move the House, to enquire into the Proceedings of the Bishops in their Spiritual Courts, and how far they could justify “ their Inquisition, their Subscriptions, their binding the Queen's Subjects to their good Behaviour contrary to the Laws of God and of the Realm; their compelling Men to take Oaths to accuse themselves; and upon their refusal to degrade deprive and imprison them at pleasure, and not to release them till they had complied.” At the same time he offered two Bills to the House; one against the oath

Debates in Parliament about Bishops Spiritual Courts. Life of Whitgift, p. 386.

Bill against them.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

L. of Whit-
gift, p. 388.

Not to be
kept in the
Bps. Name.

Ex Officio, and the other against their illegal imprisonments; which last he prayed might be read presently. Sir Francis Knollys seconded the Attorney and said, "That in his opinion these abuses ought to be reformed; and that if the Prelates had acted against Law they were in a Præmunire. He added, that after the Reformation of King Henry 8th, no Bishop practised superiority over his Brethren; that in King Edward 6th's Time a Statute was made, that Bishops should keep their Courts in the King's Name; and that tho' this Statute was repealed by Queen Mary, and not since revived, yet it was doubtful what authority Bishops had to keep Courts in their own name, because it was manifestly against the Prerogative that any Subject should hold a Court, without express Warrant from the Crown. If it was said, they kept their Courts by prescription, or by the Statute of King Henry VIII. which gives Bishops the same Rule under the King as they had under the Pope, he answered, that there was a clause in the Act which restrains them from offending against the King's Prerogative, and the Laws and Customs of the Realm; and according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, no Subject can hold a Court but by special Warrant from the Crown." Mr. Beal spoke on the same side, and added, "That the Bishops had incurred a Præmunire, because the Statute of 13 Eliz. requires Subscription to Articles of Faith only; that this Limitation was made by the Lords after the Bill had past the Commons; and that no Councils nor Canons gave authority to the Bishops to frame Articles, and require Subscription at their pleasure." For which Speech the Queen forbid him the Court, and commanded him to absent from Parliament.

These debates awakened the Civilians in the House, and particularly Mr. Daulton, who opposed the reading of the Bill, because the Queen had often forbid them to meddle with the Reformation of the Church; which Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Secretaries, confirmed.

Stopt by the
Queen.
Heyl. Hist.
Presb. p.
320.

As soon as the Queen was acquainted with the proceedings of the House she sent for the Speaker Coke, and commanded him to tell the House, "That it was wholly in her power to call, to determine, to assent or dissent, to any thing done in Parliament; that the calling of this was only, that such as neglected the service of the Church might be compelled to it with some sharp laws; and that the safety of her Majesty's Person and the Realm might be provided for; that it was not meant that they

" should

“ should meddle with Matters of State or Causes Ecclesiastical; that she wonder’d they should attempt a thing to contrary to her commandment; that she was highly offended at it, and that it was her Royal Pleasure, that no Bill touching any Matters of State and Causes Ecclesiastical should be there exhibited.” At the same time Mr. Attorney Morrice was seized on in the House by a Serjeant at Arms, discharged from his office of Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, disabled from any practice in his profession, as a common Lawyer, and kept for some years prisoner in Tutbury Castle.

Queen Elizabeth, 1592.

If there had been a Spirit of English Liberty in the House of Commons they would not have submitted so tamely to the Insults of an arbitrary Court, which arrested their Members for liberty of Speech, and committed them to prison; which forbid their redressing the Grievances of Church or State, and sent for their Bills out of the House and cancelled them. These were such acts of sovereign Power, which none of her Majesty’s Ancestors assumed, and which cost one of her Successors his Crown and Life.

But this Paliament, instead of asserting their own and the peoples liberties, stands upon record for one of the severest acts of oppression and cruelty that ever was made by the Representatives of a Protestant Nation, and a free People. It is entitled, “ An Act for the Punishment of Persons obstinately refusing to come to Church, and persuading others to impugn the Queen’s Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes.” ’Tis here enacted, “ That if any person above the age of 16 shall obstinately refuse to repair to some Church, Chapel, or usual place of Common Prayer, to hear Divine Service, for the space of one Month, without lawful Cause; or shall at any time, 40 days after the end of this Session, by printing, writing, or express words, go about to persuade any of her Majesty’s Subjects to deny, withstand, or impugn her Majesty’s Power or Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical; or shall dissuade them from coming to Church, to hear Divine Service or receive the Communion according as the Law directs; or shall be present at any unlawful Assembly, Conventicle, or Meeting, under colour or pretence of any Exercise of Religion, that every person so offending, and lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves

Act for punishing Refusers to come to Church. 35 Eliz. cap. 1.

“ to

Queen
Elizabeth
1592.

“ to come to Church, and make the following Declaration
“ of their Conformity.

“ **I** A. B. do humbly confess and acknowledge, that I
“ have grievously offended God, in contemning her Ma-
“ jesty’s godly and lawful Government and Authority, by
“ absenting my self from Church, and from hearing Di-
“ vine Service, contrary to the godly Laws and Statutes of
“ the Realm, and in frequenting disorderly and unlawful
“ Conventicles, under pretence and colour of exercise of
“ Religion; and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do
“ acknowledge and testify in my conscience, that no other
“ person has or ought to have any Power or Authority over
“ her Majesty. And I do promise and protest without any
“ dissimulation, or colour of dispensation, that from hence-
“ forth I will obey her Majesty’s Statutes and Laws in re-
“ pairing to Church and hearing Divine Service; and to
“ my utmost Endeavour will maintain and defend the
“ same.”

“ But in case the Offenders against this Statute, being
“ lawfully convict, shall not submit and sign the Declara-
“ tion within three months, then they shall abjure the Realm
“ and go into perpetual Banishment. And if they do not
“ depart within the time limited by the Quarter Sessions,
“ or Justices of Peace; or if they return at any time af-
“ terwards without the Queen’s Licence, they shall suffer
“ Death without Benefit of Clergy.” So that as the Lord
Chancellor King observed at the Trial of Dr. Sacheverel,
the case of the Non-conformists by this Act was worse than
that of Felons at common Law, for these were allowed
the Benefit of Clergy, but the others were not. This Sta-
tute was levelled against the Laity as well as the Clergy;
and the severe execution of it with that of the 23d of E-
lizabeth, in this and the following Reigns, brought infinite
mischiefs upon the Kingdom; many families being forc’d
into banishment; some put to death, as in cases of Treason;
and others as the Authors of seditious Pamphlets.

Progress of
Brownism.

The moderate Puritans made a shift to evade the force of
the Law, by coming to Church when Common Prayer was
almost over, and by receiving the Sacrament in some
Churches where it was administer’d with some latitude;
but the weight of it fell upon the Separatists, who renoun-
ced all Communion with the Church in the Word and Sa-
craments as well as in the Common Prayer and Ceremonies;
these

these were called Brownists or Barrowists, from one Barrow a Gentleman of the Temple, who was now at their head. We have given an account of their distinguishing Principles in the year 1580, since which time their numbers were prodigiously encreased, though the Bishops pursued them, and shut them up in prison without Bail, or troubling themselves to bring them to a Trial. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in the Parliament House, that they were not less than 20000, divided into several congregations in Norfolk, in Essex, and in the parts about London: There were several learned men now at their head, as the Reverend Mr. Smith, Mr. Jacob, the learned Mr. Ainsworth, the Rabbi of his age, and others.

The Congregation about London being pretty numerous formed themselves into a Church, Mr. Francis Johnson being chosen Pastor by the Suffrage of the Brotherhood, Mr. Greenwood Doctor, [or Teacher] Mr. Bowman and Lee Deacons, Mr. Studley and Kinaffon Elders, all in one day, at the house of Mr. Fox in Nicholas-Lane in the year 1592, seven persons were baptized at the same time without God-Fathers or God-Mothers, Mr. Johnson only washing their Faces with Water, and pronouncing the Form, "I baptize thee in the name, &c." The Lord's Supper was also administer'd in this manner; five white Loaves being set upon the Table, the Pastor blessed them by Prayer, after which having broke the Bread he delivered it to some, and the Deacons to the rest, some standing and others sitting about the Table, using the Words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 24. "Take eat, this is the Body of the Lord Jesus, which was broken for you: This do in Remembrance of him." In like manner he gave the Cup, using the like Words of the Apostle, "This Cup is the new Testament in his Blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in Remembrance of him." In the close they sung a Hymn, and made a collection for the poor. When any person came first into the Church he made this protestation or promise, that "He would walk with them so long as they did walk in the Way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the Word of God.

The Congregation being obliged to meet in different places to cover themselves from the Bishops Officers, was at length discovered on a Lord's Day at Islington, in the very same place where the Protestant Congregation met in Queen Mary's Reign; about 56 were taken prisoners, and sent two by

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

Their
Church Set-
tlement and
Administra-
tion of the
Sacraments.
Strype's
Ann. Vol.
ult. p. 174,
175.

They are
discovered
and impris-
on'd.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

Their exam-
ination.
Strype's
An. p. 579.

by two to the Gaols about London, where several of their friends had been confined for a considerable time.

At their Examination they confessed, That for some years they had met in the fields in the summer-time at five of the clock in the morning of the Lord's Day, and in the winter at private houses; that they continued all day in prayer and expounding the scriptures; that they dined together, and after dinner made a collection for their diet, and sent the remainder of the money to their brethren in prison; that they did not use the Lord's Prayer, apprehending it not to be intended by our blessed Saviour to be used as a Form after the sending down of the Spirit at Pentecost.

M.S. p. 850. Their Adversaries charged them with several extravagancies about Baptism, Marriage, Lay-preaching, &c. from which they vindicated themselves in a very solid and judicious Reply, shewing how far they disowned, and with what Limitations they acknowledged the Charge.

Their Peti-
tion to the
Council.
Strype's An.
Vol. ult. p.
95, 97.

But the Bishops observing no measures with this people, they ventured to lay their Case before the Lords of the Council in an humble petition, wherein they say, that
 " Upon a careful examination of the Holy Scriptures, we
 " find the English Hierarchy to be dissonant from Christ's
 " institution, and to be derived from Antichrist, being the
 " same the Pope left in this Land, to which we dare not
 " subject ourselves——We further find, that God has
 " commanded all that believe the Gospel to walk in that
 " holy Faith and Order which he has appointed in his
 " Church; wherefore in the reverend fear of his name we
 " have joined ourselves together, and subjected our Souls
 " and Bodies to those Laws and Ordinances; and have
 " chosen to ourselves such a Ministry of Pastor, Teacher,
 " Elders and Deacons, as Christ has given to his Church on
 " earth to the world's end, hoping for the promised assist-
 " ance of his Grace in our attendace upon him; notwith-
 " standing any Prohibition of Men, or what by Men can
 " be done unto us.——We are ready to prove our Church
 " Order to be warranted by the Word of God, allowable
 " by her Majesty's Laws, and no ways prejudicial to her
 " Sovereign Power; and to disprove the publick Hierarchy,
 " Worship and Government, by such evidence of Scripture,
 " as our Adversaries shall not be able to withstand; protest-
 " ing if we fail herein, not only willingly to sustain such de-
 " served punishment as shall be inflicted upon us, but to be-
 " come conformable for the future; if we overthrow not our
 " Adversaries, we will not say if our Adversaries overcome us.
 " But

“ But the Prelates of this Land have for a long time
 “ dealt most injuriously, unlawfully and outrageously with
 “ us, by the great power and high authority they have got-
 “ ten in their hands, and usurped above all the publick
 “ Courts, Judges, Laws and Charters of this Land, per-
 “ secuting, imprisoning and detaining at their pleasure
 “ our poor Bodies, without any trial, release or bail;
 “ and hitherto without any cause either for error or
 “ crime directly objected.—Some of us they have kept
 “ in close Prison four or five Years with miserable usage,
 “ as Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood now in the Fleet;
 “ others they have cast into Newgate, and laden with as
 “ many Irons as they could bear; others into dangerous
 “ and loathsome Gaols, among the most facinorous and
 “ vile Persons, where it is lamentable to relate how many
 “ of these Innocents have perished within these five Years;
 “ aged Widows, aged Men and young Maidens, &c. where
 “ so many as the Infection hath spared, lie in woful distress,
 “ like to follow their Fellows if speedy Redress be not had;
 “ others of us have been grievously beaten with Cudgels
 “ in Bridewel, and cast into a place called Little Ease, for
 “ refusing to come to their Chapel Service; in which Prison
 “ several have ended their Lives; but upon none of our
 “ Companions thus committed by them, and dying in their
 “ Prison, is any Search or Inquest suffered to pass, as by
 “ Law in like Case is provided.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1592.
 Their Suf-
 ferings.

“ Their Manner of pursuing and apprehending us is with
 “ no less Violence and Outrage; their Pursuivants, with
 “ their Assistants, break into our Houses at all Times of
 “ the Night, where they break open, ransack, and rifle at
 “ their pleasure, under Pretence of searching for seditious
 “ and unlawful Books. The Husbands in the deep of the
 “ Night they have plucked out of their Beds from their
 “ Wives and haled them to Prison.—Some Time since
 “ their Pursuivants late in the Night entered in the Queen’s
 “ Name, into an honest Citizen’s House upon Ludgate-
 “ Hill, where, after they had at their Pleasure searched and
 “ ransacked all Places, Chests, &c. of the House, they ap-
 “ prehended two of our Ministers, Mr. Francis Johnson and
 “ John Greenwood, without any Warrant at all; both
 “ whom, between one and two of the Clock after Mid-
 “ night, they with Bills and Staves led to the Counter of
 “ Wood-street, taking Assurance of Mr. Boys, the Master
 “ of the House, to be Prisoner in his House till next day;
 “ at which Time the Archbishop, with certain Doctors his

“ Associates,

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

“ Associates committed them to close Prison, two to the Clink, and the third to the Fleet, where they now remain in distress. Since this they have cast into Prison Thomas Settle, Daniel Studley, and Nicholas Lane, taken upon a Lord’s Day in our Assembly, and shut them up in the Gate-house; others of our Friends they are in continual Pursuit of; so that there is no Safety for them in any one Place.

“ We therefore humbly pray, in the Name of God, and our Sovereign the Queen, that we may have the benefit of the Laws, and of the publick Charter of the Land, namely, that we may be received to Bail till we be by order of Law convicted of some Crime deserving Bonds. We plight unto your Honours our Faith unto God, and our Allegiance to her Majesty, that we will not commit any thing unworthy the Gospel of Christ, or to the Disturbance of the common Peace and good Order of the Land, and that we will be forth-coming at such reasonable Warning as your Lordships shall command. Oh! Let us not perish before Trial and Judgment, especially imploring and crying out to you for the same.——However, we here take the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and his Angels, together with your own Consciences, and all Persons in all Ages, to whom this our Supplication may come, to witness that we have here truly advertised your Honours of our Case and Usage, and have in all Humility offered our Cause to Christian Trial.” But the Privy Council dropt the Petition, being afraid to move in an Affair that lay more immediately before the High Commission.

Sufferings of
Mr. Smith
and other
Brownists.
Strype’s An.
Vol. ult.
P. 134.

Mr. Smith, one of their Ministers, after he had been in Prison twelve Months, was called before the Commissioners, and being asked, Whether he would go to Church? Answered, that he should dissemble and play the Hypocrite if he should do it to avoid trouble, for he thought it utterly unlawful; to which one of the Commissioners answered, “ Come to Church and obey the Queen’s Laws, and be a Dissembler, be a Hypocrite, or a Devil if thou wilt.” Upon his refusal he was remanded to the Clink, and his Brethren to the Fleet, where by order of Mr. Justice Young, one of the Commissioners, they were shut up in close Rooms, not being allowed the liberty of the Prison; here they died like rotten Sheep, some of the Disease of the Prison, some for Want, and others of infectious Distempers. “ These bloody Men [the Ecclesiastical Commissioners] (says

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Barrowe) in his Supplication, will allow us neither
 “ Meat, Drink, Fire, Lodging, nor suffer any whose
 “ Hearts the Lord would stir up for our Relief, to have
 “ any access to us, by which means seventeen or eighteen
 “ have perished in the noisom Gaols within these six years;
 “ some of us had not one penny about us when we were
 “ sent to prison, nor any thing to procure a maintenance
 “ for ourselves and Families but our handy Labour and
 “ Trades, by which means not only we ourselves, but our
 “ Families and Children are undone and starved. Their
 “ unbridled Slander; their lawless Privy Searches; their
 “ violent breaking open Houses; their taking away what-
 “ ever they think meet; and their barbarous usage of Wo-
 “ men, Children, &c. we are forced to omit lest we be
 “ tedious.—That which we crave for us all, is the liberty
 “ to die openly, or live openly in the Land of our Nativi-
 “ ty; if we deserve death let us not be closely murdered,
 “ yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled
 “ in loathsome Dungeons.—” Among those who pe-
 rished in prison was one Mr. Roger Rippon, who dying in
 Newgate, his Fellow-prisoners put this Inscription upon
 his Coffin :

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.
Barrowe's
Supplication
to Parlia-
ment.
Strype's
Ann. Vol.
ult. p. 133.

“ This is the Corps of Roger Rippon, a Servant of
 “ Christ, and her Majesty's faithful Subject; who is the
 “ last of sixteen or seventeen which that great Enemy of
 “ God, the Archbishop of Canterbury with his high Com-
 “ missioners have murdered in Newgate within these five
 “ Years, manifestly for the Testimony of Jesus Christ;
 “ his Soul is now with the Lord, and his Blood crieth for
 “ speedy Vengeance against that great Enemy of the Saints,
 “ and against Mr. Richard Young [a Justice of Peace in
 “ London] who in this and many the like points hath abu-
 “ sed his power for the upholding of the Romish Antichrist,
 “ Prelacy and Priesthood. He died A. D. 1592.” Ma-
 ny Copies of this Inscription were dispersed among Friends,
 for which some were apprehended and confined.

Inscription
upon Rip-
pon's Coffin,
a Brownist.
Strype's
Ann. Vol.
ult. p. 133.

The Privy Council taking no notice of the above-
 mentioned Supplications, the Prisoners in the several Gaols
 about London, joined in the following Petition to the Lord
 Treasurer Burleigh, to which they subscribed their
 Names.

The

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

The humble Petition of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the Bishops in sundry Prisons in and about London, to the Lord Treasurer.

Petition of
the Brown-
nists in the
Prisons a-
bout Lon-
don.

Strype's
Ann. Vol.
i. pt. 91.

“ **W**E humbly beseech your Honour either to grant us
“ a speedy Trial together, or some free Christiani
“ Conference, or else in the mean while, that we may be
“ bailed according to Law ; or else put into Bridewel, or
“ some other convenient place, where we may be toge-
“ ther for our mutual help and comfort ; or if your Ho-
“ nour will not yourself alone grant this our request, that
“ then it may please you to be a mean for our speedy Re-
“ lief, unto the rest of her Majesty's most honourable
“ Privy Council.

“ The Almighty God, that hath preserved your Lord-
“ ship unto these honourable years in so high Service to
“ our Sovereign Prince, and to the unspeakable comfort of
“ this whole Land, give your honourable Heart so tender
“ Compassion and careful Consideration in Equity, of the
“ poor afflicted Servants of Christ, and that (before the
“ Lord plead against this Land for Abel's innocent Blood
“ that is shed in the several Prisons) your Honour may
“ open your Mouth for the Dumb in the Cause of the
“ Children of [devoted to] Destruction [that] You may
“ open your Mouth and judge righteously, and judge the
“ Cause of the afflicted ; as the People of Israel when they
“ went to war first made peace with God, and removed
“ all Occasion whereby his Wrath might be incensed, lest
“ he should fight against them in Battle. For if this sup-
“ pression of the Truth, and Oppression of Christ in his
“ Members, contrary to all Law and Justice, be without
“ Restraint prosecuted by the Enemy in the Land ; then
“ not only the persecuted shall daily cry from under the
“ Altar for Redress, but God's Wrath be so kindled for
“ the shedding the innocent Blood of Men, even the Blood
“ of his own Servants (of whom he has said, “ Touch
“ not mine Anointed)” that if Noah, Daniel, and Job,
“ should pray for this People, yet should they not deliver
“ them.

“ Pleaseth it then your Lordship to understand, that we
“ her Majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true hearted Subjects,
“ to the number of threescore persons and upwards, have
“ contrary to all Law and Equity been imprisoned ; sepa-
“ rated from our Trades, Wives, Children, and Families ;
“ yea,

“ yea, shut up close prisoners from all comfort, many of
“ us the space of two Years and a half, upon the Bishop’s
“ sole Commandment, in great Penury and Noisomness of
“ the Prisons; many ending their Lives never called to
“ Trial; some haled forth to the Sessions; some cast in
“ Irons and Dungeons; some in Hunger and Famine; all
“ of us debarred from any lawful Audience before our
“ honourable Governors and Magistrates, and from all
“ Benefit and Help of the Laws; daily defamed and falsely
“ accused by published Pamphlets, by private suggestions,
“ open preaching, slanders, and accusations of Heresy,
“ Sedition, Schism, and what not. And above all, which
“ most utterly toucheth our Salvation, they keep us from
“ all spiritual comfort and edifying by Doctrine, Prayer,
“ or mutual Conference, &c.

“ And seeing for our Conscience only we are deprived
“ of all comfort, we most humbly beseech your good
“ Lordship, that some more mitigate and peaceable Course
“ might be taken therein, that some free and Chri-
“ stian Conference publicly or privately before your Ho-
“ nour, or before whom it would please you, where our
“ Adversaries may not be our Judges [might be had];
“ that our Case with the Reason and Proof on both Sides,
“ might be recorded by indifferent Notaries and faithful
“ Witnesses: and if any thing be found in us worthy of
“ Death or Bonds, let us be made an Example to all Pos-
“ terity; if not, we intreat for some compassion to be
“ shewn in Equity according to Law for our Relief; [and]
“ that in the mean time we may be bailed to do her Ma-
“ jesty Service, walk in our Callings, to provide things
“ needful for ourselves, our poor Wives, disconsolate Chil-
“ dren and Families lying upon us, or else that we might
“ be prisoners together in Bridewel, or any other conveni-
“ ent place at your Honour’s Appointment, where we
“ might provide such Relief by our Diligence and Labours
“ as might preserve Life, to the Comfort both of our
“ Souls and Bodies.”

Signed by your poor Supplicants in the following
Prisons;

In the Gate-House.

John Guater,
John Nicolas,

VOL. I.

John Barnes,
John Grawford,
Thomas Conadine
Thomas Reeve,

F f

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

William Dodshawe,
Father Debnam,
Edmund Thompson,
Thomas Freeman.

In the Fleet.

Henry Barrowe,
John Greenwood,
Doniel Studley,
Robert Badkyne,
Walter Lane.

In Newgate.

William Deptford,
Widow Borroughs,
Roger Waterer.

In Bridewel.

William Broomal,
James Forrester,
Antony Claxton,
Nic. Lee,
John Francis,
William Forester,
John Clarke,
John Fisher,
John Bucer,
Roger Rippon,
Robert Andrews,
Richard Skarlet,
Luke Hayes,
Richard Maltusse,
Richard Umberfield,
William Fowler,
William Burt,
William Hutton.

In the Clink.

George Collier,
John Sparrow,
Edmund Nicolson,

Christopher Browne,
Thomas Mitchel,
Andrew Smith,
William Blackborrow,
Thomas Lemare,
Christopher Raper,
Quintin Smith.

In the White Lion.

Thomas Legat,
Edmund Marsh,
Antony Johnes,
—— Cook,
—— Auger,

Wood-street Compter.

George Snells,
Christopher Bowman,
Robert Jackson.

In the Poultry Compter.

Rowlet Skipwith,
George Kingstone
Thomas Eyneworth,
Richard Hayward,
John Lancaster.

In all 59

Prisoners deceased.

Out of the Poultry Compter.

John Chaundler.

Out of Wood-street Compter.

George Dinghtie.

Out of Newgate.

Richard Jackson,

Widow

Chap. VIII. of the PURITANS.

435

Widow Mainard,
Widow Row,
Nic. Crane,
Thomas Stephens.

Jerom Studley.

Out of Bridewel.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

John Pardy.

Out of the Clink.

In all 10

Henry Thompson,

Among the names subscribed to this Petition is Mr. Henry Barrowe, an ingenious and learned Man, but of a very warm Spirit, as appears by his Book, entitled, "A brief Discovery of false Churches," printed 1590, and reprinted 1707. This Gentleman having been several years in prison, sent another Supplication to the Attorney General and Privy Council for a Conference with the Bishops, or that their Ministers might be conferr'd with in their hearing, without Taunts or Railings, for searching out the Truth in love; "If it be objected [says Barrowe] that none of our Side are worthy to be thus disputed with, we think we shall prove the contrary; for there are three or four of them in the City of London, and more elsewhere, who have been zealous preachers in the Parish Assemblies, and are not ignorant of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues, nor otherwise unlearned, and generally confessed to be of honest Conversation. If this Motion takes effect the Controversy will soon end with most of us, for by this means we poor Wretches shall perceive, whether as simple Souls we are led aside; or whether as the dear Children of God we are first trusted with the view of, and standing up for the Cause of Holiness and Righteousness.——But let us not perish secretly in prison, or openly by Execution, for want of that help that lies in your power to afford; when we protest in the sight of God, we do not separate from the Establishment out of Pride or Obstinacy, but from the constraints of Conscience."

Barrowe's
Supplication
for a Conference.
Strype's
Ann. Vol.
ult. p. 171,
173.

But all these Petitions were rejected by the Bishops and Privy Council for the following Reasons if they deserve that Name; " (1.) Because a Disputation has been denied to Papists. (2.) To call the Ministry of the Church of England into question, is to call all other Churches into question, against whom their Exceptions extend. (3.) The Church of England has submitted to Disputation three times in King Edward's, Queen Mary's and Queen Elizabeth's

Reasons for
refusing it.
Strype's
Ann. Vol.
ult. p. 172.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.

“ zabeth’s time. (4.) These Mens errors have been con-
demned by the Writings of learned Men. (5.) ’Tis
“ not reasonable that a Religion established by Parliament
“ should be examined by an inferior Authority. (6.) ’Tis
“ not reasonable to condemn those foreign Churches that
“ have acknowledged ours for a true Church. (7.) Their
“ principal Errors have been confuted by St. Austin.
“ (8.) This will strengthen the hands of the Papists. (9.) It
“ has been the manner of Hereticks to require Disputations
“ with Clamour and Importunity. (10.) The cause has
“ been already decided by written Books which they may
“ consult. (11.) They will not stand to the Judgment
“ of the civil Magistrate. (12.) If the Church should
“ satisfy every Sect that riseth there would be no end
“ of Disputations.” Thus these pious and conscientious
persons, after a long and illegal imprisonment, were
abandoned to the severity of an unrighteous Law ; some
of them being publicly executed as Felons, and others
proscribed and sent into Banishment.

Mr. Bar-
row’s first
Examina-
tion.

Among the former were, Mr. Barrowe, Gent. of Gray’s
Inn, Mr. Greenwood and Penry Ministers ; the two first
had been in prison some years, and several times before the
Commissioners ; their Examinations writ by themselves are
now before me. Barrowe was apprehended at the Clink
Prison in Southwark, where he went to visit his Brother
Greenwood ; he was carried immediately to Lambeth ;
where the Archbishop would have examined him upon the
oath Ex Officio, but he refused to take it, or to swear at all
upon the Bible ; but (says he) by God’s Grace I will answer
nothing but the Truth. So the Archbishop took a Paper of
Interrogatories into his hand and asked him, 1. “ Whe-
“ ther the Lord’s Prayer might be used in the Church ?”
He answered, that in his Opinion it was rather a Summary
than a Form ; and not finding it used by the Apostles, he
thought it should not be constantly used by us. 2. “ Whe-
“ ther Forms of Prayer may be used in the Church ?” He
answered, that none such ought to be imposed. 3. “ Whe-
“ ther the Common Prayer be idolatrous or superstitious ?”
He answered, that in his Opinion it was so. 4. “ Whe-
“ ther the Sacraments of the Church are true Sacraments
“ and Seals of the Favour of God ?” He answered, he
thought as they were publicly administer’d they were not.
5. “ Whether the Laws of the Church are good ?” He
answered, that many of them were unlawful and Anti-
christian. 6. “ Whether the Church of England is a true
“ Church ?”

“ Church ?” He answered, that as it was now formed it was not ; yet that there are many excellent good Christians of it. 7. “ Whether the Queen be supreme Governor of the Church, and may make Laws for it ?” He answered, that the Queen was supreme Governor of the Church, but might not make Laws other than Christ had left in his Word. 8. “ Whether a private Person may reform if the Prince neglects it ?” He answered, that no private persons might reform the State, but they are to abstain from any unlawful thing commanded by the Prince. 9. “ Whether every particular Church ought to have a Presbyter ?” He answered in the Affirmative. After this Examination he was remanded to close prison, and denied a Copy of his Answers, though he earnestly desired it.

His next Examination was before the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, and the Bishop of London, at Whitehall, where he found twelve of his Brethren in the same Circumstances with himself, but was not admitted to speak to them. Being called into another Room and kneeling down at the end of the Table, the Lord Treasurer spoke to him thus. Treas. Why are you in Prison ? Barrowe. Upon the Statute against Recusants. Treasurer. Why will you not go to Church ? Barrowe. Because I think the Church of England as established by Law not a Church of Christ, nor their manner of Worship lawful. After a long debate on this Head the Treasurer said, You complain of Injustice, where have you Wrong ? Barrowe. In being kept in prison without due Trial ; and in the Misery we suffer by a close imprisonment contrary to Law. The Archbishop said, he had matter to call him before him for an Heretick. Barrowe replied, That you shall never do, “ I may err, but Heretick by the Grace of God I will never be.” It being observed that he did not pay such Reverence to the Archbishop and Bishop of London as to the temporal Lords, the Chancellor asked him, if he did not know those two Men, pointing to the Bishops. To which he answered, That he had cause to know them, but did not own them for Lord Bishops. Being then asked by what name he would call the Archbishop ; he replied, That he was “ a Monster, a Persecutor, a Compound of he knew not what, neither Ecclesiastical nor Civil, like the second Beast spoken of in the Revelations :” Upon which the Archbishop rose out of his place, and with a severe countenance said, “ My Lords, Will you suffer him ?” so he was plucked off his Knees, and carried away.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1592.
Trial of Mr.
Barrowe,
Greenwood,
and others.

Broughton's
Works. p.
731.

Heyl. Hist.
Pr. p. 323.

Bellot,
Bowlle, and
Studley re-
prieved.

Barrowe and
Greenwood
executed.

Mr. Greenwood the Minister was examined after the same manner before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Lords Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, and the Master of the Rolls: He had Interrogatories put to him as Barrowe had, but refused to swear, and made much the same Answer with the other. At length, on the 21st of March, 1592. they together with Saxio Bellot, Gent. Daniel Studley, Girdler, and Robert Bowlle, Fishmonger, were indicted at the Sessions House in the Old-Bailey, upon the Statute of 23 Eliz. "For writing "and publishing sundry seditious Books and Pamphlets, "tending to the Slander of the Queen and Government: " Though they had only writ against the Church; but this was the Archbishop's artful Contrivance, to throw off the odium of their Death from himself to the Civil Magistrate; for as the Reverend and Learned Mr. Hugh Broughton writes, "Though Mr. Barrowe and Greenwood were condemned for Disturbance of the State; yet this would have "been pardoned, and their Lives spared, if they would have "promised to come to Church." Upon their Trial they behaved with Constancy and Resolution, shewing no Token of Recognition (says the Attorney) nor Prayer for Mercy: They protested their inviolable Loyalty to the Queen, and Obedience to her Government; that they never writ, nor so much as intended any thing against her Highness, but only against the Bishop and the Hierarchy of the Church; which was apparent enough. However, the Jury brought them all in Guilty. Bellot desired a Conference, and with Tears confessing his Sorrow for what he had done, was pardoned. Bowlle and Studley being looked upon but as Accessories, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken Loyalty to the Queen, and refusing to ask for Mercy, were reprieved, and sent back to Prison; but Barrowe and Greenwood were to be made Examples. Sentence of Death being passed upon them, March the 23d, sundry Divines were appointed to persuade them to recant; but not succeeding, they were brought in a Cart to Tyburn on the last of March, and exposed under the Gallows for some Time to the People, to see if the Terrors of Death would affright them; but remaining constant, they were brought back to Newgate, and on the sixth of April, carried a second Time to Tyburn and executed. At the Place of Execution they gave such Testimonies of their unfeigned Piety towards God, and Loyalty to the Queen, praying so

so earnestly for her long and prosperous Reign, that when Dr. Reynolds, who attended them, reported their Behaviour to her Majesty, she repented that she had yielded to their death.

Queen Elizabeth,
1592.

They had been in close Prison ever since the Year 1590. exposed to all the Severities of Cold, Hunger, and Nakedness, which Mr. Barrowe represented in a Supplication to the Queen, already mentioned, concluding with an earnest desire of Deliverance from their present Miseries, though it were by Death; but the Archbishop intercepted the Paper, and endeavoured to prevent the Knowledge of their Condition from coming to the Queen's Ear: Upon this Mr. Barrowe exposed his Grace's Behaviour towards miserable Men, in a Letter to one Mr. Fisher, wherein he charges him "with abusing the Queen's Clemency by false Informations and Suggestions; and with artful Disingenuity, in committing so many innocent Men to Bridewel, the Compter, Newgate, the White Lyon and the Fleet, and then posting them to the civil Magistrate to take off the Clamour of the People from himself. He says, That he had destined himself and his Brother Greenwood, to Death, and others to be kept in close Prison; their poor Wives and Children to be cast out of the City, and their Goods to be confiscated. Is not this a Christian Bishop (says he) Are these the Virtues of him who takes upon him the Care and Government of all the Churches of the Land, to tear and devour God's poor Sheep, and to rend off the Flesh and break their Bones, and chop them in pieces as Flesh to the Cauldron? Will he thus instruct and convince Gainsayers? Surely he will persuade but few that fear God, to his Religion, by his Dealing and Evil. Does he consult his own Credit, or the Honour of his Prince by this tyrannous Havock? For our parts, our Lives are not dear to us, so that we may finish our Testimony with joy: We are always ready, through God's Grace, to be offered up upon the Testimony of the Faith that we have made."—Thus fell these two unhappy Gentlemen a Sacrifice to the Resentments of an angry Prelate.

Barrowe's
Letter against the
Archbishop.

L. of Whitgift, p. 416.

About six weeks after this, the Reverend Mr. John Penry, or Ap-Henry, a Welch Divine, was executed for the same Crime, in a cruel and inhuman manner. He was a pious and learned Man, well disposed to Religion (says Mr. Strype) but mistaken in his Principles, and hot in his

1593.
Mr. Penry's
Hist.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1593.

Temper ; a zealous Platformer, and a declared Enemy of the Archbishop. He was born in the County of Brecknock, and educated first at Cambridge, and afterwards at St. Alban's-Hall, Oxford, where he proceeded M. A. 1586. and entered into Holy Orders, being well acquainted with Arts and Languages. He preached in both Universities with applause, and afterwards travelling into Wales, was the first (as he said) that preached the Gospel publicly to the Welch, and sowed the good Seed among his Countrymen. In the Year 1588. he publish'd a "View of such publick
" Wants and Disorders as are in her Majesty's Country of
" Wales, with an humble Petition to the High Court of
" Parliament for their Redrefs : " Wherein is shewed not only the Necessity of reforming the State of Religion among that People, but also the only way in regard of Substance to bring that Reformation to pass. He also published " An
" Exhortation to the Governors and People of her Majesty's Country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have
" the preaching of the Gospel planted among them." Printed 1588.

Proclamation to apprehend him.

When Martin-mar-prelate, and the other satyirical Pamphlets against the Bishops were published, a special Warrant was issued out from the Privy Council, 1590. under several of their Hands, whereof the Archbishop's was one, to seize and apprehend Mr. Penry, as an Enemy of the State ; and that all the Queen's good Subjects should take him so to be. To avoid being taken he retired into Scotland, where he continued till this present Year 1593. Here he made many Observations of things relating to Religion, for his own private Use ; and at length prepared the Heads of a Petition, or an Address to the Queen, to shew her Majesty the true State of Religion, and how ignorant she was of many Abuses in the Church of England, especially in the Management of Ecclesiastical Matters ; and likewise to interceed for so much Favour, that he might by her Authority, have Liberty to go into Wales his native Country, to preach the Gospel. With this Petition he came from Scotland, resolving to finish and deliver it with his own Hand, as he should find opportunity ; but upon his arrival he was seized with his Papers in Stepney Parish, by the information of the Vicar, in the Month of May, and arraigned, condemned and executed hastily, the very same Month.

L. of Whitgift, p. 409.

He is taken.

The Heads of the Petition, taken upon him, were as follow, " The last Days of your Reign are turned rather
against

“ against Jesus Christ and his Gospel, than to the Maintenance of the same.

Queen Elizabeth,
1593.

“ I have great Cause of Complaint, Madam ; nay, the Lord and his Church have cause to complain of your Government, because we your Subjects, this Day are not permitted to serve our God under your Government, according to his Word, but are sold to be Bond-slaves, not only to our Affections, to do what we will, so that we keep ourselves within the compass of established civil Laws, but also to be Servants to the Man of Sin [the Pope] and his Ordinances.

His Petition
to the Queen
unfinished.

“ It is not the Force that we seem to fear that will come upon us (for the Lord may destroy both you for denying, and us for slack seeking of his Will) by Strangers : I come unto you with it : If you will hear it, our Cause may be eased ; if not, that Posterity may know that you have been dealt with, and that this Age may know that there is no Expectation to be looked for at your Hands.

L. of Whitgift, p. 411.

“ Among the rest of the Princes under the Gospel, that have been drawn to oppose it, you must think yourself to be one ; for until you see this, Madam, you see not yourself, and they are but Sycophants and Flatterers who ever tell you otherwise : Your standing is and has been by the Gospel. It is little beholden to you for any thing that appears. The Practice of your Government shews, that if you could have ruled without the Gospel, it would have been doubtful whether the Gospel should be established or not ; for now that you are established in your Throne by the Gospel, you suffer it to reach no further than the end of your Scepter limiteth unto it.

“ If we had had Queen Mary’s Days, I think that we should have had as flourishing a Church this Day as ever any ; for it is well known that there was then in London, under the burthen, and elsewhere in Exile, more flourishing Churches than any now tolerated by your Authority.

“ Now whereas we should have your Help both to join ourselves with the true Church, and reject the false, and all the Ordinances thereof ; we are in your Kingdom permitted to do nothing, but accounted seditious, if we affirm either the one or the other of the former Points ; and therefore, Madam, you are not so much an Adversary to us poor Men as unto Christ Jesus and the Wealth of his Kingdom.

“ If

Queen
Elizabeth,
1593.

“ If we cannot have your favour, but by omitting our duty to God, we are unworthy of it, and by God’s Grace we mean not to purchase it so dear.

“ But, Madam, thus much we must needs say, that in all likelihood, if the days of your Sister Queen Mary, and her persecution had continued unto this day, that the Church of God in England had been far more flourishing than at this day, it is : For then, Madam, the Church of God within this land, and elsewhere, being Strangers, enjoyed the Ordinances of God’s holy Word, as far as then they saw.

“ But since your Majesty came unto your Crown, we have had whole Christ Jesus, God and Man ; but we must serve him only in heart.

“ And if those days had continued to this time, and those Lights risen therein, which by the mercy of God have since shined in England, it is not to be doubted but the Church of England, even in England, had far surpassed all the reformed Churches in the World.

“ Then, Madam, any of our Brethren durst not have been seen within the tents of Antichrist ; now they are ready to defend them to be the Lord’s, and that he has no other Tabernacle upon Earth but them. Our Brethren then durst not temporize in the Cause of God, because the Lord ruled himself in his Church, by his own laws, in a good measure ; but now behold ! they may do what they will, for any Sword that the Church has to draw against them, if they contain themselves within your laws.

“ This peace under those conditions, we cannot enjoy ; and therefore, for any thing I can see, Queen Mary’s days will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. The whole truth we must not speak ; the whole Truth we must not profess. Your State must have a stroke above the Truth of God.

“ Now, Madam, your Majesty may consider what good the Church of God hath taken at your hands, even outward peace with the absence of Christ Jesus in his Ordinance ; otherwise as great troubles are likely to come as ever were in the days of your Sister.

“ As for the Council and Clergy, if we bring any such Suit unto them, we have no other answer but that which Pharaoh gives to the Lord’s Messengers, touching the State of the Church under his Government.

“ For

“ For when any are called for this cause before your
 “ Council, or the Judges of the Land, they must take this for
 “ granted, once for all, that the Uprightness of their cause
 “ will profit them nothing, if the Law of the Land be
 “ against them; for your Council and Judges have so well
 “ profited in Religion, that they will not stick to say, That
 “ they come not to consult whether the matter be with or
 “ against the Word or not, but their purpose is to take the
 “ penalty of the transgressions against your law.

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1593.

“ If your Council were wise, they would not kindle your
 “ Wrath against us; but, Madam, if you give ear to
 “ their Words, no Marvail though you have no better
 “ Counsellors.”

It appears by this Petition, as well as by his Letter writ
 to the Congregation of Separatists in London, that Mr. Penry was a Brownist. His Book of observations was also
 seized, out of which were drawn Articles of Accusation
 against him. He was indicted upon the Statute of 23. Eliz.
 Chap. 2d, “ for seditious words and rumours uttered against
 “ the Queen’s most excellent Majesty, tending to the stir-
 “ ring up of rebellion among her Subjects;” and was con-
 victed of Felony, May 21, at the King’s Bench, before
 the Lord Chief Justice Popham. He received Sentence of
 Death May 25, and was executed on the 29th of the same
 month. It was designed to indict him for the Books pub-
 lished in his name; but by the advice of Counsel, Mr Pen-
 ry drew up a paper, entitled, “ Mr. Penry’s Declaration,”
 May 16, 1593. “ That he is not in danger of the Law
 “ for the Books published in his name.” Here he observes,
 that the Statute was not intended against such as writ only
 against the Hierarchy of the Church; for then it must con-
 demn many of the most learned Protestants both at home
 and abroad; but relates to such as defame her Majesty’s
 Royal Person: Whereas he had always writ most dutifully
 of her Person and Government, having never encouraged
 Sedition, or Insurrection against her Majesty, but the con-
 trary: Nor had he ever been at any Assembly or Conven-
 ticle, where any, under or above the number of twelve
 were assembled with force of arms, or otherwise, to alter
 any thing established by Law: Nor was it his opinion that
 private persons should of their own authority, attempt any
 such thing; for he had always writ and spoke to the con-
 trary. But however, if all this had been true, he ought to have
 been accused within one month of the crime, upon the oath

His trial and
 Sentence.

L. of Whit-
 gift, p. 412.

of

Queen
Elizabeth,
1593.

His com-
plaints to the
Treasurer.

of two witnesses, and have been indicted within one year ; otherwise the Statute itself clears him in expresse words.

The Court apprehending this Declaration might occasion an argument at Law, set aside his printed Books, and convicted him upon the petition and private observations above-mentioned, which was still harder, as he represented it himself in the following Letter to the Lord Treasurer, with a Protestation enclosed, immediately after his condemnation,

“ Vouchsafe, I beseech your Lordship (right Honourable)
“ read the enclosed writing. My days, I see, are drawing
“ to an end, and I thank God an undeserved end, except the
“ Lord stir up your Honour to acquaint her Majesty with
“ my guiltless State.

“ The cause is most lamentable, That the private obser-
“ vations of any Student being in a foreign Land, and wish-
“ ing well to his Prince and Country, should bring his
“ Life with Blood to a violent end ; especially seeing they
“ are most private and so imperfect, as they have no Co-
“ herence at all in them, and in most places carry no true
“ English——

“ Though my Innocence may stand me in no stead be-
“ fore an earthly Tribunal, yet I know that I shall have
“ the reward thereof before the Judgment Seat of the great
“ King ; and the merciful Lord, who relieves the Widow
“ and Fatherless, will reward my desolate Orphans and friend-
“ less Widow that I leave behind me, and even hear their
“ cry, for he is merciful.

“ Being like to trouble your Lordship with no more let-
“ ters, I do with thankfulness acknowledge your Honour’s
“ favour in receiving the Writings I have presumed to send
“ to you from time to time ; and in this my last, I protest I
“ have writ nothing but the truth from time to time.

“ Thus preparing myself, not so much for an unjust ver-
“ dict, and an undeserved doom in this life, as unto that blef-
“ sed Crown of Glory, which of the Great Mercy of my
“ God is ready for me in Heaven, I humbly betake your
“ Lordship unto the hands of the just Lord. May 22d.
“ 1593. Your Lordship’s most humble in the Lord.”

John Penry.

In the Protestation enclosed in this Letter he declares,
That he writ his Observations in Scotland ; that they were
the Sum of certain Objections made by People in those
Parts against her Majesty and her Government, which he
intended to examine, but had not so much as looked
into them for 14 or 15 Months past, that even in these
writings

writings so imperfect, unfinished, and inclosed within his private study, he had shewn his dutiffulness to the Queen, nor had he ever a secret wandering thought of the least disloyalty to her Majesty : “ I thank the Lord (says he) I remember not, that that day has past over my head, since “ under her Government I came to the knowledge of the “ Truth, wherein I have not commended her estate unto “ God. Well, I may be indicted and condemned, and “ end my days as a felon or a traitor against my natural Sovereign, but heaven and earth shall not be able to convict me thereof. Whensoever an end of my days comes (as “ I look not to live this week to an end) I shall die Queen Elizabeth’s most faithful subject, even in the consciences “ of mine enemies, if they will be beholders thereof.

Queen Elizabeth, 1593.

His Protestation.

Life of Whitgift, in Rec. p. 176.

“ I never took myself for a rebuker, much less for a reformer of States and Kingdoms ; far was that from me ; yet in the discharge of my conscience all the world must bear with me, if I prefer my testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ before the favour of any creature. An enemy to good order and policy either in the Church or Commonwealth was I never. I never did any thing in this cause (Lord thou art witness) for contention, vain-glory, or to draw disciples after me.——Great things in this life I never sought for ; sufficiency I have had with great outward trouble ; but most content I was with my Lot ; and content I am and shall be with my untimely death, though I leave behind me a friendless Widow and four Infants, the eldest of which is not above four years old. I do from my heart forgive all that seek my life ; and if my death can procure any quietness to the Church of God or the State, I shall rejoice. May my Prince have many such subjects, but may none of them meet with such a reward ! My earnest request is, that her Majesty may be acquainted with these things before my death, or at least after my departure.

“ Subscribed with the heart and hand that never devised, or writ any thing to the discredit or defamation of my Sovereign Queen Elizabeth : I take it on my death, as I hope to have a life after this, by me

John Penry.

It was never known before this time, that a Minister and Scholar was condemned to death for private papers found in his study ; nor do I remember more than once since that time, in whose case it was given for Law, that “ Scribere

His Death.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1593.

“Scribere est agere;” but Penry must die right or wrong; the Archbishop was the first man that signed the warrant for his execution, and after him Puckering and Popham. The Warrant was sent immediately to the Sheriff, who the very same day erected a Gallows at St. Thomas Waterings; and while the Prisoner was at dinner sent his Officers to bid him make ready, for he must die that afternoon; accordingly he was carried in a cart to the place of execution; when he came thither the Sheriff would not suffer him to speak to the people, nor make any profession of his Faith towards God, or his Loyalty to the Queen, but ordered him to be turn’d off in a hurry about five of the clock in the evening, May 29th 1593, in the 34th year of his age.

The Court being struck with this behaviour of the Brownists, began to be ashamed of hanging men for sedition against the State, who died with such strong professions of loyalty to the Queen and Government, and therefore must suffer only for the Cause of Religion. This raised an odium against the Bishops and the High Commissioners, who all men knew were at the bottom of these proceedings. ’Tis said the Queen herself was displeased with them when she heard of the devotion and loyalty of the sufferers. It was therefore resolved to proceed for the future on the late Statute of the 31st Eliz. “To retain the Queen’s Subjects “in their Obedience;” and instead of putting the Brownists to death, to send them into banishment. Upon this Statute Mr. Johnson Pastor of the Brownist Church, was convicted, and all the Gaols were cleared for the present; though the Commissioners took care within the compass of another year to fill them again.

Sufferings of
the Papists.

The Papists were distressed by this, and the Statute of 23 Eliz. as much as the Brownists, though they met with much more favour from the Ecclesiastical Courts; the Queen either loved or feared them, and would often say, she would never ransack their consciences if they would be quiet; but they were always libelling her Majesty, and in continual plots against her Government. While the Queen of Scots was alive they supported her pretensions to the Crown, and after her Death they maintained in print the Title of the Infanta of Spain: They were concerned with the Spaniards in the Invasion in 1588, which obliged the Queen to confine some of their Chiefs in Wisbech Castle, and other places of safety, but she was tender of their lives. In the first 11 years of her Reign not one Roman Catholick was prosecuted capitally for Religion; in the next 10 years, when

when the Pope had excommunicated the Queen and the whole Kingdom, and there had been dangerous Rebellions in the North, there were but 12 Priests executed, and most of them for Matters against the State. In the 10 following years, when swarms of Priests and Jesuites came over from foreign Seminaries, to invite the Catholicks to join with the Spaniards, the Laws were girt closer upon them, 50 Priests being executed, and 55 banished; but as soon as the danger was over the Laws were relaxed; and by reason of the Ignorance and laziness of the beneficed Clergy, the Missionaries gained over such numbers of Profelytes in the latter end of this Reign, as endangered the whole Government and Reformation in the beginning of the next.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1594.

The last and finishing hand was put to the Presbyterian Discipline in Scotland this year. That Kingdom had been governed by different Factions during the Minority of King James, which prevented a full Settlement of Religion. The General Assembly in the year 1566, had approved of the Geneva Discipline, but the Parliament did not confirm the Votes of the Assembly, nor formally deprive the Bishops of their power, though all Church Affairs from that time were managed by Presbyteries and General Assemblies. In the year 1574 they voted the Bishops to be only Pastors of one Parish; and to shew their power, they deposed the Bishop of Dunkeld, and delated the Bishop of Glasgow. In the year 1577, they ordained that all Bishops be called by their own Names; and the next year voted the very Name of a Bishop a grievance. In the year 1580 the General Assembly with one Voice declared Diocesan Episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. The same year King James with his Family, and the whole Nation, subscribed a Confession of Faith, with a solemn League and Covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant Doctrine and the Presbyterian Government. After this, in the year 1584, the Bishops were restored by Parliament to some parts of their antient Dignity; and it was made Treason for any man to procure the innovation or diminution of the power and authority of any of the three Estates; but when this Act was proclaimed the Ministers protested against it, as not having been agreed to by the Kirk. In the year 1587 things took another turn, and his Majesty being at the full Age of 21 consented to an Act to "take away Bishops Lands and annex them to the Crown." In the year 1592 it was ordained by the General Assembly, that "all

A Summary
of Kirk Af-
fairs of Scot-
land.

Heyl. Hist.
Presb. p.
231.

Presbytery
established
by Law.

"that

Queen
Elizabeth,
1594.

Heyl. Hist.
Presb. p.294.

“ that bore Office in the Kirk, or should hereafter do so,
“ should subscribe to the Book of Discipline.” In the year
1592, all Acts of Parliament whatsoever made by the King’s
Highness, or any of his Predecessors in favour of Popery
or Episcopacy were annulled; and in particular, the Act
of May 22d, 1584. “ For granting Commissions to Bi-
“ shops, or other Ecclesiastical Judges, to receive Presen-
“ tations to Benefices, and give Collation thereupon;” and
it was ordained, that for the future, “ All Presentations to
“ Benefices shall be directed to the particular Presbyteries,
“ with full power to give Collation thereupon; and to or-
“ der all matters and causes Ecclesiastical within their bounds,
“ according to the Discipline of the Kirk.

“ Further, the Act ratifies and confirms all former Acts
“ of Parliament in favour of Kirk Discipline, and declares,
“ That it shall be lawful for the Kirk and Ministers to
“ hold General Assemblies once a year, or oftner if ne-
“ cessity require, the King’s Commissioner being present
“ if his Majesty pleases. It ratifies and approves of Pro-
“ vincial and Synodal Assemblies twice a year within every
“ Province; and of Presbyteries and particular Sessions
“ appointed by the Kirk, with the whole Discipline and
“ Jurisdiction of the same. Provincial Assemblies have
“ power to redress all things omitted or done amiss in the
“ particular Assemblies, to depose the Office-Bearers of
“ the Province, and generally they have the power of the
“ particular Elderships whereof they are collected.

Power of
General As-
semblies,
Presbyteries,
&c.

“ The Power of Presbyteries is declared to consist in
“ keeping the Kirks within their bounds in good Order; to
“ enquire after and endeavour to reform vicious persons.
“ It belongs to the Elderships to see that the Word of God
“ be duly preached, and the Sacraments rightly admini-
“ stered, and Discipline entertained; they are to cause the
“ Ordinances made by the Provincial, National and Ge-
“ neral Assemblies, to be put in execution; to make or
“ abolish Constitutions which concern decent Order in their
“ Kirks, provided they alter no Rules made by the superior
“ Assemblies, and communicate their Constitutions to the
“ Provincial Assembly; they have Power to excommuni-
“ cate the Obstinate after due Process. Concerning par-
“ ticular Kirks, if they are lawfully ruled by sufficient
“ Ministers and Session, they have Power and Juris-
“ diction in their own Congregation in Matters Eccle-
“ siastical.”

This

This Act, for the greater Solemnity, was confirmed again in the year 1593, and again this present year 1594, so that from this time, to the year 1612, Presbytery was undoubtedly the Legal Establishment of the Kirk of Scotland, as it had been in Fact ever since the Reformation.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1594.

To return to England; several Champions appeared about this time for the cause of Episcopacy, as Dr. Bilson, Bancroft, Bridges, Cofins, Soam, and Dr. Adrian Saravia, a Spaniard, but beneficed in the Church of England: This last was answered by Beza; Bridges was answered by Fenner, Cofins by Morrice, and Bilson by Bradshaw, though the Press was shut against the Puritans.

But the most celebrated performance, and of greatest Note, was Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, in eight Books; the four first of which were published this year; the fifth in the year 1597, and the three last not till many years after his death, for which reason some have suspected them to be interpolated, though they were deposited in the hands of Archbishop Abbot, from whose Copy they were printed, about the beginning of the Civil Wars. This is esteemed the most learned defence of the Church of England, wherein all that would be acquainted with its Constitution (says a learned Prelate) may see upon what foundation it is built. Mr. Hooker begun his Work while Master of the Temple, but meeting with some trouble, and many interruptions in that Place, the Archbishop at his request, removed him to Boscum in the Diocese of Salisbury, and gave him a Minor Prebend in that Church; here he finished his four first Books; from thence he was removed to the Parsonage of Bishopsborn in Kent, about three miles from Canterbury, where he finished his Work and his Life, in the year 1600, and 47th year of his age.

Account of
Hooker's
Eccl. Polity
L. of Whit-
gift. p. 428.

The chief Principles upon which this learned Author proceeds, are,

1. " That though the Holy Scriptures are a perfect Standard of Doctrine, they are not a Rule of Discipline or Government.
2. " Nor is the practice of the Apostles an invariable Rule or Law to the Church in succeeding ages, because they acted according to the circumstances of the Church in its infant and persecuted state.

General
Maxims con-
tained in it.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1594.

3. " Neither are the Scriptures a Rule of human Actions so far, as that whatsoever we do in Matters of Religion without their express Direction or Warrant is Sin, but many things are left indifferent.
4. " The Church is a Society like others, invested with Powers to make what Laws she apprehends reasonable, decent, or necessary for her Well-being and Government, provided they do not interfere with, or contradict the Laws and Commandments of Holy Scripture.
5. " Where the Scripture is silent human Authority may interpose; we must then have recourse to the reason of things and the rights of Society.
6. " It follows from hence, that the Church is at liberty to appoint ceremonies, and establish Order within the limits above-mentioned; and her authority ought to determine what is fit and convenient.
7. " All who are born within the confines of an established Church, and are baptized into it, are bound to submit to its Ecclesiastical Laws; they may not disgrace, revile, or reject them at pleasure: The Church is their Mother, and " has more than a maternal Power over them.
8. " The positive Laws of the Church not being of a moral Nature, are mutable, and may be changed or reversed by the same powers that made them; but while they are in force they are to be submitted to, under such Penalties as the Church in her Wisdom shall direct."

Remarks.

The 4th and 5th Propositions are the main Pillars of Mr. Hooker's Fabrick, and the Foundation of all human Establishments, (viz.) " That the Church, like other Societies, is invested with Power to make Laws for its Well-being; and that where the Scripture is silent human authority may interpose." All Men allow, that human Societies may form themselves after any model, and make what Laws they please for their Well-being: and that the Christian Church has some things in common with all Societies as such, as the appointing time and place, and the order of publick Worship, &c. but it must be remembered, that the Christian Church is not a meer voluntary Society, but a Community formed and constituted by Christ the sole King and Lawgiver of it, who has made sufficient Provision for its Well-being to the end of the World. It does not appear in the New Testament, that the Church is empowered to mend or alter the Constitution of Christ,

by

by creating new Officers, or making new Laws, though the Christian World has ventured upon it. Christ gave his Church Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting the Saints, and edifying his Body; but the Successors of the Apostles in the Government of the Church apprehending these not sufficient, have added Patriarchs, Cardinals, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, and other Officials. The Church is represented in Scripture as a Spiritual Body; her Ordinances, Privileges and Censures being purely such; but later Ages have wrought the Civil Powers into her Constitution, and kept men within her pale by all the terrors of this World, as Fines, Imprisonments, Banishments, Fire and Sword. 'Tis the peculiar Excellency of the Gospel Worship to be plain and simple, free from the yoke of Jewish Ceremonies; but the Antichristian Powers thinking this a defect, have loaded it with numberless Ceremonies of their own Invention; and though there are laws in Scripture sufficient for the Direction of the Church, as constituted by Christ and his Apostles, they have thought fit to add so many Volumes of Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons, and Injunctions, as have confounded, if not subverted the laws of Christ.

But if men considered the Church as a Spiritual Body, constituted by Christ its sole Lawgiver for spiritual Purposes, they would then see that it had no concern with their civil Properties and Estates; nor any Power to force men to be of its Communion by the pains and penalties of this World. The Laws of the New Testament would appear sufficient for the Well-being of such a Society; and in cases where there are no particular Laws or Injunctions, that it is the Will of Christ and his Apostles there should be Liberty and Forbearance; there would then be no occasion for Christian Courts (as they are called) nor for the Interposition of human Authority, any further than to keep the peace. Upon the whole as far as any Church is governed by the Laws and Precepts of the new Testament it is certainly a Church of Christ; but when it sets up its own By-Laws as Terms of Communion, or works the Laws of the Civil Magistrate into its Constitution, it is so far a Creature of the State.

Mr. Hooker's two last Propositions are inconsistent with the first Principles of the Reformation, (viz.) that "All
" that are born within the Confines of the established
" Church, and are baptized into it, are bound to submit
" to its Ecclesiastical Laws under such Penalties as the

Queen
Elizabeth,
1594.

“ Church in her Wisdom shall direct.” Must I then be of the Religion of the Country where I am born? That is, at Rome a Papist; in Saxony a Lutheran; in Scotland a Presbyterian; and in England a Diocesan Prelatist; and this under such penalties as the Church in her Wisdom shall think fit? Must I believe as the Church believes, and submit to her Laws right or wrong? Have I no right as a Man and a Christian, to judge and act for myself, as long as I continue a dutiful and faithful Subject to my Prince? Surely religious Principles and Church Communion should be the effect of Examination and a deliberate Choice, or they lose their Name, and must degenerate into Hypocrisy or Atheism.

From general Principles Mr. Hooker proceeds to vindicate the particular Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and to clear them from the exceptions of the Puritans, which will easily be done when he has proved, that “ the Church has a Discretionary power to appoint what Ceremonies, and establish what Order she thinks fit;” he may then vindicate not only the Ceremonies of the Church of England, but all those of Rome, for no doubt that Church apprehends all their Ceremonies conducive to her Well-being, and not inconsistent with the Laws of Christ.

Death of
Aylmer, Bi-
shop of Lon-
don.

Fuller's
Worthies,
B. II. p. 238.

This year died Dr. John Aylmer, Bishop of London, whose Character has been sufficiently drawn in this History; he was born in Norfolk, educated in Cambridge, and in Queen Mary's Reign an Exile for Religion; he was such a little Man, that Fuller says, when the Searchers were clearing the Ship in which he made his escape, the Merchant put him into a great Wine Butt that had a partition in the middle, so that Mr. Aylmer sat enclosed in the hinder part, while the Searchers drank of the wine which they saw drawn out of the head of the other part; he was of an active, busy Spirit, quick in his Language, and after his advancement of a stout and distant behaviour: In his younger Days he was inclined to Puritanism, but when he was made a Bishop he became a resolute Champion of the Hierarchy, and a bitter persecutor of his former friends. In his latter Days he was very covetous, and a little too lax in his morals: He usually played at Bowls on Sundays in the Afternoons; and used such language at his game, as justly exposed his Character to reproach; but with all these blemishes, the writer of his life (Mr. Strype) will have him a learned, pious, and humble Bishop. He died at Fulham, June 3, 1594, the 74th year of his age.

Aylmer

Aylmer was succeeded by Dr. Fletcher Bishop of Worcester, who in his primary Visitation gave out twenty seven Articles of Enquiry to the Church Wardens concerning their Preachers; as, whether they prayed for the Queen as supreme Head over all Persons and Causes within her Dominions, Ecclesiastical and Temporal?—Whether they were learned—or frequented Conventicles—or taught Innovations—or commended the new Discipline—or spoke in Derogation of any part of the Common Prayer—or did not administer the Sacrament in their own Persons at certain times of the year? &c. By these, and such like Enquiries, the Prisons that had been lately cleared, were filled again; for by an account sent to the Queen from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners towards the close of this year, it appears that in the Marshalsea, Newgate, the Gate-House, Bridewel, the Fleet, the Compters, the White Lion, and the King's Bench, there were 89 Prisoners for Religion; some popish Recusants, and the rest Protestant Non-conformists; of whom 24 had been committed by the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the rest by the Council and the Bishops Courts. But his Lordship's proceedings were quickly interrupted, by his falling under her Majesty's Displeasure a few Months after his Translation, for marrying a second Wife, which the Queen looked upon as indecent in an elderly Clergyman; for this she banished him the Court, and commanded the Archbishop to suspend him from his Bishoprick; but after six Months, her Majesty being a little pacified, ordered his suspension to be taken off, but would never admit him into her presence, which had such an influence upon his great Spirit, as was thought to hasten the Death, which happen'd the next year, as he was sitting in his Chair smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco. The year following he was succeeded by Dr. Bancroft, the great adversary of the Puritans.

Queen Elizabeth, 1595.

He is succeeded by Bishop Fletcher.

Who persecutes the Puritans.

These violent proceedings of the Bishops drove great numbers of the Brownists into Holland, where their Leaders, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob, and others were gone before-hand, and with the leave of the States were erecting Churches after their own model at Amsterdam, Arnheim, Middleburgh, Leyden, and other places. The Church at Amsterdam had like to have been torn in pieces at first by intestine Divisions, but afterwards flourished under a succession of Pastors for above a hundred years. Mr. Robinson, Pastor of the Church at Leyden, first struck out the congregational

And drives them into Holland.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1595.

Controversy
about the
Sabbath.

or independent form of a Church Government, and a length part of this Church transplanting themselves into America laid the Foundation of the noble Colony of New England, as will be seen hereafter.

Hitherto the Controversy between the Church and Puritans had been chiefly about Habits and Ceremonies, and Church-Discipline, but now it began to open upon points of Doctrine; for this year Dr. Bound published his Treatise of the Sabbath, wherein he maintains the Morality of a seventh part of time for the Worship of God; that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's Day as much as the Jews on the Mosaical Sabbath, the Commandment of Rest being moral and perpetual: that therefore it was not lawful to follow our Studies or worldly Business on that Day; nor to use such Recreations and Pleasures as were lawful on other Days, as Shooting, Fencing, and Bowling, &c. This Book had a wonderful spread among the People, and wrought a mighty Reformation; so that the Lord's-Day, which used to be prophaned by Interludes, May-Games, Morrice Dances, and other Sports and Recreations, began to be kept more precisely, especially in Corporations.

Fuller, B.
i. A. p. 227.

All the Puritans fell in with this Doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred Time in publick, family, and private Acts of Devotion. But the governing Clergy exclaimed against it, as a Restraint of Christian Liberty; as putting an unequal Lustre on the Sunday, and tending to eclipse the Authority of the Church in appointing other Festivals. Mr. Rogers, Author of a Commentary on the 39 Articles, writes in his Preface, "That it was the comfort of his Soul, and would be to his dying Day, that he had been the Man, and the means that the Sabbatarian Errors were brought to the Light and Knowledge of the State." But I should have thought this Clergyman might have had as much comfort upon his Death-bed, if he had spent his Zeal in recommending the religious Observation of that sacred Day. Dr. Bound might carry his Doctrine too high if he advanced it to a Level with the Jewish Rigors; but it was certainly unworthy the Character of Divines to encourage Men in Shooting, Fencing, and other Diversions on the Lord's Day, which they are forward enough to give way to, without the Countenance and Example of their spiritual Guides. But Archbishop Whitgift called in all the Copies of Dr. Bound's Book by his Letters and Officers at Synods and Visitations, and forbid it to be reprinted; and the Lord Chief Justice

Dr. Bound's
Book sup-
pressed by
the Abp.
L. of Whit-
gift, p. 531.

Popham

Popham did the same; both of them declaring, that the Sabbath Doctrine agreed neither with the Doctrine of our Church, nor with the Laws and Orders of this Kingdom; that it disturbed the Peace of the Commonwealth and Church, and tended to Schism in the one, and Sedition in the other; but notwithstanding all this caution, the Book was read privately more than ever. "The more liberty
" People were offered (says Mr. Fuller) the less they used,
" refusing to take the Freedom Authority tender'd them,
" as being jealous of a design to blow up their Civil Liberties." The Archbishop's Head was no sooner laid, but Dr. Bound prepared his Book for the Press a second time, and published it with large additions, 1606, and such was its Reputation, that scarce any Comment, or Catechism was published by the stricter Divines for many years, in which the Morality of the Sabbath was not strongly recommended and urged: but this Controversy will return again in the next Reign.

Queen Elizabeth,
1591.

But prevails.

All the Protestant Divines in the Church, whether Puritans or others, seemed of one mind hitherto about the Doctrines of Faith, but now there arose a Party which were first for softning, and then for overthrowing the received Opinions about Predestination, Perseverance, Free-Will, Effectual Grace, and the Extent of our Saviour's Redemption. The Articles of the Church of England were thought by all Men hitherto to favour the Explication of Calvin; but these Divines would make them stand Neuter, and leave a Latitude for the Subscriber to take either Side of the Question. All the Puritans to a Man maintained the Articles of of the Church to be Calvinistical, and inconsistent with any other Interpretation, and so did far the greatest number of the conforming Clergy; but as the new Explications of Arminius grew into Repute, the Calvinists were reckoned old fashioned Divines, and at length branded with the Character of Doctrinal Puritans.

Predestinarian Controversy.

The Debate began in the University of Cambridge, where one Mr. Barret, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, in his Sermon Ad Clerum, declared himself against Calvin's Doctrine about Predestination and Falling from Grace; reflecting with some Sharpness upon that great Divine, and advising his hearers not to read him. For this he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, and obliged to retract in St. Mary's Church, according to a Form prescribed by his Superiors; which he read after a manner that shewed he did it only to save his

Mr. Barret's Case.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1595.

L. of Whit-
gift, P. 445.

Heyl. Hist.
Pre-b. p.
343.

Hickman's
Quinq. Hist.
against Hey-
lin, p. 210.

Place in the University. This was so offensive to the Scholars, that forty or fifty Graduates of the several Colleges sign'd a Petition, dated May 26, 1595, desiring some further Course might be taken with him, that the great names which he had reproached, as P. Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c. might receive some Reparation. Both Parties writ to the Archbishop, who blamed the University for their too hasty proceedings, and seem'd to take part with Barret; but the Heads of Colleges in a second Letter vindicated their proceedings, desiring his Grace not to encourage such a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young Fellow, and insist'd on the Rights and Prerogatives of the University. At length Mr. Barret was sent for to Lambeth, and having been examined before the Archbishop and some other Divines, they agreed that he had maintained some Errors, and enjoined him in a humble manner to confess his Ignorance and Mistake, and not to teach the like Doctrines for the future; but he chose rather to quit the University. This Barret was a conceited Youth, who did not treat his Superiors with Decency: in one of his Letters he calls the grave and learned Mr. Perkins, Homuncio quidam, a little contemptible Fellow: but at last he turned Papist. The Fire was no sooner kindled, but it was observed that Barret and his Friends were countenanced by the High-conformists and Roman Catholicks, and that his Adversaries took part with the Puritans, which was like to produce a new Division in the Church.

To put an end to these Disputes the Heads of the University sent Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal to Lambeth, to consult with the Archbishop and some other learned Divines upon these points; who at length, Nov. 20th, concluded upon the following nine Propositions, commonly called the Lambeth Articles, which the Scholars in the University were strictly enjoin'd to conform their Judgments unto, and not to vary from. The Articles were as follow;

Lambeth
Articles.

1. " That God from Eternity has predestinated some Persons to Life, and reprobated others to Death.

2. " The moving or efficient Cause of Predestination to Life is not foreseen Faith or good Works, or any other commendable Quality in the Persons predestinated, but the good Will and Pleasure of God.

3. " The

3. "The Number of the Predestinate is fixed, and cannot be lessened or increased.

4. "They who are not predestinated to Salvation shall be necessarily condemned for their Sins.

5. "A true, lively, and justifying Faith, and the sanctifying Influence of the Spirit, is not extinguished, nor does it fail, or go off either finally or totally.

6. "A justified Person has a full Assurance and Certainty of the Remission of his Sins, and of his everlasting Salvation by Christ.

7. "Saving Grace is not communicated to all Men; neither have all Men such a Measure of Divine Assistance, that they may be saved if they will.

8. "No Person can come to Christ unless it be given him, and unless the Father draws him; and all Men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to Christ.

9. "'Tis not in every ones Will and Power to be saved."

Queen Elizabeth,
1595.

These high Propositions were drawn up, and consented to by Archbishop Whitgift, Dr. Fletcher Bishop of London, Dr. Vaughan elect of Bangor, and some others; they were sent to Dr. Hutton Archbishop of York, and Dr. Young of Rochester, who subscribed them, only wishing that the Word [necessarily] in the fourth Article, and those Words in the seventh Article [If they will] might be omitted. the Archbishop, in his Letter which he sent to the University with the Articles, says they are to look upon them not as new Laws and Decrees, but only as an Explication of certain Points which they apprehend to be true, and "correspondent to the Doctrine professed in the Church of England, and already established by the Laws of the Land." But forasmuch as they had not the Queen's Sanction, he desires they may not become a publick Act, but used privately and with Discretion. He adds, that her Majesty was fully persuaded of the Truth of them; which is strange, when she commanded Sir Robert Cecil to signify to the Archbishop by Letter, "That she disliked much that any Allowance had been given by his Grace and his Brethren for any such Points to be disputed, being a Matter tender and dangerous to weak, ignorant Minds: and thereupon commanded him to suspend the urging them publickly, or suffering them to be debated in the Pulpit."

L. of Whitgift, p. 463.

Disliked by the Court.

The Queen's Design was to stifle the Controversy in its Birth; for if she was dissatisfied with the Archbishop's private

Dr. Baro's
Sufferings.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1595.

vate Determinations, she was downright angry with Dr. Baro a Frenchman, and one of the Divinity Professors at Cambridge, for continuing the Debate. She said, That being an Alien, and humanly harboured and enfranchised both himself and family, he ought to have carried himself more quietly and peaceably. His Case was this; In his Sermon before the University preached January 12th. he asserted, (1.) "That God created all Men according to his own Likeness in Adam, and consequently to eternal Life, from which he rejects no Man but on the account of his Sins. (2.) That Christ died for all Mankind, and was a Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World, original and actual; the Remedy provided by him being as extensive as the Ruins of the Fall. (3.) That the Promises of eternal Life made to us in Christ are to be generally and universally taken and understood, being made as much to Judas as to Peter." For these Propositions he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, who examined him by several Interrogatories, and commanded him peremptorily to abstain from those Controversies in his Lectures and Sermons for the future.

They acquainted Secretary Cecil by Letter with their Proceedings, in which they call his Doctrines Popish, and say, that for 14 or 15 Years he has taught in his Lectures, and preached in his Sermons, divers Points of Doctrine contrary to those which have been taught and read ever since her Majesty's Reign, and agreeable to the Errors of Popery, by which means they fear the whole Body of that Religion will break in upon them; they therefore pray his Lordship's Assistance for suppressing them. Camb. March 8th. 1595.
Signed by

Roger Goad, Procan.
R. Some,
Tho. Legge,
John Jegon,
Tho. Nevyle,

Tho. Preston,
Hump. Tindal,
James Montague,
Edm. Barrel,
Lawr. Chadderton.

Strype's
Ann. Vol.
iii. p. 230.

On the other hand Baro writ to the Archbishop to keep him in his Place, promising Obedience to his Grace's Commands, and to keep the Peace of the University by dropping the Controversy in silence. He also writ to Secretary Cecil to put a stop to the Proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor, which he, together with the Archbishop accomplished; but the University not being satisfied with him, he was obliged next Year to quit his Professorship and retire to London, where

where he died two or three years after, having been Lady Margaret's Professor at Cambridge about 25 Years. He left a large Posterity behind him, and was buried in St. Olave's Hart street, his Pall being supported by six Doctors of Divinity, by order from the Bishop of London. The Chancellor in his Letter to the University was very angry, because they sifted Baro with Interrogatories, "as if (says he) " he was a Thief: This seems done of Stomach among you." How sad then was the Case of the Puritans!

Queen Elizabeth, 1595.

L. of Whitgift, p. 473.

The Divines of Oxford, and indeed all the first Reformers, were in the same Sentiments with those of Cambridge about the disputed Points; Calvin's Institutions being read publicly in the Schools by appointment of the Convocation, though perhaps they might not go the full length of the Lambeth Articles, nor express themselves with the exactness of those who lived afterwards, when those Doctrines were publicly opposed by Arminius and his Followers.

Sentiments of the Ch. on this head.

The Article of our Saviour's local Descent into Hell began to be questioned at this Time. It had been the received Doctrine of the Church of England, That the Soul of Christ being separated from his Body descended locally into Hell, that he might there triumph over Satan, as before he had over Death and Sin. But the learned Mr. Hugh Broughton, the Rabbi of his Age, whom King James would have courted into Scotland, convinced the World that the Word Hades, used by the Greek Fathers for the Place into which Christ went after his Crucifixion, did not mean Hell, or the Place of the Damned, but only the State of the Dead, or the invisible World. It was further debated, Whether Christ underwent in his Soul the Wrath of God, and the Pains of Hell, and finished all his Sufferings upon the Cross before he died. This was Calvin's Sentiment, and with him agreed all the Puritan Divines, who preached it in their Sermons, and inserted it in their Catechisms. On the other hand, Bishop Bilson in his Sermons at Paul's Cross maintained, "That no Text of Scripture asserted the Death " of Christ's Soul, or the Pains of the Damned to be requisite in the Person of Christ before he could be our " Ransomer, and the Saviour of the World." But still he maintained the local Descent of Christ into Hell, or the Territory of the Damned; and that by the Course of the Creed the Article must refer not to Christ living upon the Cross, but to Christ dead; and that he went thither not to suffer, but to wrest the Keys of Hell and Death out of the Hands of the Devil. When these Sermons were

1596. Controversy of Christ's Descent into Hell. Heyl. Hist. Presb. p. 349.

L. of Whitgift, p. 482.

Heyl. Hist. Presb. p. 350.

printed

Queen
Elizabeth,
1596.

printed they were presently answered by Mr. Henry Jacob, a learned Brownist. Billson, by the Queen's Command, defended his Sermons, in a Treatise entitled, "A Survey of Christ's Sufferings," which did not appear in the World till 1605. The Controversy was warmly debated in both Universities; but when the learned Combatants had spent their Artillery it dropt in silence, without any determination from Authority, though it was one of the Articles, usually objected to the Puritans, for which they were suspended their Ministry.

1597.
Mr. Darrel's
Sufferings
for pretend-
ing to cast
out unclean
Spirits.

Among other Reproaches cast upon their Clergy, one was, that they deluded the People by claiming a Power to exorcise the Devil. "Some of their Ministers [says Mr. Strype) pretended to cast out Devils, that so the amazed Multitude having a great Veneration for those Exorcizers of Devils, by the Power of their Prayers and Fastings, might the more readily and awfully submit to their Opinions and Ways; a Practice borrowed from the then Papists to make their Priests rever'd, and to confirm the Laity in their Superstitions." One would think here was a Plot of some cunning, designing Men, to conjure the People into the Belief of the Discipline; but all vanishes in the peculiar Principles of a weak and (as Mr. Strype confesses) honest Man whose Name was Darrel, a B. A. and Minister of Nottingham. This Divine was of Opinion, that "By the Power of Prayer the Devil might be cast out of Persons possessed;" and having tried the Experiment upon one Darlin of Burton, a Boy of about 14 Years old with Success, and upon some others, he was importuned by one of the Ministers, and several Inhabitants of the Town of Nottingham to visit one William Somers, a Boy that had such convulsive Agonies, as were thought to be preternatural, insomuch that when Mr. Darrel had seen them, he concluded with the rest of the Spectators that he was possessed, and advised his Friends to desire the Help of godly and learned Ministers to endeavour his Recovery, but excused himself from being concerned, lest if the Devil should be dispossessed the common People should attribute to him some special Gift of casting out Devils; but upon a second Request from the Mayor of Nottingham, he agreed with Mr. Aldridge and two other Ministers, with about 150 neighbouring Christians, to set apart a Day for Fasting and Prayer, to entreat the Lord to cast out Satan, and deliver the young Man from his Torments; and after some Time

L. of Whit-
gift. p. 492,
495.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1597.

time the Lord was entreated, and they blessed God for the same; this was November 1597. A few days after, the Mayor and some of the Aldermen began to suspect that Somers was a cheat, and to make him confess, they took him from his Parents and committed him to the custody of two men, who with threatenings prevailed with him to acknowledge, that he had dissembled and counterfeited all he did. Upon this he was carried before the Commission where at first he owned himself a counterfeit, and then presently denied it again; but being thoroughly frightened he fell into Fits before the Commissioners, which put an end to his Examination for the present. After some time, being still in custody, he returned to his confessing, and charged Mr. Darrel with training him up in the art for four year. Upon this Mr. Darrel was summoned before the Commissioners, and brought witnessses with him to prove, that Somers had declared in a very solemn manner that he had not dissembled; upon which he was dismissed, and the Commission dissolved; but the affair making a great noise in the Country, Mr. Darrel was sent for to Lambeth, and after a long hearing before the Archbishop, and others of the High Commission, he was deposed from his Ministry, and committed close prisoner to the Gate-House, for being accessary to a vile Imposture, where he continued many years.

While Mr. Darrel was in the prison he writ an Apology, to shew "that People in these latter days may be possessed
"with Devils; and that by Prayer and Fasting the unclean
"Spirit may be cast out." In the end of which he makes this Protestation; "If what I am accused of be true, (viz.)
"That I have have been accessary to a vile Imposture, with
"a design to impose on mankind) let me be registred to my
"perpetual infamy, not only for a notorious Deceiver,
"but such an Hypocrite as never trod on the Earth before;
"yea, Lord! for to thee I convert my Speech, who know-
"est all things, if I have confederated more or less with So-
"mers, Darling, or any of the rest; if ever I set Eye on
"them before they were possessed, then let me not only be
"made a Laughing-stock, and a By-word to all men, but
"rase my name also out of the Book of Life, and let me
"have my portion with Hypocrites."

His solemn
protestation

It has been observed, that the Bishops had now wisely transferred the Prosecution of the Puritans from themselves to the temporal Courts, so that instead of being summoned before the High Commission, they were indicted at the Assizes, and

Puritans
turned over
to the As-
sises.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1597.

Judge An-
derson's
Fury.
Strype's
Ann.
Vol. ult.
p. 264.

and tried at common Law ; this being thought more adviseable, to take off the odium from the Church. Judge Anderson discovered his zeal against them this Summer in an extraordinary manner, for in his Charge to the Jury at Lincoln he told them, That the Country was infested with Brownists, with Disciplinarians and Erectors of Presbyteries ; which he spoke with so much wrath, with so many oaths, and such reviling Language, as scandalized the Gentlemen upon the Bench. He called the Preachers Knaves, saying, that they would start up into the Pulpit and speak against every Body. He was for extending the Statute of Recusancy to them that went at any time to hear Sermons from their own Parish Churches, though they usually attended in their places, and heard Divine Service dutifully. When Lord Clinton and the Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of those Parts, obtained the Bishop's allowance for a day of Fasting and Prayer at Lowth, upon an extraordinary occasion, his Lordship urged the Jury to find a bill against them, upon the Statute of Conventicles.

Mr. Allen's
case.

Mr. Allen, Minister of that Parish, being indicted by means of a revengeful Justice of Peace, for not reading all the Prayers at once (he using sometimes to omit part of them for the Sermon) was obliged to hold up his hand at the bar, when Judge Anderson standing up, spoke to him with a fierce countenance ; and having insinuated some grievous faults against the man (though he named none) called him oftentimes " Knave, rebellious Knave," with more such reproachful Language, though it was known all over the Country that Mr. Allen was a good Preacher ; that he had subscribed ; was well liked by the Bishop ; was conformable in his affections ; and behaved upon this occasion with all humility and submission. But his Lordship had said in his charge, that he would hunt all the Puritans out of his Circuit. One thing was remarkable in Mr. Allen's arraignment, that when upon some point wherein Judgment in Divinity was required, Mr. Allen referred himself to the Bishop his Ordinary then sitting upon the Bench, the Judge took him up with marvellous indignation, and said, " He was both his Ordinary and Bishop in that place."

Remarks.

Thus the Puritan Clergy were put upon a Level with Rogues and Felons, and made to hold up their Hands at the Bar among the vilest Criminals ; there was hardly an Assizes in any County in England, but one or more Ministers through the Resentments of some of their Parishioners, appeared in this character, to the disgrace of their Order,

Order, and the loss of their Reputation and Usefulness ; besides being exposed to the insults of the rude Multitude. “ But I would to God (says my Author) that they which judge in religious causes, though in the name of civil Affairs, wuld either get some more knowledge in Religion and God’s Word than my Lord Anderson hath, or call in the assistance of those that have.”

Queen Elizabeth, 1597.

Strype’s Ann. Vol. ult. p. 267.

Archbishop Whitgift was busy this Summer about Elections for the ensuing Parliament, which was to meet Octob. 24th. Mr. Strype says, his Grace took what care he could to prevent such as were disaffected to the Constitution of the Church, that is, all Puritans, from coming into the House ; but some thought it a little out of Character for an Archbishop to appear publicly in the choice of the peoples Representatives. The House being thus modelled did not meddle with the Foundations of Discipline, or “ Form of publick Worship ;” but several Bills were brought in to regulate abuses in Spiritual Courts, as against Licences to marry without Banes ; against excessive Fees, frivolous Citations Ex Officio, and Excommunications for little matters, as two pence or three Pence. But these, and all other Bills of this Nature, were according to Custom, quashed by a Message from the Queen, forbidding them to touch her Prerogative ; and assuring them, that she would take the aforesaid Grievances into her princely consideration. Accordingly her Majesty referred these matters to the Convocation ; it being her steady maxim, not to proceed in Affairs of the Church by Statutes, which none but the Parliament could repeal, but rather by Canons, which she could confirm or dispense with at her pleasure. The Convocation drew up some regulations upon these, and some other heads, relating to Ecclesiastical Courts, which the Queen confirmed by Letters Patents, Jan. 18th, in the 43th year of her Reign. They were printed the same year by her authority, and may be seen in Bishop Sparrow’s Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c.

Proceedings of Parliament.

L. of Whitgift p. 508.

And Convocation.

But still the Ecclesiastical Courts were an insufferable Grievance ; the oppressions that the People underwent from the bottomless deep of the Canon Law put them upon removing their Causes into Westminster Hall, by getting Prohibitions to stop Proceedings in the Bishops Courts, or in the High Commission. This awakened the Archbishop, who in order to support the Civilians, drew up certain Queries to be considered by the Lords and Judges

1598. Prohibitions granted.

of

Queen
Elizabeth,
1598.

The Abp.
complains
of them.

Life of
Whitgift.
P. 537.

But in vain.

A cessation
of contro-
versy be-
tween the
Church and
Puritans.

of the Land touching Prohibitions ; of which this was the principal, “ that seeing Ecclesiastical Authority is as “ truly vested in the Crown as Temporal, Whether the “ Queen’s Temporal Authority should any more restrain “ her Ecclesiastical, than her Ecclesiastical should her “ Temporal ? And seeing so many, and so great Per- “ nages with some others, are trusted to do her Majesty “ Service in her Ecclesiastical Commission, Whether it be “ convenient, that an Offender ready to be censured, “ should obtain, and publickly throw into Court a Prohi- “ bition, to the delay of Justice, and to the Disgrace “ and Disparagement of those who served freely, without “ all Fee therein ? ” The Archbishop caused a List to be made of divers Cases, wherein the Christian Court, as he called it, had been interrupted by the Temporal Jurisdicti- on ; and of many Causes that had been taken out of the Hands of the Bishops Courts, the High Commission, and the Court of Delegates ; the former authorized by imme- diate Commission from the Queen, and the latter by a spe- cial Commission upon an Appeal to her Court of Chance- ry. But notwithstanding all these Efforts of Whitgift and his Successor Bancroft, the number of Prohibitions encreased every year ; the Nobility, Gentry, and Judges, being too wise to subject their Estates and Liberties to a Number of artful Civilians, versed in a Codex or Body of Laws, of most uncertain Authority, and Strangers to the Statute Laws of the Realm, without the Liberty of a Prohibiti- on ; when it was notorious, “ that the Canon Law had “ been always since the Reformation controuled by the “ Laws and Statutes of the Realm.” Thus the Civilians sunk in their Business under the two next Archbishops, till Laud governed the Church, who terrified the Judges from granting Prohibitions ; then the Spiritual Courts, Star- Chamber, Council Table and High Commissioners rid tri- umphant, fining, imprisoning, and banishing men at their pleasure, till they became as terrible as the Spanish Inquisi- tion, and brought upon the Nation all the Confusions of a Civil War.

From this time to the Queen’s Death there was a kind of Cessation of Arms between the Church and Puritans ; the Combatants were out of Breath, or willing to wait for better times. Some apprehended that the Puritans were vanquished, and their Numbers lessened by the severe Execution of the penal Laws ; whereas it will appear by a Survey in the Beginning of the next Reign, that the Non-

Non-conforming Clergy were above 1500. But the true reason was this, the Queen was advanced in years, and could not live long in a Course of Nature, and the next Heir to the Crown being a Puritan, the Bishops were cautious of acting against a party for whom his Majesty had declared, not knowing what revenge he might take when he was fixed on the Throne, and the Puritans were quiet, in hopes of great matters to be done for them upon the expected change.

Queen Elizabeth, 1601.

Notwithstanding all former repulses from Court, the Queen's last Parliament, which sat in the year 1601, renewed their attacks upon the Ecclesiastical Courts; a Bill was brought in to examine into Bishops Leases, and to disable them from taking Fines. Another against Pluralities and Non-Residents; and another against Commissaries and Archdeacons Courts; multitudes of complaints came to the House against the Proceedings of the Ordinaries Ex mero Officio, without due Presentments preceding, and against the frequent keeping their Courts, so that the Church-Wardens were sometimes cited to two or three Spiritual Courts at once; complaint was made of their charging the country with quarterly Bills; of the great number of Apparitors, and Petty Sumners, who seized upon people for trifling offences; of the admission of Curates by Officials and Commissaries, without the Bishop's Knowledge, and without Testimonials of their Conversation; of scandalous Commutations of Penance, and divers abuses of the like kind; but the Queen would not suffer the House to debate them, but referr'd them to the Archbishop, who writ to his brethren the Bishops, to endeavour as much as possible to reform the above-mentioned Grievances, which (says he) have produced multitudes of complaints in Parliament; and had they not been prevented with good circumspection, and promise of careful Reformation, there might, perhaps, have ensued the taking away of the whole, or most of the Courts. "So prudently diligent was the Archbishop (says Mr. Strype) to keep up the Jurisdiction of the Bishops Courts, and the wealthy Estate of the Clergy, by preserving Non-Residencies to them."

Proceedings of Parliament against the Sp. Courts. L. of Whitgift, p. 547.

Queen protects them. L. of Whitgift, p. 547, 549.

There was another Bill brought into the House, to punish voluntary Absence from Church; the forfeiture was to be Twelve Pence each Sunday, to be levied by Distress, by a Warrant from a Justice of Peace; but the Bill was opposed, because there was a severe Law already against Recusants, of twenty Pounds per Month; and because, if

Bill to punish voluntary absence from Church.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1601

Collier's
Eccl. Hist.
p. 667.

this Bill should pass, a Justice of Peace's House would like a Quarter Sessions be crowded with a multitude of informers: It was likewise against Magna Charta, which admits of a Trial per pares, whereas by this Act, two witnesses before a Justice of Peace were sufficient. The Bill however was engrossed, and being put to the question, the No's carried it by a single voice; upon which the Yea's said the Speaker was with them, which made the number even. The Question was then put whether the Speaker had a voice, which being carried in the negative the Bill miscarried.

Proceedings
of Convoca-
tion.

The Convocation did nothing but give the Queen four Subsidies to be collected in four years, and receive an exhortation from the Archbishop to observe the Canons past in the last Convocation. They met October 18th, and were dissolved with the Parliament, December 19th following.

1602.
Death of
Mr. Perkins.

This year died the reverend and learned Mr. William Perkins, born at Marston in Warwickshire in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was Fellow: He was one of the most famous practical Writers and Preachers of his Age; and being a strict Calvinist, he published several Treatises in favour of those Doctrines, which involved him in a Controversy with Arminius then Professor of Divinity at Leyden, that continued to his death. He was a Puritan Non-Conformist, and a favourer of the Discipline, for which he was once or twice before the High Commission; but his peaceable behaviour, and great fame in the learned world, procured him a dispensation from the persecutions of his Brethren. Mr. Perkins was a little man, and writ with his left hand, being lame of his right. His Works, which were printed in 3 Vols. Fol. shew him to have been a most pious, holy, and industrious Divine, considering he lived but 44 Years.

Summary
of the Con-
troversy
with the Pu-
ritans in this
Reign.

To sum up the state of Religion throughout this long Reign; 'tis evident that the Parliament, the People, and great numbers of the inferior Clergy, were for carrying the Reformation further than the present Establishment. The first Bishops came into it with this view; they declared against the Popish Habits and Ceremonies, and promised to use all their interest with the Queen for their removal; but how soon they forgot themselves, when they were warm in their Chairs, the foregoing history has discovered. Most of the first Reformers were of Erastian principles, looking upon

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.

upon the Church as a meer Creature of the State : They gave up every thing to the Crown, and yielded to the Magistrate the absolute direction of the consciences, or at least of the profession of all his subjects. They acknowledged but two Orders of Divine Institution, viz. Bishops or Priests, and Deacons. They admitted the Ordinations of foreign Churches by meer Presbyters, 'till towards the middle of this Reign, when their Validity began to be disputed and denied. Whitgift was the first that defended the Hierarchy, from the practice of the third, fourth, and fifth Centuries when the Roman Empire became Christian; but Bancroft divided off the Bishops from the Priesthood, and advanced them into a superior Order by Divine Right, with the sole power of Ordination, and the Keys of Discipline; so that from his time there were reckon'd three Orders of Clergy in the English Hierarchy (viz.) Bishops, Priests and Deacons. Thus the Church improved in her claims, and removed by degrees to a greater distance from the foreign Protestants.

The Controversy with the Puritans had but a small beginning (viz.) " The imposing of the popish Habits and a few indifferent Ceremonies;" but it open'd by degrees into a Reformation of Discipline, which all confessed was wanting; and at last the very Doctrines of Faith were debated. The Queen and the later Bishops would not part with a Pin out of the Hierarchy, nor leave a latitude in the most trifling Ceremonies, but insisted upon an exact uniformity both in Doctrine and Ceremonies, that all might unite in the publick Standard. The Puritans in their Writings and Conferences attempted to shew the defects of the Establishment from Scripture, and from the earliest Ages of the Church; and what they suffered for it has been in part related; the Suspensions and Deprivations of this long Reign amounting to several thousands; but when it appeared that nothing would be abated, and that penal Laws were multiplied and rigorously executed, they endeavoured to erect a sort of voluntary Discipline within the Church, for the ease and satisfaction of their own Consciences, being unwilling to separate; but at length the violence of persecution drove some of them into the extremes of Brownism, which divided the Puritans, and gave rise to a new Controversy, concerning the " Necessity of a Separation from the Established Church," of which we shall hear more hereafter: but under all their hardships their Loyalty to the Queen was untainted, and their behaviour was peaceable; they addressed

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.



Principles of
the Puritans.

the Queen and Parliament, and Bishops for relief, at sundry times ; and remonstrated against the arbitrary proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, but made use of no other weapons but prayers and tears, attended with Scripture and argument.

The chief principles of the Puritans have been already related : They were no enemies to the name or function of a Bishop, provided he was no more than a *πρεσβυτης*, or stated President of the College of Presbyters in his Diocese, and managed the affairs of it with their direction and assistance. They did not object against prescribed Forms of Prayer, provided a latitude was indulged the Minister to alter or vary some expressions ; and to make use of a prayer of his own conception before and after Sermon : Nor had they an aversion to such decent and distinct Habits for the Clergy as were not derived from Popery. But upon the whole, they were the most resolved Protestants in the nation, zealous Calvinists, warm and affectionate preachers, and determined enemies to Popery, and to every thing that had a tendency that way.

Their Cha-
racter.

'Tis not to be imagined, that the Puritans were without their failings ; no, they were Men of like passions and infirmities with their neighbours ; while they endeavoured to avoid one extreme they might fall into another ; their zeal for their Platform of Discipline, would, I fear, have betrayed them into the imposition of it upon others, if it had been established by Law. Their notions of the civil and religious rights of mankind were dark and confused, and derived too much from the Theocracy of the Jews, which was now at an end. Their behaviour was severe and rigid, far removed from the fashionable customs and vices of the age, and possibly they might be too censorious, in not making those allowances between youth and age, grandeur and meer decency, as the nature of things would admit ; but with all their faults, they were the most pious devout people in the land ; Men of Prayer, both in secret and publick, as well as in their families ; their Manner of Devotion was fervent and solemn, depending on the assistance of the Divine Spirit, not only to teach them how to pray, but what to pray for as they ought. They had a profound reverence for the Holy Name of God, and were great enemies not only to prophane swearing, but to foolish talking and jesting, which are not convenient ; they were strict observers of the Christian Sabbath, or Lord's Day, spending the whole of it in acts of publick and private devotion and charity. It was the distinguishing

Mark

mark of a Puritan in these Times, to see him going to Church twice a Day with his Bible under his Arm; while others were at Plays and Interludes, or at Revels, or walking in the Fields, or at the Diversions of Bowling, Fencing, &c. on the Evening of the Sabbath, these with their Families were employed in reading the Scriptures, singing Psalms, catechising the Children, repeating Sermons, and Prayer: nor was this only the Work of the Lord's Day, but they had their Hours of Family Devotion on the Week Days, esteeming it their Duty to take care of the Souls as well as Bodies of their Servants. They were circumspect as to all the excesses of Eating, Drinking, Apparel, and lawful Diversions, being frugal in House-keeping, industrious in their particular Callings, honest and exact in their Dealings, and solicitous to give to every one his own. These were the People that were branded with the Name of Precisians, Puritans, Schismatics, Enemies to God and their Country, and throughout the Course of this Reign underwent cruel Mockings, Bonds and Imprisonment.

Queen Elizabeth, 1602.

Sir Francis Walsingham has given a Summary Account of the Queen's Policy towards them, in a Letter to Monsieur Cretoy, which I shall transcribe in his own Words.

Queen's Conduct towards them.

" ——— I find, says Sir Francis, that the Queen's proceedings both against Papists and Puritans are grounded upon these two Principles.

Burnet's Hist. Ref. Vol. III.

" The one, that Consciences are not to be forced but to be won, and reduced by force of Truth, with the Aid of Time and Use of all good Means of Instruction and Persuasion.

419.

" The other, that causes of Conscience when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of Faction, lose their Nature; and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Practices and Contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conscience and Religion.

" According to these principles her Majesty behaved towards the Papists with great Mildness, not liking to make a Window into their Hearts, except the abundance of them overflowed into Overt Acts of Disobedience, in impugning her Supremacy. When the Pope excommunicated her she only defended herself against his Bulls; but when she was threaten'd with an Invasion, and the Papists were altered, from being Papists in Conscience to being Papists in Faction, she was then obli-

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.

“ged to provide feverer Laws for the Security of her
“People.—

“For the other Party, which call themselves Reformers,
“and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been the pro-
“ceeding towards them: a great while, when they inveighed
“against such abuses in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-
“Residence, and the like, their Zeal was not condemned,
“only their violence was sometimes censured. When
“they refused the Use of some Ceremonies and Rites as
“superstitious, they were tolerated with much Connivance
“and Gentleness; yea, when they called in question the
“Superiority of Bishops, and pretended to a Democracy
“in the Church, their propositions were considered, and
“by contrary Writings debated and discussed; yet all this
“while it was perceived that their course was dangerous
“and very popular; as because Papistry was odious, there-
“fore it was ever in their Mouths, that they sought to
“purge the Church from the Reliques of Papistry, a
“thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run
“from one Extreme to another.

“Because multitudes of Rogues and Poverty was an
“Eye-sore, and a Dislike to every Man, therefore they
“put into People’s heads, that if Discipline were planted
“there would be no Vagabonds, no Beggars, a thing very
“plausible; and in like manner they promised the People
“many of the impossible Wonders of their Discipline;
“besides, they opened to the People a way to Government
“by their Consistories and Presbyteries, a thing tho’ in
“consequence no less prejudicial to the Liberties of pri-
“vate Men than to the Sovereignty of Princes, yet in first
“shew very popular; nevertheless this, except it were in
“some few that enter’d into extreme contempt, was born
“with, because they pretended in dutiful manner to make
“Propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God
“and the authority of the Magistrate.

“But now of late years, when there issued from them,
“that affirmed the Consent of the Magistrate was not to
“be attended; when under pretence of a Confession to
“avoid Slander and Imputations, they combined them-
“selves by Classes and Subscriptions; when they de-
“scended into that vile and base means of defacing of the
“Church by ridiculous Pasquils; when they began to
“make many Subjects in doubt to take oaths, which is
“one of the fundamental parts of Justice in this Land,
“and in all Places; when they began both to vaunt of
“their

“ their Strength and number of their Partizans and Follow-
 “ ers, and to use Comminations, that their cause would
 “ prevail through uproar and violence, then it appeared to
 “ be no more zeal, no more conscience, but meer Faction
 “ and Division ; and therefore though the State were com-
 “ pelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them
 “ than before, yet was it with as great moderation as the
 “ peace of the State or Church could permit. Thus
 “ her Majesty has always observed the two Rules before-
 “ mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Consciences, and yet
 “ in discovering Faction from Conscience, and Softness
 “ from Singularity.”

Queen
 Elizabeth,
 1602.

The false colourings of this Letter are easily discovered : Remarks.
 it admits that the “ Consciences of Men ought not to be
 “ forced but when they grow into Faction ;” that is, to
 an inconsistency with the peace and safety of the civil Go-
 vernment ; but was there any thing like this in the Petiti-
 ons, Addresses, and submissive Behaviour of the Puritans ?
 But they did “ not attend the consent of the Magistrate.”
 Let the Reader judge by the foregoing History, whether
 they did not attend and apply for it several years ; and
 if after all, “ the consent of the Magistrate ” must be ex-
 pected before we follow the Dictates of our Consciences,
 ’tis easy to see there would have been no Reformation in the
 Protestant World. But the Queen’s worst Maxim was,
 “ That while she pretended not to force the Consciences of
 “ her Subjects, she obliged them under the severest Penal-
 “ ties to come to Church, and make an outward Profession
 “ of that Way of Worship which they inwardly disallow-
 “ ed.” This was to establish Hypocrisy by a Law, and to
 force Men to deal falsely with God, and their own Consci-
 ences, in matters of the most solemn importance.

Practical Religion was all this Reign at a very low ebb ;
 the greatest part of the Clergy being barely capable of read-
 ing Prayers and a Homily. In the remoter Countries and
 Villages the People were either Papists, or no better than
 Heathens. “ If any among the Clergy or Laity were re-
 “ markably pious, strict observers of the Sabbath, and de-
 “ clared Enemies of prophaneness, and popery (says Mr.
 “ Osburn) they were either real Puritans, or branded with
 “ that invidious Name ; and great Numbers of the inferi-
 “ or Clergy and People in Cities and Corporations, were of
 “ this Number :” The conforming Clergy lost Ground ;
 and the order of Bishops, by spending their Zeal more
 about the external Forms of Worship than in painful

Of Practi-
 cal Religi-
 on.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.

preaching and propagating practical Religion, grew into contempt; popery got ground in the Countries, by the diligence of the Missionaries, and by the Ignorance and Laziness of the established Clergy; and Puritanism prevailed in Cities and Corporations: so that, as Archbishop Parker observed, the Queen was the only Friend of the Church; and supported it by a vigorous Execution of the penal Laws, and by resolving to admit of no motion for Reformation, but what should arise from herself.

The
Queen's
Death and
Character.

Thus things continued to the Queen's Death: Her Majesty was grown old and infirm, and under a visible decay of natural Spirits, some say for the loss of the Earl of Essex, whom she had lately beheaded; but others, from a just indignation to see herself neglected by some who were too ready to worship the rising Sun. This threw her into a melancholy, attended with a Drowsiness and Heaviness in all her Limbs; which was followed with a loss of Appetite, and all the Marks of an approaching dissolution: upon this she retired to Richmond; and having caused her Inauguration Ring, which was grown into the Flesh, and became painful, to be filed off, she languished till the 24th of March, and then died, in the 70th year of her Age, and 45th of her Reign. Queen Elizabeth was a great and successful Princess at home, and the support of the Protestant interest abroad while it was in its Infancy; for without her Assistance, neither the Hugonots in France, nor the Dutch Reformers could have stood their Ground: She assisted the Protestants of Scotland against their popish Queen, and the Princes of Germany against the Emperor; though at the same time she demanded an absolute Submission from her own Subjects; and would not tolerate that Religion at home which she countenanced and supported abroad. As to her own Religion, she affected a middle way, between Popery and Puritanism, though her Majesty was more inclinable to the former: she disliked the secular Pretensions of the Court of Rome over foreign States, but was in love with the Pomp and Splendor of their Worship: on the other hand she approved of the Doctrines of the foreign reformed Churches, but thought they had stripp'd Religion too much of its Ornaments, and made it look with an unfriendly Aspect upon the Sovereign Power of Princes. She understood not the Rights of Conscience in matters of Religion; and is therefore justly chargeable with persecuting Principles. More sanguinary Laws were made in her Reign than in any of her Predecessors: Her Hands were stained with

with the Blood of Papists and Puritans; the former were executed for denying her Supremacy, and the latter for Sedition or Non-Conformity. Her greatest admirers blame her for plundering the Church of its Revenues, and for keeping several Sees vacant many years together for the sake of their profits; as the Bishopricks of Ely, Oxford, and others; which last was without a Bishop for twenty two years. The Queen was devout at Prayers, but seldom or never heard Sermons except in Lent; and would often say, That two or three Preachers in a County were sufficient. She had high notions of the sovereign power of Princes, and of her own absolute Supremacy in Church affairs: And being of Opinion that all Methods of Severity were lawful to bring her Subjects to an outward Uniformity, she countenanced all the Engines of Persecution, as Spiritual Courts, High Commission, and Star-Chamber, and stretched her prerogative to support them beyond the Laws, and against the Sense of the Nation. But with all these Blemishes Queen Elizabeth stands upon Record as a wise and politick Princess, for delivering the Kingdom from the difficulties in which it was involved at her Accession; for preserving the Protestant Reformation against the potent Attempts of the Pope, the Emperor, and King of Spain abroad, and the Queen of Scots and her popish Subjects at home; and for advancing the Renown of the English Nation beyond any of her Predecessors. Her Majesty held the Ballance of Europe, and was in high Esteem with all foreign Princes, the greatest part of her Reign; and tho' her Protestant Subjects were divided about Church Affairs, they all discover'd a high veneration for her Royal Person and Government; on which Accounts she was the Glory of the Age in which she lived, and will be the Admiration of Posterity.

Queen
Elizabeth,
1602.

Fuller's
Worthies,
B. II. p. 313.



APPENDIX.

N^o. I.

A Copy of the LETTER sent to the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and profess the Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity.

The superintendent Ministers, and Commissioners of Charges within the Realm of Scotland: To their Brethren the Bishops and Pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in Sincerity, desire the perpetual Increase of the Holy Spirit.

BY Word and and Writ, it is come to our Knowledge (Reverend Pastors) that divers of our dearest Brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that Realm, are deprived from Ecclesiastical Function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you, that they are straight to promote the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their Consciencs will not suffer to take upon them (at the Commandment of the Authority) such Garments as Idolaters, in Time of Blindness have used in their Idolatry, which Brute cannot be but most dolorous to our
Hearts,

Hearts, mindful of that Sentence of the Apostle, saying, If ye bite and devour one another, take heed least ye be consumed one of another. We purpose not at this present to enter into the Ground of that Question which we hear of, either Part to be agitate with greater Vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that such Apparel is to be counted amongst Things that are simple indifferent or not; but in the Bowels of the Lord Jesus we crave that Christian Charity may so prevail in you, we say, the Pastors and Leaders of the Flock within that Realm.

That ye do not to others that which you would not others should do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of Man is. All that have knowledge are not alike perswaded, your consciences reclaim not at wearing of such garments, but many Thousands, both Godly and Learned, are otherwise perswaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these Sentences: What hath Christ Jesus to do with Belial? What Fellowship is there betwixt Darknes and Light? If Surpluce, Corner Cap, and Tippet, have been Badges of Idolaters in the very act of their Idolatry, what hath the Preachers of Christian Liberty, and the open Rebuker of all Superstition, to do with the dregs of the Romish Beast? Our Brethren that of conscience refuse that unprofitable Apparel, do neither damn yours, or molest you that use such vain trifles: If you shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the Heart of many which are wounded with extremity, which is used against those godly, and our beloved Brethren. Colour of Rhetorick, or manly Perswasion will we use none, but charitably we desire you to call that Sentence of pity to mind: Feed the Flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for them, not by constraint, but willingly, not as though ye were Lords over God's Heritage, but that ye may be examples to the Flock. And further also, we desire you to meditate that Sentence of the Apostle, saying, Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Grecians, nor to the Church of God. In what condition of time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Christ's Kingdom, we suppose you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumspectly, than that for such Vanities the godly should be troubled. For all things that may seem lawful, edify not. If the Commandment of Authority urge
the

the Conscience of yours and our Brethren, more than they can bear ; we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember that ye are called the Light of the World and the Earth.

All civil Authority hath not the Light of God always shining before their eyes in the Statutes and Commandments ; but their Affections oft-time favour too much of the Earth, and of worldly Wisdom.

And therefore we think that ye should boldly oppone yourselves to all Power, that will or dare extol itself, not only against God, but also against all such as do burthen the consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them by his own Word. But herein we confess our offence, in that we have enter'd farther in reasoning than we purposed and promised at the beginning : And therefore we shortly return to our former humble Supplication, which is, that our Brethren, who among you refuse the Romish Rags, may find of you, the Prelates, such Favours, as our Head and Master commands every one of his Members to shew one to another, which we look to receive of your Gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's Majesty, in troubling of your Brethren for such vain Trifles ; but also because ye will not refuse the humble Requests of us your Brethren, and Fellow Preachers of Christ Jesus, in whom, albeit, there appear no great worldly Pomp, yet we suppose you will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the Number of those that fight against the Roman Antichrist, and travel, that the Kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The Days are evil ; Iniquity abounds ; Christian Charity (alas) is waxen cold ; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch : For the Hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we your Brethren, and ye may give an account of our Administration.

And thus in Conclusion, we once again crave Favour to our Brethren, which granted, ye, in the Lord, shall command us in things of double more Importance. The Lord Jesus rule your Hearts in his true Fear to the End, and give unto you and unto us Victory over that conjured Enemy of all true Religion ; to wit, over the Roman Antichrist, whose wounded head Satan, by all means, labours to cure again, but to Destruction shall he, and his maintainers go, by the Power of the Lord Jesus : To whose mighty Power and Protection we heartily commit you.

Subscribed

Subscribed by the Hands of Superintendents, one part of Ministers, and scribed in our general Assemblies and fourth Session thereof. At Edinburgh, the 28th Day of December, 1566.

Your loving Brethren,
And Fellow Preachers
in Christ Jesus,

Jo. Craig,	Rob. Pont,
Da. Lyndefay,	Jo. Wiram,
Guil. Gislifomus,	Jaco. Mailvil,
Jo. Spottiswood,	Jo. Erskin,
Jo. Row,	Nic. Spital.

No. II.

A Directory of Church-Government, antiently contended for, and, as far as the times would suffer, practised by the first Non-conformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the study of the most accomplished Divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his Decease.

The Sacred Discipline of the Church; described in the Word of God.

THE Discipline of Christ's Church that is necessary for all times, is delivered by Christ, and set down in the Holy Scriptures; therefore the true and lawful Discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other foundation, ought to be esteemed unlawful and counterfeit.

Of all particular Churches, there is one and the same Right, Order and Form: Therefore also no one may challenge to itself any Power over others; nor any Right which doth not alike agree to others.

The Ministers of publick Charges, in every particular Church, ought to be called and appointed to their Charges by a lawful Ecclesiastical Calling, such as hereafter is set down.

All

All these for the divers Regard of their several Kinds are of equal Power amongst themselves.

No Man can be lawfully called to Publick Charge in any Church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common Gifts of all the godly; that is, with Faith, and a blameless Life: And further also, with those that are proper to that Ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon, for Trial of those Gifts, some convenient Way and Examination is to be used.

The Party to be called must first be elected; then he is to be ordained to that Charge whereunto he is chosen, by the Prayers of that Church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual Duties of him and of the Church being before laid open.

The Ministers of the Church are; first, they that are Ministers of the Word. In their Examination, it is specially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and try'd Men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the Faith.

Now these Ministers of the Word are, first, Pastors, which do administer the Word and Sacraments, then Teachers, which are occupied in wholsome Doctrine.

Besides, there are also Elders, which watch over the Life and Behaviour of every Man, and Deacons which have care over the Poor.

Further, in every particular Church there ought to be a Presbytery, which is a Consistory, and, as it were, a Senate of Elders. Under the Name of Elders here are contained, they who in the Church administer Doctrine, and they who are properly called Elders.

By the common Counsel of the Eldership, all Things are directed that belong to the State of their Church. First, such as belong to the Guidance of the whole Body of it in the holy and common Assembly, gathered together in the Name of the Lord, that all Things may be done in them duly, orderly, and to Edification. 2. Then also such as pertain to particular Persons. First, to all the Members of that Church, that the Good may enjoy all the Privileges that belong unto them, that the Wicked may be corrected with Ecclesiastical Censures, according to the quality of the Fault, private and publick, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lord's Supper by Suspension, (as it is commonly called) or out of the Church by Excommunication. The which belong specially to the Ministers

of publick Charge in the Church to their calling, either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving, or punishing them, and that for a Time by Suspension, or altogether by Deposition.

For directing of the Elderſhip, let the Paſtors be ſet over it ; or if there be more Paſtors than one in the ſame Church, let the Paſtors do it in their Turns.

But yet in all the greater Affairs of the Church, as in excommunicating of any, and in chuſing and depoſing of Church Miniſters, nothing may be concluded without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Church.

Particular Churches ought to yield mutual Help one to another ; for which Cauſe they are to communicate amongſt themſelves.

The End of this communicating together is, that all Things in them may be ſo directed, both in regard of Doctrin, and alſo of Diſcipline, as by the Word of God they ought to be.

Therefore the Things that belong hereunto are determined by the common Opinion of thoſe who meet ſo to communicate together ; and whatſoever is to be amended, furthered or procured, in any of thoſe ſeveral Churches that belong to that Aſſembly. Wherein, albeit no particular Church hath Power over another, yet every particular Church of the ſame Reſort, Meeting and Counſel, ought to obey the Opinion of more Churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of theſe Meetings and Aſſemblies, there are to be choſen by every Church belonging to that Aſſembly, principal Men from among the Elders, who are to have their Inſtructions from them, and ſo to be ſent to the Aſſembly. There muſt be alſo a Care had, that the Things they ſhall return to have been godly agreed on by the Meetings, be diligently obſerved by the Churches.

Further, in ſuch Aſſemblies there is alſo to be choſen one that may be ſet over the Aſſemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His Duty is to ſee that the Aſſemblies be held godly, quiet and comely : Therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the Conference with Prayer ; to know every Man's Inſtructions ; to propound in order the Things that are to be handled ; to gather their Opinions, and to propound what is the Opinion of the greater Part. It is alſo the Part of the reſt of the Aſſembly to ſpeak their Opinions of the Things propounded godly and quietly.

The

The Synodical Discipline gathered out of the Synods and Use of the Churches which have restored it according to the Word of God, and out of sundry Books that are written of the same, and referred unto certain Heads.

Of the Necessity of a Calling.

LET no Man thrust himself into the executing of any Part of publick Charge in the Administration of the Word, Sacraments, Discipline or Care over the Poor. Neither let any such sue or seek for any publick charge of the Church; but let every one tarry until he be lawfully called.

The Manner of entering and determining of a Calling, and against a Ministry of no certain Place; and the Desertion of a Church.

LET none be called but unto some certain Charge ordained of God, and to the exercising of the same in some particular Congregation: And he that is so called, let him be so bound to that-----Church, that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the consent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have first subscribed the Confession of Doctrine and Discipline: Whereof let them be admonished to have Copies with themselves.

In the Examination of Ministers, the Testimony of the Place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may be understood what Life and Conversation he hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any Heresy, or to the reading of any heretical Books, or to curious and strange Questions, and idle Speculations; or rather, whether he be accounted sound and consenting in all things to the Doctrine received in the Church. Whereunto if he agree, he is also to expound some part of the holy Scriptures twice or oftner, as it shall seem meet to the Examiners, and that before the Conference, and that Church which is interested. Let him also be demanded of the principal Heads of Divinity: And whether he will diligently execute and discharge his Ministry; and in the Execution thereof propound unto himself, not his own desires and commodities, but the glory of God and edification of the Church. Lastly, Whether he will be studious
and

and careful to maintain and preserve wholesome Doctrine, and ecclesiastical Discipline. Thus let the Minister be examined, not only by one Eldership, but also by some greater Meeting and Assembly.

Of Election.

BEfore the Election of a Minister, and the deliberation of the Conference concerning the same, let there be a day of fast kept in the Church interested.

Of the Place of exercising this Calling.

Albeit it be lawful for a Minister, upon just occasion, to preach in another Church than that whereof he is Minister; yet none may exercise any ordinary Ministry elsewhere, but for a certain time, upon great occasion, and by the consent of his Church and Conference.

Of the Office of the ministers of the word; and first of the Order of Liturgy, or Common-prayer.

LET the Minister that is to preach, name a Psalm, or a part of a Psalm (beginning with the first, and so proceeding) that may be sung by the Church, noting to them the end of their singing (to wit) the Glory of God and their own edification. After the Psalm let a short Admonition to the people follow, of preparing themselves to pray duly unto God: Then let there be made a Prayer containing a general Confession: First of the guilt of Sin, both original and actual; and of the punishment which is due by the Law for them both: Then also of the Promise of the Gospel, and in respect of it, supplication of Pardon for the said guilt and punishment, and petition of Grace promised, as for the duties of the whole Life, so especially for the godly; expounding and receiving of the Word. Let this petition be concluded with the Lord's Prayer. After the Sermon, let Prayer be made again; first, for Grace to profit by the Doctrine delivered, the principal heads thereof being remember'd; then for all Men, but chiefly for the universal Church, and for all estates and degrees of the People; which is likewise to be ended with the Lord's Prayer and the singing of a Psalm, as before. Last of all, let the Congregation be dismissed with some convenient form of Blessing taken out of the Scripture; such as is Numb. vi. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Of Preaching.

LET him that shall preach choose some part of the canonical Scripture to expound, and not of the Apocrypha. Further, in his ordinary Ministry, let him not take Postils (as they are called) but some whole Book of the holy Scripture, especially of the New Testament, to expound in order: In choice whereof regard is to be had both of the Minister's Ability, and of the Edification of the Church.

He that preacheth must perform two Things; the first, that his Speech be uncorrupt; which is to be considered both in regard of the Doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholesome and profitable to Edification; not devilish, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by consequent, that the same be fit and clear, and such as may rise upon the property of the Word, grace of Speech, and suit of the Matter; and not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far-fetch'd. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the times and occasions of the Church, be delivered. Further, let the Explication, Confirmation, Enlargement and Application, and the whole Treatise and handling of it, be in the vulgar tongue; and let the whole confirmation and proof be made by Arguments, Testimonies and Examples, taken only out of the holy Scriptures, applied fitly and according to the natural meaning of the places that are alledged.

The second thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend Gravity: This is considered first in the Style, Phrase and manner of Speech, that it be spiritual, pure, proper, simple, and applied to the capacity of the People; not such as human Wisdom teacheth, nor favouring of new fangledness, nor either so affected as it may serve for Pomp and Ostentation, or so careless and base, as becometh not Ministers of the Word of God. Secondly, It is also to be regarded as well in ordering the Voice, in which a care must be had, that (avoiding the keeping always of one tune) it may be equal, and both rise and fall by degrees; as also in ordering the gesture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering

dering the whole body is to follow the Voice, there being avoided in it all unseemly Gestures of the Head, or other parts, and often turning of the Body to divers sides. Finally, Let the Gesture be grave, modest, and seemly, not utterly none; nor too much neither, like the Gestures of Plays or Fencers.

These things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exercised to be made fit to preach: Let there be, if it may be, every Sabbath-day, two Sermons, and let them that preach, always endeavour to keep themselves within one Hour, especially on the Week days. The use of preaching at Burials is to be left as it may be done conveniently; because there is danger that they may nourish the Superstition of some, or be abused to Pomp and Vanity.

Of the Catechismi.

LET the Catechism be taught in every Church. Let there be two sorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the Sum of Religion by a fute and order of certain places of the Scriptures, according to which some point of the holy Doctrine may be expounded every week. Another of the same sort, but shorter, fit for the examination of the Rude and Ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's Supper.

Of the other parts of Liturgy or Divine Service.

AL L the rest of the Liturgy or Divine Service consisteth in the Administration of the Sacraments, and by the custom of the Church in the blessing of Marriage: The most commodious Form thereof is that which is used by the Churches that have reformed their----Discipline according to the Word of God.

Of Sacraments.

LET only a Minister of the Word, that is, a Preacher, minister the Sacraments, and that after the preaching of the Word, and not in any other place than in the publick Assemblies of the Church.

Of Baptism.

WOMEN only may not offer unto Baptism those that are to be baptized, but the Father, if it may be, or in his name some other. They which present unto Baptism,

Baptism, ought to be persuaded not to give those that are baptised the Names of God or of Christ, or of Angels, or of holy Offices, as of Baptist, Evangelist, &c. nor such as favour of Paganism or Popery; but chiefly such whereof there are Examples in the Holy Scriptures, in the names of those who are reported in them to have been godly and virtuous.

Of the Communion.

LET the time of celebrating the Communion be made known eight days before, that the Congregation may prepare themselves, and that the Elders may do their duty in going to and visiting whom they ought.

Of signifying their Names that are to communicate.

LET them which before have not been received to the Lord's Table, when they first desire to come to it, give their Names to the Minister seven days before the Communion, that care of enquiring of them may be committed to the Elders; that if there be any cause of hindrance, there may be stay made betime; but if there be no such thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their Faith, before some of the Elders and Ministers every Month before the Communion. Let this whole Treatise of Discipline be read in the Consistory; and let the Ministers, Elders and Deacons, be censured one after another; yet so that the Minister concerning Doctrine, be censured of Ministers only.

Let them only be admitted to the Communion, that have made Confession of their Faith, and submitted themselves to the Discipline; unless they shall bring Letters Testimonial of good credit from some other place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient Testimony.

Children are not to be admitted to the Communion before they be of the age of 14 years, except the Consistory shall otherwise determine.

On the Sabbath-day next before the Communion, let mention be made in the Sermon of the Examination, whereunto the Apostle exhorteth, and of the peace that is by Faith: In the day of the Communion, let there be speech of the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and especially of the Lord's Supper,

Of Fasting.

LET the day of Fasting be published by the Pastor according to the advice of the Consistory, either for Supplication, for turning away of Calamities present, or threaten'd; or for petition of some special Grace. Let the Sermons upon the same day, before and after Noon (as on the Lord's day) be such as may be fit for the present occasion.

Of Holidays.

Holidays are conveniently to be abolished.

Of Marriage.

LET Espousing go before Marriage. Let the words of Espousing be of the present time, and without condition, and before sufficient Witnesses on both sides. It is to be wished, that the Minister, or an Elder, be present at the Espousals, who having called upon God, may admonish both Parties of their duties. First, may have care of avoiding the Degrees forbidden both by the Law of God and Man: And then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any Bond of Marriage; which if they profess and be strangers, he may also require sufficient Testimony. Further also, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the death of the Party with whom they were married, which if they acknowledge, and be strangers, he may demand convenient Testimony of the death of the other Party. Finally, Let them be asked if they be under the government of any? Whether they whom it concerneth have consented?

The Espousals being done in due order, let them not be dissolved, though both Parties should consent. Let the Marriage be solemnized within two months after. Before the Marriage let the Promise be published three several Sabbath-days; but first, let the Parties espoused, with their Parents or Governors, desire the publishing thereof, of the Minister and two Elders at the least, that they may be demanded of those things that are needful; and let them require to see the Instrument of the Covenant of the Marriage, or at least, sufficient Testimony of the Espousals. Marriage may be solemnized and blessed upon any ordinary day of publick Prayer, saving upon a day of Fast.

Of Schools.

LET Children be instructed in Schools, both in other Learning, and especially in the Catechism, that they may repeat it by heart, and understand it; when they are so instructed, let them be brought to the Lord's Supper, after they have been examined by the Minister, and allowed by him.

Of Students of Divinity and their Exercises.

IF every Church where it may conveniently be done, care is to be had that some poor Scholars, studious of Divinity, being fit for Theological Exercises; and especially for expounding of holy Scripture, may, by the liberality of the godly Rich, be taught and trained up to preach.

Let that Exposition, as often as it shall be convenient to be had, be in the presence at least of one Minister, by whose presence they may be kept in order, and in the same sort (as touching the manner of Preaching) that publick Sermons are made; which being ended, let the other Students (he being put apart that was speaker) note wherein he hath failed in any of those things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publickly, as is set down before: Of whose opinion let the Minister that is present, and is Moderator of their Exercise, judge and admonish the speaker as he shall think meet.

Of Elders.

LET the Elders know every particular house and person of the Church, that they may inform the Minister of the condition of every one, and the Deacons of the sick and poor, that they may take care to provide for them; They are not to be perpetual; neither yet easily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

IN the Consistory the most Voices are to be yielded unto. In it only ecclesiastical things are to be handled. Of them, first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common direction of the publick Assembly, in the order of Liturgy or divine Service, Sermon, Prayers, Sacraments, Marriages, and Burials. Then with such also as pertain to the oversight of every one, and their particular deeds. Further, they are to cause such things as shall be thought meet, to be register'd and written in a book. They

They are also to cause to be written in another book, the names of them that are baptized, with the names of their Parents and Sureties: likewise of the Communicants. Further also are to be noted their names that are married, that die, and to whom Letters testimonial are given.

Of the Censures.

NONE is to be complained of unto the Consistory, unless first the matter being uttered with silencing the Parties name, if it seem meet so to be done by the judgment of the Consistory.

In private and less faults the Precept of Christ, Matt. xviii. is to be kept.

Greater and publick Offences are to be handled by the Consistory. Further, publick Offences are to be esteemed, First, Such as are done openly before all, or whomsoever, the whole Church knowing of it. Secondly, Such as be done in a publick place, albeit few know it. Thirdly, That are made such by Pertinacy and Contempt. Fourthly, That for the heinousness of the Offence are to be punished with some grievous civil punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in publick charge in the Church, are to be deposed also from their charges. They also are to be discharged that are unfit for the Ministry, by reason of their ignorance, or of some incurable disease; or by any other such cause, are disabled to perform their Ministry: But in the rooms of such as are disabled by means of Sicknels or Age, let another be placed without the reproach of him that is discharged; and further, so as the reverence of the Ministry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good order.

When there is question concerning an Heretick, complained of to the Consistory, streight let two or three neighbouring Ministers be called, Men godly and learned, and free from that suspicion, by whose opinion he may be suspended, till such time as the Conference may take knowledge of his cause.

The Obstinate, after admonition by the Consistory, though the fault have not been so great, are to be suspended from the Communion; and if they continue in their obstinacy, this shall be the Order to proceed to their Excommunication. Three severall Sabbath-days after the Sermon, publickly let be declared the Offence committed by the Offender. The first Sabbath let not the Offender's

Name be published: The second let it be declared, and withal a certain day of the week named, to be kept for that cause in Fasting and Prayer. The third let warning be given of his excommunicating to follow the next Sabbath after, except there may be shewed some sufficient cause to the contrary: So upon the fourth Sabbath-day let the Sentence of Excommunication be pronounced against him, that his Spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great Offences, opprobrious to the Church, and to be grievously punished by the Magistrate's authority; albeit he profess his Repentance in Words, yet for the trial thereof, and to take away the Offence, let him for a time be kept from the Communion; which how often and how long it is to be done, let the Consistory, according to their discretion, determine; after which, if the Party repent, he is brotherly to be received again, but not until he have openly professed his Repentance before the Church, by consent whereof he should have been excommunicated.

If the Ministers of any publick charge of the Church commit any such thing, they are to be deposed from their Charge.

Of the Assemblies of the Church.

PArticular Churches are to communicate one with another, by common Meetings and Resorts: In them only ecclesiastical matters are to be handled, and of those, only such as pertain to the Churches of that Resort; concerning other Churches, unless they be desired, they are to determine nothing further than to refer such matters to their next common and great Meeting.

Let the Order of Proceeding in them be this: First, Let the Survey be taken of those that are present, and the Names of those that are absent, and should be there, be noted, that they may give a reason at their next Meeting of their absence, or be censured by the judgment of the Assembly next. Let the Acts of the last Assembly of that kind be read, that if any of the same remain unfinished, they may be dispatch'd: Then let those things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the present Assembly; where first the Instructions sent from the Churches are to be delivered by every one in order, as they fit together, with their Letters of Credence. Secondly, Let the State of the Churches of that Resort be considered, to wit, how they are instructed and guided: Whether the holy Doctrine and

and Discipline be taught and exercised in them ; and whether the Ministers of publick Charges do their duty, and such like. Furthermore, they shall determine of those things that do appertain to the common State of all the Churches of that Resort, or unto any of the same ; which way may be sufficient for the oversight of the Churches. Lastly, If it seem meet, the Delegates present may be censured.

They that are to meet in such Assemblies are to be chosen by the consent of the Churches of that Assembly and Conference, to whom it may appertain.

Let such only be chosen that exercise publick Function in the Church, of Ministry or Eldership, and which have subscribed to the Doctrine and Discipline, and have promised to behave themselves according to the word of God : Notwithstanding, it may be lawful also to be present for other Elders and other Ministers ; and likewise (if the Assembly think it meet) for Deacons and for Students in Divinity, especially those that exercise themselves in expounding the holy Scriptures in the Conferences, and be asked their opinion ; which in Students is to this end, that their Judgments in handling Matters Ecclesiastical, may be both tried and sharpened. But they only are to give Voice which are chosen by the Churches, and have brought their Instructions signed from them.

If there fall out any very weighty matter to be consulted of, let notice of it be given to the Moderator of the Assembly next going before, or to the Minister of that Church where the next Meeting is to be : The same is to send word of it in due time to the Minister of every Church of that Assembly, that they may communicate it afore-hand with those to whom it appertaineth, that the Delegates resorting to the next Meeting, may understand and report their Judgments.

In appointing of the Place for the Assembly, regard must be had of the convenient distance, and other Commodities, that no Part may justly complain that they are burdened above others.

In every such Ecclesiastical Assembly it is meet there be a Moderator : He is to have charge of the Assembly, to see it kept in good order. He is always, if it may be conveniently, to be changed. The Choice is to be in this manner :

The Moderator of the former Assembly of that kind, or in his absence, the Minister of the Church where they

they meet, having first prayed fitly for that purpose, is to move the Assembly to choose a Moderator. He being chosen, is to provide that the things done in the Assembly may be written, that the Delegates of every Church may write them out, and communicate them with the Conferences from whence they came.

The Moderator is also, by the order and judgment of the Assembly, to give answer, either by Speech or by Letters, to such as desire any answer; and to execute Censures, if any be to be executed. Further, he is to procure all things to be done in it, godly and quietly; exhorting to Meekness, moderation of Spirit, and forbearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the Assembly, to take order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, He is to remember them of the next Meeting following, with thanks for their pains, and exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their Callings; and so courteously to dismiss the Assembly. Before such time none may depart without leave of the Assembly.

Those Assemblies, according to their kinds, have great authority, if they be greater, and less if they be less. Therefore (unless it be a plain Act, and manifest unto all) if any think himself injured by the less Meeting, he may appeal still unto a greater, till he come to a general Counsel; so that he ascend orderly from the less to the next greater. But it is to be understood that the Sentence of the Assemblies be holden firm until it be otherwise judged by an Assembly of greater authority.

Assemblies or Meetings are either Conferences or Synods.

Conferences are the Meetings of the Elders of a few Churches, as for example, of Twelve. There are to meet in a Conference, chosen by the Eldership of every particular Church, one Minister, and one Elder. The Conferences are to be kept once in six weeks.

They are specially to look into the State of the Churches of that Resort and Conference; examining particularly these several Points, Whether all things be done in them according to the holy Doctrine and Discipline of the Gospel (to wit) whether any Questions be moved concerning any Point of Doctrine? Whether the Ecclesiastical Discipline be duly observed? Whether any Minister be wanting in any of those Churches, that a sufficient one in due time may be procured? Whether the other Ministers of publick charge in the Church be appointed in every Congregation?

Whether

Whether care be had of Schools, and for the Poor? Finally, They are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth the advice of the Conference, for the advancement of the Gospel amongst them.

Before the end of the Meeting, if it shall be so thought good by them, let one of the Ministers assembled in Conference, either chosen by Voice, or taking it by turn, preach publickly. Of his Speech, let the rest judge among themselves (the Elders being put apart) and admonish him brotherly, if there be any cause, examining all things according to those Rules that are before declared in the Chapter, concerning the things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A Synod is the meeting of chosen Men of many Conferences: In them let the whole Treatise of Discipline be read: In them also (other things first being finish'd, as was said before) let all those that are present be censured (if it may be done conveniently) and let them also have a Communion in and with the Church where they were called.

There are two sorts of Synods; the first is particular, which comprehendeth both the Provincial and National Synod. A Provincial Synod is the meeting of the chosen Men of every Conference, within the Province. A Province containeth four and twenty Conferences.

A fit way to call a Provincial Council may be this: The Care thereof (except themselves will determine of it) may be committed to the particular Eldership of some Conference within the Province; which by advice of the same Conference, may appoint the Place and Time for the meeting of the Provincial Synod.

To that Church or Eldership are to be sent the matters that seemed, to the particular Conferences, more difficult for them to take order in, and such as belong to the Churches of the whole Province; which is to be done diligently, and in good time, that the same may, in due season, give notice of the Place and Time of the Synod, and of the matters to be debated therein; that they which shall be sent may come the better prepared, and judge of them according to the advice of the Conferences.

Two Ministers, and as many Elders, are to be sent from every Conference unto the Provincial Synod. The same is to be held every half year, or oftner, till the Discipline be

be settled. It is to be held three months before every National Synod ; that they may prepare and make ready those things that pertain to the national. The Acts of the Provincial Synod are to be sent unto the national, by the Eldership of that Church in which it was holden ; and every Minister is to be furnished with a Copy of them, and with the reasons of the same. A national Synod or Convocation, is a meeting of the chosen Men of every Province, within the Dominion of the same Nation and civil Government. The way to call it (unless it shall determine otherwise) may be the same with the provincial, that is, by the Eldership of some particular Church, which shall appoint the Time and Place of the next National Convocation ; but not otherwise than by the advice of their Provincial Synod.

Out of every Provincial Synod there are to be chosen three Ministers, and as many Elders, to be sent to the National. They are to handle the things pertaining to the Churches of the whole Nation or Kingdom, as the Doctrine, Discipline, Ceremonies, things not decided by inferior Meetings, Appeals, and such like. By the order of the same, one is to be appointed which may gather into one book the Notes of every particular Church.

Thus much for particular Meetings ; the universal followeth, which is called a general, or œcumenical Council ; which is a Meeting of the chosen Men of every National Synod. The Acts of all such Councils are to be register'd and reported in a Book.

The Discipline, intituled, "The Discipline of the Church," described in the Word of God, as far as we can judge, is taken and drawn from the most pure Fountain of the Word of God ; and containeth in it the Discipline of the Church that is necessary, essential, and common to all Ages of the Church.

The Synodical also adjoined, as it resteth upon the same foundations is likewise necessary and perpetual ; but as far as it is not expressly confirmed by authority of the holy Scripture, but is applied to the use and times of the Church, as their divers States may require, according to the Analogy and general Rules of the same Scripture, is to be judged profitable for the Churches that receive it, but may be changed in such things as belong not to the Essence of the Discipline upon a like godly Reason, as the divers Estates of the Church may require.

The

The Form of the Subscription.

THE Brethren of the Conference of N. whose Names are here underwritten, have subscribed this Discipline after this manner : This Discipline we allow as a godly Discipline, and agreeable to the Word of God ; (yet so as we may be first satisfied in the things hereunder noted) and desire the same so acknowledged by us, to be furthered by all lawful means ; that by publick authority of the Magistrate, and of our Church, it may be establish'd.

Which thing, if it may be obtain'd of her right excellent Majesty, and other the Magistrates of this Kingdom, we promise that we will do nothing against it, whereby the publick Peace of the Church may be troubled. In the mean time we promise to observe it so far as it may be lawful for us so to do, by the publick Laws of this Kingdom, and by the Peace of our Church.





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The End of the FIRST VOLUME.







